

Elsaid Badawi, M. G. Carter and Adrian Gully

Modern Written Arabic

A Comprehensive Grammar

MODERN WRITTEN ARABIC: A COMPREHENSIVE GRAMMAR

Modern Written Arabic: A Comprehensive Grammar is a complete reference guide to the grammar of Modern Written Arabic.

The Grammar presents an accessible and systematic description of the language, focusing on real patterns of use in contemporary written Arabic. Data is taken from actual written Arabic, both literary and non-literary, observed or published since 1990. Sources range from street signs to high literature.

This comprehensive work will be an invaluable resource for intermediate and advanced students of Arabic, and for anyone interested in Arabic linguistics or the way modern written Arabic works.

Features include:

- Comprehensive coverage of all parts of speech and syntactic constructions
- Full cross-referencing
- Authentic examples, given in Arabic script, transliteration and translation
- Detailed indexes in English and Arabic, and glossary

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Adrian Gully

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Not everything in this book represents the unanimously felt beliefs of every contributor: the three of us often argued at length about presentation and interpretation, but the result is coherent, we hope, and at least as homogeneous as a *salade niçoise*, if not a finely chopped tabbouleh.

With this in mind the authors are listed on the cover in simple alphabetical order with no implications for the part played by the contributors individually. However, although the three authors of this work consider each other's contribution to be equally invaluable, they have agreed to acknowledge that the initial drafting of the text was compiled mainly by Carter and Gully.

This book has been through many hands, and we can thank the following for their patient and diligent cooperation (again in alphabetical order); Ruth Bourne, Susan Dunsmore, Rachel Knight, Susan Leaper, Sophie Oliver, Julia Swales, Katie Thomas and Vicky Whitelaw. All these have been involved in various ways, in the organization, the copy editing, the correspondence, the layout and the printing, and there are surely other, anonymous helpers, who preferred to blush unseen.

ABBREVIATIONS

abs.	absolute	MLA	Modern Literary Arabic
adj.	adjective	MWA	Modern Written Arabic
adv.	adverb	neg.	negative
ag.	agent	nom.	nominal
apoc.	apocopate	obj.	object
apod.	apodosis	obl.	oblique
art.	article	part.	participle
attrib.	attributive	pass.	passive
C	Cantarino	perf.	perfect
CA	Classical Arabic	pers.	personal
cat.	categorical	pl.	plural
cf.	compare	plur.	plural
circ. qual.	circumstantial qualifier	pred.	predicative/predicate
comp.	complement	prep.	preposition
compar.	comparative	pres.	present
cond.	conditional	pron.	pronoun
conj.	conjunction	qual.	qualifier
def.	definite	rel.	relative
dem.	demonstrative	sep.	separation
dep.	dependent	sing.	singular
dim.	diminutive	spec.	specification/ specifying
dir.	direct	sub.	subordinate
ellipt.	elliptical	subj.	subject
f.	feminine	superl.	superlative
fem.	feminine	trans.	transitive
fut.	future	v.	versus
imperat.	imperative	voc.	vocative
imperf.	imperfect	W5	Wehr 5th edition
indef.	indefinite		
indep.	independent		
indir.	indirect		
interrog.	interrogative		
intrans.	intransitive		
lit.	literally		
loc.	locative		
m.	masculine		
masc.	masculine		
med.	medial		
misc.	miscellaneous		

INTRODUCTION

READERSHIP

The book is aimed at four kinds of reader. The first is the student of Arabic at a relatively advanced level who is looking for a conveniently classified repertoire of forms and constructions. It is not a pedagogical work in itself, but a supplement to a teaching grammar or language course: it can profitably be consulted, for example, for details of the actual use of subordinating conjunctions or the different patterns of negation, extending the token (and usually made-up) specimens in the textbooks.

The second type of reader is the specialist in Arabic linguistics who needs data on which to base theories about Arabic, or to support or refute existing theories, such as the different interpretations of the copula, conditional syntax, etc. Here a good knowledge of both Arabic and linguistics is presupposed.

Another category of Arabist reader is the historian of the language, who will find in this work a relatively narrow tranche of material reflecting the current state of the language in some detail. To give this aspect of the book more depth, there are cross-references to Cantarino's *Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose* (but see p. 4).

Finally, the work is designed to be accessible to general linguists with no knowledge of Arabic. For them, this book will provide the kind of information which would be relevant to comparative studies, e.g. questions of word order, agreement, predication, tense and aspect, and so on.

ISSUES OF DEFINITION

Chronologically the range is rather narrow, as all the data were found in texts appearing from 1990. This is an arbitrary date, to be sure, but the intention is to provide a highly focused snapshot of Arabic as it was being written at the end of the twentieth century. It happened occasionally that a particularly fruitful source of examples turned out to have been a reissue of something first published a decade or two before 1990. What to do? We consulted our consciences, sighed deeply, and left the material in.

Geographically the data are taken from publications from the entire Arab world, though with an inevitable imbalance. Fortunately the written varieties of Arabic have not diverged as far from each other as the spoken, and the syntax and morphology seem to be relatively consistent throughout the Arabic-speaking world. A reader may well recognize the 'nationality' of a text, but mostly through

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lexical indicators (cf. **12.1.3**), rather as varieties of English reveal themselves more clearly in vocabulary and spelling than in differences in syntax.

It is far too early to tell whether Modern Written Arabic (MWA) will ever break up into discrete languages reflecting the extreme variations in the spoken forms, but if it ever happens, this book may serve as a record of the state of Arabic before the fission.

PRINCIPLES OF THE BOOK

The language described in this work is Modern Written Arabic (MWA), in theory everything written in Arabic from graffiti to high literature (but excluding poetry as being artificial and often archaic), which is why another possible name for the language, Modern Literary Arabic (MLA), was rejected as being too narrow. The term MWA was also chosen to avoid such ill-defined labels as ‘Modern Standard Arabic’ (whatever that may be). However, it does assume that a writer is genuinely attempting to write correctly in the modern equivalent of Classical Arabic (CA), the language defined by the medieval grammarians and in principle still the norm for the Arab Academies in making their decisions about MWA.

Naturally we do not regard everything written in Arabic as MWA: pure colloquialisms and written-down speech have been excluded. An exception is the reports of interviews in which the dialogue has consciously been converted into MWA, i.e. a strictly CA morphology and syntax. This has been accepted as evidence on the grounds that the Arabic is seriously intended to conform to the rules of the written language, and the resulting document is not, therefore, a mere transcript of colloquial discourse, however unnatural it ultimately is. Under this heading, drama scripts intended to be declaimed as Classical dialogue would also qualify for inclusion, but there is probably nothing in this book which has been taken from such a source, though occasional reference is made to written material heard in the form of broadcasts, such as news bulletins, read out from texts.

When colloquialisms do creep in, they can be rather obvious, e.g. the spelling *ma‘ānā* معنا ‘with us’ instead of CA *ma‘ana* معنا, although the rest of the sentence in which this occurred was perfectly good MWA. A phrase such as *thalāṭa ḥadāf* ‘three goals’ (in a football score, and assuming it is not a spelling mistake) offers another example: it should have been *thalāṭa aḥdāf* ثلاثة أهداف *talātatu ‘ahdāfin*, but exhibits a non-existent plural **hidāf*, perhaps because it is a re-analysis of the colloquial *tala t-ihdāf*, where the feminine *-t* suffix of the numeral becomes prefixed to the following noun. When written down, this detached *-t* suffix of the numeral became prefixed to the following noun. It was correctly restored to the numeral but the spelling of the noun remained unaltered, the result still closely reflecting the original colloquial pronunciation.

Obvious mistakes have also been excluded, such as *ṣāni‘ū al-sajjād* صانعو السجاد for ‘the makers of prayer-mats’ (the correct form is صانعو السجاد, without the extra final letter found only in the verbal suffix (وا), or *lam ta‘tād* لم تعتاد for which either *lā ta‘tādu* لا تعتاد ‘she is not accustomed’ or *lam ta‘tad* لم تعتد ‘she was not accustomed’ would be correct.

Clearly, there are many important differences between CA and MWA, and this work will try to signal as often as it can the more obvious divergences from the classical norm, without invoking notions of decay, error, decline and all the other purist reactions which greet the process of linguistic change. The differences exist, and we hope to identify them: how much they become part of a new 'Standard' literary Arabic is not a linguistic question at all and cannot be considered in this book. Many are listed under 'Innovations' in the index, with the reservation that the list is neither complete, nor does it claim that the innovations are all very recent: some, in fact, are already observable in medieval Arabic, e.g. the now very productive *nisba* ending *وي* -*awī* (12.3).

MWA also reveals an enormous influence, lexical, syntactic and stylistic, from Western languages: as is well known, for example, journalistic Arabic often consists of material hastily translated from English or French press agencies. It would be difficult to separate the numerous calques and imitations of western expressions from those features which do seem to represent spontaneous linguistic change. Where it seems obvious that a calque exists, this will be pointed out, but we have probably erred on the side of caution, not least because many apparently innovative features of MWA turn out to be based on ancient CA models.

Since this is probably one of the last works on this scale to be written at a time when the status of MWA is still volatile, we shall always present the data in its purest *fushā* form (e.g. *ḥamsūmi'a*, not *ḥumsumi'a* for '500', *wa-ttaḥaḍa* not *wa-'ittahaḍa* etc.) and leave open the question of whether they have already been definitively replaced by the newer conventions of reading aloud. Pure *fushā* is now restricted to a very narrow range of contexts, but as long as it remains the ideal it must be respected.

Finally, there is no stylistic evaluation here: certainly not everything in this work can be recommended as a model to be copied, but it is not the task of this grammar to influence the style of anyone who wishes to write Arabic.

DATA, SOURCES AND PRINCIPLES OF SELECTION

As already indicated, all material is post-1990, and as far as possible every item of data in this work has been taken from written, invariably public sources. For practical reasons these are largely Egyptian and Gulfī, with a sprinkling of Lebanese, Syrian, Yemeni, Maghribi and Iraqi texts, but we feel confident that the resulting material is neither immoderately biased towards those two Arab regions nor unrepresentative of usage throughout the whole area.

Since the harvesting of data was carried out in a totally random way, by reading as broad a selection of texts as possible, from bus tickets to high literature, this is not a corpus-based grammar. Moreover, the logic of a corpus-based grammar requires that missing items are deemed non-existent, which the educated Arab will not wish to concede. Accordingly, on the rare occasions where evidence of a construction could not be found in published sources, data have been drawn from the personal written usage of our Egyptian co-author: the

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proportion of such material is very small indeed, and its authenticity is assured by the contributor's combination of traditional and contemporary linguistic and literary competence.

An exception has been made for purely lexical material, where for convenience Wehr and other dictionaries have been used to supplement the found data for orthography (Chapter 1) and neologisms (Chapter 12).

RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER WORKS

The debt to Cantarino will be obvious: his *Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose* is the largest and most systematically classified anthology of material available to date and was a major inspiration in the arrangement of the present work. Detailed cross-references to Cantarino (thus ▷C1:13 = vol. 1, p. 13) are given, first to allow comparison with the state of MWA at an earlier stage (effectively the first half of the twentieth century), and, second, to offer an alternative analytical approach to the same kind of data.

The following reservations and caveats are important: all Cantarino's material is taken from literary sources, and it therefore represents a very narrow corpus, which is likely to be exceedingly conservative: many constructions are listed which are now very hard to find in MWA as we have defined it, and must certainly be regarded as archaisms or even as obsolete. However, the literary continuum available to an Arab writer is broad and deep, and where a construction noted by Cantarino has not been found in our data, it will still be listed, because there is no proof that it is extinct, e.g. the *'in al-muḥaffafa* (see 3.2.1.1).

Cantarino's grammatical analysis is sometimes unconvincing, being often idiosyncratic and always Eurocentric: one has the impression that the Arabic has first been translated and then analysed according to the parsing of the resulting English. We have felt free to ignore his interpretations whenever they seemed irrelevant or mistaken, but there is no point in engaging in a polemic here, so the reader who follows up a reference to Cantarino may well find that the data are differently analysed or even appear in a different category from the one expected.

Cantarino's own goal was to deal purely with syntax, and so there is little opportunity for cross-references in our early chapters. Moreover, there are differences in the relative weight given there and here to the topics. Finally, there will be potential cross-references which have escaped our notice, largely due to the inadequacies of Cantarino's index, but also because in some cases the topic lies hidden in some larger section. The absence of a cross-reference therefore does not mean that Cantarino failed to deal with the item.

This having been said, we are happy to admit that it has been a constant challenge to match the comprehensiveness of Cantarino's data and the delicacy of some of his perceptions. Future descriptive grammars will rest, of course, on large, electronically gathered and processed corpora, with the possibility for realistic statements about frequency, register and genre, but until then the work of Cantarino must be acknowledged for the pioneering achievement that it was.

It might have been desirable, for those wishing to compare MWA with CA, to provide cross-references to Wright also, but in the end this task was not undertaken, partly out of exhaustion and partly because Wright is well enough indexed to cause the reader few problems. The Bibliography offers some guidance on this and the other standard sources of classified data for CA, namely Reckendorf (1967) and Fleisch (1979). El-Ayoubi and others (2001) follow the same principles as the present work and in considerably more detail. However, since the data are presented in untransliterated Arabic script with German translation only, the usefulness of the collection is limited.

TRANSLITERATION

Since this is a grammatical work the data must be transliterated into complete CA morphology (*fuṣḥā*) with all junctural features even in utterance-final position, regardless of the possible MWA reading. The only exceptions will be cases where the modern practice is of reading *fuṣḥā* in pausal form (i.e. with reduced or elided inflections) or in such highly restricted cases as the type *kufta baġdādi* كفتة بغدادية ‘Baghdad-style kufṭa’, with invariable adjective (see 2.1.1.5), where an exact CA realization ‘*kuftatun baġdādiyyun*’ seems pedantic.

If the inflectional vowel is uncertain it will be enclosed in [] in the transliteration, e.g. *fa-yarji* [u], or sometimes left as # if an authentic CA case ending cannot be determined, usually in situations where no-one ever would supply a vowel anyway, e.g. with some numerals (cf. 2.12).

Proper names are a real problem: they have been inconsistently transliterated in this work because modern names are not usually inflected, whereas CA names may be inflected or not, according to the writer’s own standards.

The definite article will always be transliterated with *l* regardless of its assimilation (‘sun letters’), and the juncture (*waṣla*) vowel will be placed, hyphenated, on the previous consonant, e.g. *min-a-l-rajuli* من الرجل ‘from the man’ not *min al-rajuli*. An exception is the definite article on the derived stems, e.g. الانتخابات ‘the elections’, transcribed as *al-intiḥābātu*, not *al-i-ntiḥābātu*. Elsewhere these stems will be spelt rigorously with the vowel (whether inflectional or junctural *waṣla*) on the previous word, thus *yawma* ‘*tiqālihi*’ يوم اعتقاله ‘on the day of his arrest’ not *yawm a’tiqālihi*, and certainly not *yawm ’i’tiqālihi* as it would now be read (and often printed, see 1.2.1.1) in the modern style.

Where there is a choice of vocalization, the first offered in Wehr will be arbitrarily chosen unless there is a reason to select the second, e.g. *alā waški* على وشك ‘on the point of’ rather than *wuški*.

6 Introduction

PRESENTATION

As this is a Reference Grammar, it will present non-verbose data, tables rather than narrative, examples rather than detailed analysis, keeping the explanation of structural and syntactic principles as brief as possible.

The material is quoted in the minimal quantity sufficient to support the grammatical point, i.e. words only at word level, phrases at phrase level, simple sentences at basic sentence level, and so on. Compound structures, e.g. conditionals and discourse elements, will be mostly cited in full, but subordinate clauses may be given without the main verbs if the syntax is clear enough. Occasionally the text will be truncated to omit parts not grammatically relevant: these will be indicated as ... , and sometimes a phrase may be quoted in the independent case where it has been taken from a context in which it had some other case.

All the punctuation of the original will be preserved and reproduced in the transliteration, as well as in the translation, even if the punctuation is not natural in English. The Arabic is reproduced as printed, though extra diacriticals may unavoidably have crept in during transcription and retyping: however, in cases where the vocalization is the specific object of concern the data are cited exactly as they were found.

There will inevitably be considerable repetition of topics (though of hardly any data) where it was felt that an item belonged in more than one category. This will be especially apparent in the treatment of negation, circumstantial qualifiers, coordination and certain kinds of subordination. However, the full survey of the topic is generally confined to one section, with shorter treatments elsewhere, linked by extensive cross-references.

TRANSLATION

The translation will be as literal as is consistent with good English, with the aim of highlighting the grammatical issue. Additional explanatory material will be supplied in square brackets [], which may be grammatical glosses or suppletions. All other types of parenthesis are from the original Arabic texts.

Pronouns will be translated according to their reference in context, even if this is not given in the example. Since the agreement rules (see **1.12.2.1**) require fem. sing. for many plurals, and since there is no neuter, the pronoun ‘she’ may also correspond to ‘it’ and ‘they’, and will be so translated if necessary.

Occasionally the context will require a translation into a different formal tense, particularly in narratives, where the Arabic imperfect may correspond to past, present or future, e.g. *qabla 'an yanṣarifū* قبل أن ينصرفوا ‘before they go/went away’.

The grammatically relevant part of the text will be transliterated and translated in bold, with parsing and other comments in square brackets, e.g. *munḍu tawallīhi mahāmma manṣibihi* منذ توليه مهام منصبه ‘since his taking up [verbal noun] **the duties** [dep. as dir. obj.] of his office’.

TECHNICAL MATTERS

This work follows no particular linguistic line, but it is hoped that both the taxonomy and the analysis will be found reliable and transparent. Most important is the authenticity and accuracy of the data, in which we have tried to maintain the highest standards: as for the interpretation and analysis, these are matters about which disagreement is always possible.

Since this is not a corpus grammar we can make no statistical judgments. This means that there is no reliable way to indicate the relative frequency or canonicity of structures, except through necessarily impressionistic comments. While it is true that with some constructions it was difficult to find adequate illustrations, this is no guide to their actual rarity, still less their possible archaic or obsolete status. Nor does it follow that an item illustrated by three or four specimens is common: we may just have been lucky.

Traditional Arabic grammatical terms are supplied whenever appropriate, but largely for the purpose of making it easier to trace discussion of the topics in other sources. To compare the indigenous and western systems in detail would require a completely different book, hence not every Arabic grammatical term will be found here.

ARRANGEMENT AND USE

The chapters are arranged in ascending order of linguistic size and simplicity, starting with individual words and concluding with the discourse level, followed by a chapter on lexical topics, as follows: 1. Word level: all forms and their full morphological range; 2. Phrase level: phrase structure of all kinds; 3. Simple sentence patterns; 4. Negation; 5. Relatives, adjectival and nominal; 6. Coordination; 7. Subordination; 8. Conditionals; 9. Exceptive sentences; 10. Interrogatives; 11. Hypersentence, discourse and larger units; 12. Lexicon. There is a short bibliography of recommended further reading, and an index of words, topics and terms in both English and Arabic.

This work thus attempts to identify and classify every variety of expression in MWA from the phoneme to the paragraph, and to arrange the data in a conveniently accessible form, with a minimum of quantitative and qualitative intervention. It will be for others to decide whether the classification is exhaustive and the data valid, but the next step will require an electronic corpus and an adequate technology for the various goals of linguistic enquiry, statistical, pedagogical, historical, etc. Meanwhile it is hoped that this book will at least point in the right direction.

1 FORMS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter sets out the complete morphological range of Arabic in preparation for the syntactic treatment to follow, listing the closed classes exhaustively and the open classes by paradigms and tokens. The word level grammatical categories of gender, case, number and definiteness are described, and a brief survey of orthographical and punctuation practices is given. The contents of this chapter are purely formal, and are complemented by the treatment of a number of the semantic/lexical aspects in **Chapter 12** (with some inevitable duplication).

Arabic exhibits all the features of the Semitic family to which it belongs, most notably the root+pattern system, in which the semantic components of a word are distributed between a root, usually consisting of three consonants which express the basic meaning (e.g. *k-t-b* = ‘write’ and a pattern which expresses the class of meaning (e.g. $C^1\text{-}\bar{a}\text{-}C^2\text{-}i\text{-}C^3$ = agent or active participle), the resulting compound (which has aptly been defined as a ‘series of interdigitated discontinuous morphemes’) constituting an actual word (in this case *kātib* ‘writer’, ‘writing’) to which inflections, etc. are then added.

The topic will be discussed again below: at this stage it is important to remark that this root and pattern system is not only rather elaborate (more so in Arabic than any other Semitic language) but also still extremely vigorous. Although there are signs that the morphology of Arabic is moving away from the constraints of the CA syllable structure, loan words are still accommodated into the pattern system as far as possible, so that the plural of *bank* بنك ‘bank’ is *bunūk* بنوك and of *film* فيلم ‘film’ is *‘aflām* أفلام.

1.1 PHONOLOGY

Only items affecting orthography or reading MWA aloud are mentioned here: dialect differences are therefore only relevant to the spelling of loan words and transcriptions of foreign words, and will be dealt with in **1.2.6.1**. The general issue of the loss of inflections is discussed in **1.2.8, 1.2.9**.

To date there has been no successful attempt to change or simplify the Arabic writing system, still less to replace it with a European one after the Turkish model. Nevertheless there have been some spontaneous changes in writing habits, occasionally sanctioned retrospectively by the language academies, see **1.2.1**.

To review the transliteration systems used in the West would be an interesting exercise in cultural history but not directly relevant to the purposes of this book.

The one used here exploits the advantages of current word-processing to match each Arabic character with a single Roman letter, thereby avoiding digraphs (or worse: nineteenth-century Germans had to interpret such monsters as al-Ḥadschschādsch for the more transparent al-Ḥajjāj, but the latter only succeeds for English speakers, and would become al-Ḥā ā for continental readers).

1.1.1 Phoneme inventory

(See Fischer in Hetzron 1997, 189ff.)

The CA phoneme inventory has been slightly modified in all dialects, either by redistribution or neutralization of contrasts, and this inevitably affects the pronunciation of MWA, rather as English will be read differently by British, American, Australian speakers, etc. However, this topic is beyond the scope of the present work, which can deal only with phonological matters which affect either spelling or reading aloud. There are two items affecting the written language which may be considered here.

1 Orthographical doublets arising from dialect influences, e.g.:

CA *qišṭa* قشطة ‘cream’ v. MWA alternant *qišda* قشدة, with voicing of *t* to *d*

CA *damḡa* دمنغة ‘stamp’ v. MWA alternant *tamḡa* تمنغة, with devoicing of *d* to *t*

The proper name Abū Dahab أبو الذهب may represent a phonetic spelling of the colloquial form of Abū l-Dahab, lit. ‘father of gold’, since there is no CA word *dahab*.

Mistakes such as *ḥāfiḍan* حافظا for *ḥāfiẓan* حافظ ‘preserving’, *muktaḍḍa* مكتضة for *muktaẓẓa* مكتظة ‘crowded’, merely indicate the latent changes in the spelling system which have hitherto been kept in check by the power of CA: such mistakes have been happening for centuries, and editors have been correcting them in manuscripts for many years.

It is too early to say whether MWA spellings will diverge in the manner of English into British, American and other varieties. While, for instance, it is quite probable that a CA number such as *ḥamsūmi’a* ‘500’ خمسمئة would be read out by an Egyptian as *ḥumsumi’a*, the absence of vocalization makes it impossible to say whether the latter pronunciation has now become standard in an Egyptian variety of MWA.

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- 2 Influence of vowel quality on the choice of consonant, where emphatic consonants tend to occur in the context of ‘dark’ vowels in foreign words:

ṣōdā صودا ‘soda’ not sōdā سودا (and note no *ḍ* here!)

volt فُولْت ‘volt’

ṭarṭarāt طرطرات ‘tartrate’ ṭarṭarīd طرطريد ‘tartride’

In the Tunisian transliteration *maqna* مقنا for Magna (as in Leptis Magna) both the back vowel and the Tunisian voiced *q* = *g* are observable. This pair illustrates the effect of vocalic environment well:

mōḍa موضة ‘fashion’ (dark vowel) v. mōdēl موديل ‘model’ (light vowel)

1.1.2 Syllable structure

The CA syllable was restricted to CV and CVC (prosodically C+long V is also conventionally represented as CVC, e.g. *fī* في ‘in’ = *fīy*, *dū* ذو ‘possessor of’ = *duw*, though this cannot account for *ā*, as the second element never has a phonetic value, so *mā* ما ‘what’ cannot be analysed as **ma*’, which would have to be **mā*, though it has the same prosodic value, CVC). Under certain conditions CVCC was permitted, namely, when a long vowel is followed by identical consonants, e.g. *ḥārrun* حَارُّ ‘hot’ (syllabically *ḥār-run*), or between word boundaries, e.g. *fī l-yadi* في اليد ‘in the hand’ (syllabically *fīyl-ya-di*, but shortened in pronunciation to *fīl-*), and there was a global rule that no syllable onset could consist of more than one consonant. MWA preserves this system orthographically, of course, but in reading and pronunciation there are now considerable divergences.

1.1.2.1 Juncture

In CA most words end in short vowels which prevented non-canonical clusters of consonants arising between words in juncture, e.g. *yadu l-maliki* يد الملك ‘the hand of the king’, syllabically *ya-dul-ma-li-ki*, not **yad-lma-li-ki*, and words ending in unvoiced consonants acquire an arbitrary vowel under these conditions, thus *min* مِنْ ‘from’ becomes *min-a* مِنْ in *min-a l-maliki* مِنْ الملك ‘from the king’, syllabically *mi-nal-ma-li-ki*. The default juncture vowel is -i, and in this book all juncture vowels are indicated by hyphenation. See further 1.2.1.1.

These constraints are now under some pressure to change, though only two aspects can be dealt with here as directly affecting MWA:

- 1 Because of the elimination or reduction of word-final vowels, non-canonical consonant clusters arise in juncture. In those dialects which tolerate such clusters they will be read out as such, while other dialects will insert a default vowel (i.e. not an inflectional one); contrast CA *niṣfu šahrī* نصف شهري

- 'semi-monthly', which would be read aloud as *niṣf ṣahrī* in dialects which tolerate the cluster *ṣ-f-ṣ* and as *niṣf-i ṣahrī* in others (the default vowel is usually *i*).
- 2 The adoption of loan words (cf. **12.1**), especially those whose structure is outside the CA morphological range. Again the absence of vocalization makes it difficult to determine pronunciation, but it is likely that words will be read out according to the conventions of the dialect, and a word like *d(?)rāmā* دراما 'drama' may be read out as *drāma* or *dirāma* depending on the tolerance of initial consonant clusters in the dialect.

Occasionally the explicit vocalization (usually pedagogical) clearly indicates a non-CA syllable structure:

'ifrīqā إفْرِيقَا 'Africa', with the over-long syllable *-rīq-*

See also **1.2.6.1** on the transliteration of foreign words.

1.2 ORTHOGRAPHY

A number of changes are visible in the MWA writing system, some merely extensions of medieval practices and some genuine innovations.

1.2.1 *Hamza*

This is a glottal stop and a full consonantal phoneme, for which the original Arabic alphabet had used the letter *'alif*, but when this character lost its consonantal value it became necessary to invent a new symbol, which was derived from the symbol for the phonologically similar *'ayn* ([ʿ]), inserted into the pre-existing consonantal spellings.

Even in CA the spelling of *hamza* was inconsistent, partly because in the earliest Qur'anic orthography this consonant was not notated and partly because it was not (and is still not) pronounced in several vocalic environments.

The CA spelling conventions are theoretically still in place but in some contexts a new spelling has been conceded by the academies. In the following, *hamza* spelling will be treated by position, initial, medial and final.

1.2.1.1 Initial *hamza* in CA is always written with *'alif* (i.e. as *'a-*, *'i-* or *'u-*), but the position of the *hamza* sign follows that of its vowel, hence with *'a-* and *'u-* it is above the *'alif* (أ) and with *'i-* below it (إ). This distinction is tending to be ignored in MWA, so that words beginning with *'i-* are indistinguishable from those beginning with *'a-*, e.g. *'inna* إِنَّ and *'anna* أَنَّ may both appear as أَنْ. The following examples

'arbah jawā'iza أَرْبَعُ جَوَائِزَ 'win prizes' (CA *irbah* اِرْبَحْ)

'ahwān أَخْوَانُ 'brothers' for *'ihwān* إِخْوَانُ

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'ab 'ād أبعاد 'removal' for 'ib 'ād إبعاد

suggest that the variable initial vowel in CA has become standardized to 'a in spelling at least, though it is not possible to be sure how they would be pronounced. On the other hand, doublets such as 'afriqiyyā/'ifriqiyyā إفريقيا/إفريقيا 'Africa' probably represent local variants (with 'ifriqiyyā being the CA original).

The sequence 'ā was notated by a special sign ā (called *madda*), but there are indications that it is being replaced by ʾ, e.g. *min 'ābā'ihim* 'of their fathers', written من آبائهم, contrast CA 'ābā'ihim آبائهم.

A particularly important subset is the artificial *hamza* created in utterance initial position to prevent a syllable from beginning with two consonants: *CCVC becomes VC-CVC, but since no syllable can begin with a vowel a *hamza* is pronounced, namely, 'VC-CVC. For historical reasons this extra syllable was notated with an 'alif, but it never bore a *hamza* sign in CA, because it was automatic, so **ktub* اكتب 'write!' was written with a prefixed 'alif and pronounced in initial position 'uktub اكتب, while in any other position the dummy syllable was unnecessary, e.g. *qāla ktub* قال اكتب 'he said "write!"' (syllabically qā-lak-tub CVC-CVC-CVC), though the 'alif was retained in writing, now marked with a sign indicating that it had no syllabic value viz ʾ, now seldom used.

This junctural *hamza*, called *hamzat al-waṣl* 'the *hamza* of joining' to distinguish it from the fully consonantal [ʾ] called *hamzat al-qatʿ* 'the *hamza* of cutting' (i.e. which begins a new syllable) is now commonly spelt identically with the consonantal *hamza*, especially in verb stems VII–X (see 1.9.0.2), an innovation which has largely been sanctioned by the language academies:

al-'intizār الإنتظار 'parking'

(also written *al-'antizār* الانتظار with *hamza* above the 'alif)

šāhadū 'inhiyāra l-manāzili شاهدوا إنهيار المنازل
'they witnessed the **collapsing** of the houses'

al-rajā' u 'ittibā'u qawānini l-murūri الرجاء إتباع قوانين المرور
'it is requested **to follow** the traffic laws'

For some time it has been the practice when reading aloud from MWA scripts to pronounce the *hamzat al-waṣl* as a *hamzat al-qatʿ*, e.g. *hādā 'al-wazīr* instead of *hādā l-wazīr* هذا الوزير 'this minister'; proper names likewise are read as separate words, e.g. *ḥāfiẓ 'al-'asad*, not *ḥāfiẓ l-'asad*. This undoubtedly results from the loss of final short vowels/inflections in the reading of MWA generally (see 1.2.8).

The consequences of this for the poetic system are still unknown: the CA metres are syllabic, and the MWA practice of treating *hamzat al-waṣl* as a full consonant changes the syllable structure.

Loan words beginning with *al-*, *el-*, etc. are usually spelt with unmarked 'alif, e.g. *elektrūnī* الإلكتروني 'electronic', but note 'albūm ألبوم 'album' with initial *hamza*, perhaps to avoid confusion with *al-būm* اليوم 'the owl'.

1.2.1.2 The CA spelling of medial *hamza* varied according to the vocalic environment: broadly the *hamza* was written over a consonantal 'bearer', either a

glide or 'alif selected by the following rule: the highest vowel on both sides of the *hamza* in the hierarchical sequence *i-u-a-0* (0 = no vowel) determines the 'bearer' in the parallel sequence *y-w-alif-zero*. Thus *ra'īs* 'leader' is written رئيس with *y* (*i* is higher than *a*, and note that the *y* as a bearer is always written without dots), *fu'ād* 'heart' is written فؤاد, with *w* (*u* is higher than *a*), and *su'ila* 'he was asked' is written سئل (*i* is higher than *u*). It follows that if one of the vowels is zero, the bearer is determined by the other vowel by default, *ra's* رأس 'head', *bu's* بؤس 'violence', *bi'r* بئر 'well'. A sub-rule deletes the 'alif as bearer if two consecutive 'alifs result, thus *sā'ala* 'to ask someone' should be written *سأل but becomes ساءل. A further sub-rule reduces three 'alifs to two in the rare cases where the rule produces them, e.g. *sa''āl* 'much given to asking, importunate', originally *سأأل (two *hamzas* + *ā*) to سأل with *šadda* instead of two *hamzas*.

This system is largely maintained in MWA, but there are now signs of standardization to *y* as the bearer of the *hamza* sign (approved by the academies) in many contexts:

شؤون *šu'un* 'matters', 'affairs', CA

مسؤول *mas'ul* 'responsible', CA

Perhaps through reluctance to repeat a letter, the medial *hamza* now sometimes lacks a bearer:

دؤوب *da'ūb* 'accustomed', CA

or the combination is conflated into one character:

مرؤوس *mar'ūs* 'headed', 'led', CA

There are also signs that *hamza* in 3rd radical position in verbs is becoming standardized (lexicalized) to *ū* when it becomes medial through the addition of suffixes: *yaqra'u* يقرأ 'he reads' is the same in CA and MWA, but when pronoun suffixes are added the *hamza* is no longer final, and we find *yaqra'ūna* 'they read' spelt in MWA as يقرأون v. CA يقرؤون. Similarly, *'aḥṭa'ū* 'they erred', MWA يلجأوا v. CA يخطأوا. *yalja'ū* 'that they seek refuge', MWA يلجأوا v. CA يخطأوا.

In nouns an originally final *hamza* also reverts to medial *hamza* spelling before suffixes, but it is occasionally omitted:

شركاؤه *šurakā'uhu* CA

but MWA sometimes:

شركاه *šurakāhu* 'his associates'

A noticeable tendency (and of considerable antiquity, cf. *bidāya* بداية 'beginning', a medieval spelling for *bidā'a* بداء from the root *bada'a* بدأ 'to begin') is for medial *hamza* to be replaced by the glide *y* in those words where *y* is its original bearer:

رياسة *riyāsa* 'leadership', CA

تهنئة *tahni'a* 'congratulation', CA

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or even other vocalic contexts, by analogy:

dafāya دفاية ‘warmth’, CA *dafā* ‘a دفاء

ṭaffāya طفاية ‘extinguishing’, CA *ṭaffā* ‘a طفاء

In some words the sequence *a*’ is now regularly replaced by *ā*, notably *tārīḥ* تاريخ ‘history’, ‘date’, CA *ta’rīḥ* تأريخ (note that both have the plur. *tawārīḥ* تواريخ), *fār* فار ‘mouse’, CA *fa’r* فـأر, and cf. *tasawwala* تسوّل ‘to wonder’, a new verb (see 12.8.3) from the root *sa’ala* سأل ‘to ask’, in which the original *hamza* has been replaced by a glide.

Conversely, a *hamza* has intruded in the word *mu’aqqaṭ* مؤقّت ‘timed’, ‘temporary’, a neologism from the root *w-q-t*, namely, *muwaqqat* موقت ‘timed’, perhaps as a hypercorrection, though the alternation of initial *hamza* and *w* is very ancient.

1.2.1.3 Final *hamza* follows the CA rules in the main, with one notable innovation (or rather, generalization of an earlier practice), namely, that a final *hamza* after the vowel *i* is now commonly written after the bearer *y* instead of over it (perhaps because it is not a true *y* this letter seems never to be printed with dots, cf. 1.2.2):

qāri قارئ ‘reader’, CA قارئ

mabādī مبادئ ‘principles’, CA مبادئ

maṭāfi مطافئ ‘fire extinguishers’, CA مطافئ

ṭawāri طوارئ ‘emergencies’, CA طوارئ

Strictly speaking, this creates an incorrect long vowel before the *hamza* (e.g. **qāri*) but this is ignored in pronunciation; another result is that words which really do have a long vowel before the *hamza*, such as *radī* ردى ‘bad’, will have the same spelling (usually also with undotted *y*). There are also occasional hypercorrections such as **bari* برئ for *barī* برى ‘innocent’.

1.2.2 CA spelling

A number of variant spellings from CA still occur:

‘idān either إِذًا or إِذْنُ ‘therefore, since’

mi’atun ‘hundred’ either مئة or مائة

Most of the *scriptio defectiva* spellings in a number of very common words are retained, e.g. *hādā* هَذَا ‘this’, *dālīka* ذَلِكَ ‘that’.

Conversely, in ‘Abdullāh, normally spelt عبدالله as a family name there is a variant with explicit long *‘alif* in -lāh-, namely, عبداللاه.

The compound interrogatives such as *li-ma* ‘why’ (see 1.6.10 for the complete list) retain the short spelling of the second element, thus لِمَ, etymologically *li-mā* لِمَا ‘for what’.

Certain common relative collocations are always spelt in their assimilated form, thus *ammā* عَمَّا ‘about which’ = *‘an mā* عَنْ مَا, *mimmā* مِمَّا ‘from which’ = *min mā* مِنْ مَا (see 5.5.2; 5.6.3), and note *ša’nun mā* شَأْنُ مَا ‘something or other’, pronounced *ša’num-mā* and so often written مَا شَأْن to indicate the assimilation (see 1.12.4.1)

In some verbs the 3rd radical may assimilate to the pronoun suffix, e.g. *qaṣad-tu* قَصَدْتُ ‘I intended’, often pronounced *qaṣattu* and therefore sometimes spelt قَصَدْتُ to indicate this. With *saḡat-tu* ‘I was silent’, 3rd radical *t*, the assimilation is automatic, and it is spelt سَكَتْ accordingly.

In many regions the final *yā* is consistently printed without dots, thereby obliterating the distinction between the values *ī* (يِ) and *ā* (يَ) of this letter, thus *‘alī* may represent ‘*alī* ‘high, ‘Alī’ (proper name) or ‘*alā* ‘on’ (see also 1.2.8).

Qur’anic spellings are largely retained in quotation, e.g. *lasta* ‘alayhim *bi-muṣayṭir* لَسْتُ عَلَيْهِمْ بِمُصِيطِرٍ (Sūra 88 verse 22) ‘I am not in control of them’, with the spelling of *muṣayṭir* showing assimilation of the original *s* (*musayṭir*) to *ṣ* under the influence of the following *t*, though this is no longer observed in MWA.

While Qur’anic terms usually retain their old spelling, e.g. *ṣalātun* صَلَاةُ ‘prayer’ with *w* as the long vowel marker (suggesting the vowel originally had a back quality), the word *ḥayātun* ‘life’ is spelt conventionally as حَيَاة, even though its Qur’anic spelling is حَيَوَة.

1.2.2.1 Spelling instructions were often incorporated into medieval texts to ensure the correct vocalization and pointing, and this is still occasionally seen:

waqqār (*bi-taṣdid al-qāf*) وَقَارَ (بِتَشْدِيدِ الْقَافِ) ‘*waqqār* [name of a fish] (with doubling of the ‘q’)’

1.2.3 MWA Spelling innovations

The spelling of apocopated verbs is showing signs of becoming lexicalized, i.e. the zero-vowel marker (*sukūn*) is inserted even where it would automatically be replaced by a vowel in juncture (cf. 1.1.2.1). This example is from a medieval text which has been vocalized by a modern editor and shows the words exactly as printed: *zamāna lam yuḥlaq l-nāsu ba’dū* زَمَانٌ لَمْ يَخْلُقِ النَّاسُ بَعْدُ ‘at a time when people had not yet been created’, where the *sukūn* on *yuḥlaq* would automatically be replaced by a vowel, namely, *yuḥlaq-i l-nāsu* يَخْلُقِ النَّاسُ in CA.

The same practice is spreading to the spelling of interrogative *man* ‘who?’ in juncture, thus *man l-rajulu?* مَنْ الرَّجُلُ? ‘who is the man?’ for *man-i l-rajulu?*

In some printing and display styles the initial forms ‘*ayn* and ‘*hā*’ are found in medial positions, presumably for decorative purposes.

Symbols from other Muslim languages have been borrowed to represent sounds not notated in the CA script, namely, پ for *p*, چ for *č*, ف for *v*, in each

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case with three dots instead of one, and variously arranged in pyramid or inverted pyramid form. See further **1.2.6.1**, **1.2.6.3**.

Several innovations in the placing of vowel signs have arisen, probably in response to the labour-saving instincts of typesetters:

- The short vowel sign for *i* (*kasra*) and the double *kasra* (*tanwīn*) are often printed together with the *šadda* sign, instead of underneath the affected consonant, e.g. *mujaddid* مجدد 'renewing', formerly written مجدد.
- As stated above, the spelling of initial *hamza* is tending to become *ā* regardless of the vowel, where formerly *hamza* + *i* was always written *ī*.
- The dep. indef. ending *-an* (see **1.5.2.1**) is now regularly printed with the *tanwīn* over the 'alif, namely, *ā* instead of before it, namely, *ā* e.g. now *kitāban* كتابا 'book' [dep.], formerly كتاباً.

1.2.4 Digits and number notation

(Cf. numbers in **2.12** for more examples.)

Numbers are usually written with numerals, with the highest numbers on the left (i.e. in the opposite order to the alphabetic script):

اشتريت ١٤٦٥ كتابا *ištaraytu 1465 kitāban* 'I bought 1465 books'

The number in this context would be read in full CA (with the units preceding the tens) *'alfan wa-'arba'ami'atin wa-ḥamsatan wa-sittina*, but the general practice is now to read all numbers in pausal, i.e. uninflected form. In the Western Arab world (the Maghrib) the European forms of the original 'Arabic' numerals have always been dominant, and this is now spreading to other Arab countries.

In the same manner as Roman numerals, Arabic alphabetical characters are often used for subheadings, preliminaries etc. The numerical values are based on the most ancient alphabetical order: the first dozen being

١ '1', ٢ '2', ٣ '3', ٤ '4', ٥ '5', ٦ '6', ٧ '7', ٨ '8', ٩ '9',
١٠ '10', ٢٠ '20', ٣٠ '30', ٤٠ '40', ٥٠ '50', ٦٠ '60', ٧٠ '70', ٨٠ '80', ٩٠ '90',

and so on through the tens and hundreds to one thousand. All numbers can be represented, but the higher values are rarely seen, though the system was used for mathematical notation until recent times. The letters are often printed without dots and in truncated form.

1.2.5 Abbreviations (e.g. with measures, see also under numbers, **2.12**.)

CA had a number of abbreviations, some of which are still in use, e.g. اهـ (from *intahā* انتهى 'it has ended') to mark the end of a quotation (cf. below **1.3.1**). One still common is: صلى الله عليه وسلم for *ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama* 'may God bless him and give him peace' (cf. Optatives, **3.25**).

Secular abbreviations are:

- *km* كم 'kilometre'; *kilū* كيلو 'kilogramme'; *m* م for *mitr* متر 'metre'; *ṣ* ص for page (صفحة *ṣafḥa*);
- currency units, such as *l* ل for *lira* ليرة 'lira', *j* ج for *junayh* جنيه 'pound, guinea', *s* س for *santīm* سنتيم (also centimetre), often specified, e.g. *l.l.* ل.ل. for *lira lubnāniyya* 'Lebanese pounds';
- political: *j* ج for *jumhūriyya* جمهورية 'republic', e.g. *j.m.* ج.م. 'the United Arab Republic', i.e. *al-jumhūriyyatu l-'arabiyyatu l-muttaḥidatu* الجمهورية العربية المتحدة.

1.2.6 Loan words

1.2.6.1 Loan words and *ad hoc* transcriptions (for latter see next section) both employ the same general principles of orthographical accommodation, often showing regional variations reflecting the local phonology (for lexical variations due to difference in origin, e.g. أوتيل *'otel* v. *lokanda* 'hotel' see 12.1.3). This is especially noticeable with the pair *j* and (hard) *g*, hence the word 'garage' may appear as جراج in Egyptian MWA (pronounced *garāž*, and the second ج may be additionally distinguished by three dots underneath, cf. 1.2.3).

The sound of (hard) *g* in loan words is usually transcribed with *ḡ* غ in those regions where *j* ج is soft (*j* or *ž*), e.g. *ḡrām* غرام 'gramme' (the initial consonant cluster non-canonical, see 1.1.2), *ḡiyānā* غيانا 'Guyana', *ḡālūn* غالون 'gallon'.

For English, French 'v' and 'p' there seems to have been a shift in transliteration practice: a nineteenth century borrowing such as *wābūr* وابور 'steamboat' from French *vapeur*, uses entirely indigenous graphemes, but we now find, for example for 'video', the new grapheme *v* ف with three dots, namely, *vidiyū* فيديو, though as often as not a simple *f* ف suffices.

For English 'ch' the group *tš* تش is used, e.g. *sāndiwītš* ساندويتش 'sandwich' or *nš* نش, e.g. *lānš* لانش for both 'lunch' and 'launch'. In Iraq, however, where *č* is a dialect phoneme, the sound is represented in writing with the Persian letter چ with the three dots either in pyramid or inverted pyramid arrangement.

Occasionally doubled letters are written instead of using the *šadda* ˆ:

milligrāmāt مللجرامات 'milligrammes' (Egyptian)

قّ

billawr بللور 'crystal', CA بلور

'awwah أووه 'Oh'

The suffix *-ēh* for French '-é, -eé', e.g. *mātīnēh* ماتينييه 'matinée', *suwārēh* سواريه 'soirée', is evidently becoming productive, see 12.10.1.

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A general principle for notating foreign vowels whether long or short is to use a long vowel:

fākūn فاكون ‘wagon’ (French), *kāmērā* كاميرا ‘camera’,
lūgārītmāt لوغاريتمات ‘logorithms’

But there is therefore sometimes variation in notating short vowels:

film/film فيلم/فيلم ‘film’, *aṭlas/aṭlās* أطلّس/أطلاس ‘atlas’,
titr/titr تتر/تتر ‘caption, titling’

The notation of the vowels *e* and *o* (long or short) is currently not a settled issue: in the unvowelled script they appear identical with the long vowels, thus both *ō* and *ū* are rendered with و, both *ī* and *ē* with ي. Hence ‘hotel’ (from French) is spelt أوتيل, but the narrow orthographical transliteration ‘*ūtīl*’ is problematical. To date no unambiguously vowelised versions of أوتيل have been sighted: however, the logic of MWA strongly indicates that the true orthography of *ē* and *ō* is actually *ay* and *aw*, the CA diphthongs, but now in their modern reflexes *ē* and *ō*, hence أوتيل, if ever it were fully vowelised in MWA, should have the form أُوتَيْل, CA **’awtayl*, now to be pronounced ‘otel, likewise كلوروفورم is to be pronounced *kloroform*, not *k[i]lūrūfūr*m. Secondary sources such as dictionaries are extremely inconsistent, and a place name such as ‘Holland’ sometimes occurs with a vowel neatly printed, namely, هُولاندا, presumably to be read as *hūlanda* but nevertheless transliterated as *holanda*.

The transliteration of foreign diphthongs goes some way to confirm this, since they are often written as combinations of a plain long vowel and the requisite semi-vowel, thus English *aw/au* = *ā+w* او, *ay* = *ā+y* اي, e.g. *hāwis* هاوس ‘House’, see next section. If the CA values *aw* for و and *ay* for ي had been preserved in reading MWA, this procedure would not have been necessary.

1.2.6.2 Transcription of foreign words

This section deals with *ad hoc* transcription of proper names or words as yet unnaturalized, though the orthographical principles are identical with those described for loan words above.

Understandably there is no requirement for transliterated words to fit into Arabic patterns, e.g. *tšikoslovākiyā* تشيكوسلوفاكيا ‘Czechoslovakia’, with initial consonant cluster *tš-* تش and default *f* ف for *v*, nor can an absolutely accurate retranscription into English be guaranteed, as the short vowels in particular can only be guessed at, e.g. *zūduwitšātsāytung* زودويتشاتسايتونج ‘Süddeutsche Zeitung’; note *ūy* (= *oy*) for the diphthong *oy* (German *eu*), same principle as *āw* for English diphthong *ou*.

Arabic morphemes may nevertheless be attached:

al-’asūšiyatīdbrīs الاسوشيتديبريس ‘the Associated Press’

al-hāfir الهايفر ‘Le Havre’ (contrast *lā hāy* لاهاي ‘The Hague’ i.e. La Haye)

The various spellings of *danmārk/dānmārk/dānimārk* دنمارك/دانمارك ‘Denmark’ show that both vowel length and syllable structure are still indeterminate, cf. the first syllable of *ostrālyā/ōstrālyā* أستراليا/أستراليا ‘Australia’ (and see above on the quality of the vowel *o* here).

Diphthongs: *hāwis* هاوس ‘House’ (in trade names), *wāymān* وايمان ‘Wyman’, ‘ayzinhāwar’ أيزنهاور ‘Eisenhower’, *wāy* واي ‘Wye’, *birāyil* برايل ‘braille’.

1.2.6.3 Re-transcription sometimes results in the loss of the Arabic original, though so far the phenomenon seems to be restricted to commercial names, shop signs and the like:

‘*ūtmān* عثمان for ‘Utmān, originally ‘*utmān* عثمان

fātīma فاطمة for Fāṭima, originally *fāṭima* فاطمة

‘*arab* أرب and ‘*arabī* عربي, for ‘*arab* عرب and ‘*arabī* عربي
‘Arab, Arabic’

‘*sārwāt* ‘ساروات’ (sic, including quotation marks) for Tarwat, originally
tarwat ثروت (and note also the colloquial reflex *s* for CA *t*)

1.2.7 Vowels

Although vowels are rarely indicated in most contexts, they can always be printed if it is felt necessary. This happens usually for the following purposes:

- To indicate that the verb is passive, e.g. رُفِضَ to show that the passive *rufiḍa* ‘[it] was refused’ is to be read (cf. 3.12).
- To ensure the correct reading of words which would otherwise be read differently, e.g. *tajallin* تجل ‘revelation’, ‘becoming clear’ (would be read *tajalli*), *ma‘ānin* معان ‘meanings’ (would be read *ma‘āni*, see 1.2.8), *mā min ‘ummatin* مَا مِنْ أُمَّةٍ (with *min* fully vowelled) ‘[there is] no nation’ (see 4.1.1 on this neg.), *yarqa* يَرْقُ ‘[might] rise’ (to avoid confusion with *yarqi* يَرْقِ ‘use magic’).
- Sometimes vowels are inserted where they may not seem absolutely necessary, e.g. mood vowels in *yas‘adu* يَسْعُدُ ‘he is happy’, *yusmi‘uhu* يُسْمِعُهُ ‘makes him hear’.

Cf. 1.2.9 on the inflections, or rather the lack of them in unvowelled texts.

1.2.8 Pausal pronunciation

The practice of reading MWA with pausal pronunciation (broadly, with elision of final short vowels and change of fem. -at- ات- to -ah- اه, see tables in 1.8.2, 1.8.3) has had some slight effects on the writing system:

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- The fem. suffix (*tā' marbūṭa*) ة sometimes loses its dots and is spelt as if pausal (notably in sign writing), e.g. *šarika* شركة 'company'; the occasional confusion between the consonant *-h* ه and *-at* ة may also be taken as a sign of transition, e.g. *muwajjahun* موجّه 'directed', 'sent', spelt *muwajjatun* موجّة on one page, and *mawjatun* موجة 'wave', spelt *mawjah* موجه, on the next page.
- Final *-ī* ي and the adj. suffix *-iyyu* يّ (*nisba*, see 1.8.6.3) are no longer distinguished in normal contexts, hence قومي may be interpreted as *qawmī* 'my people' or *qawmiyy-* 'popular', though both would in any case now be read out as *qawmī*.
- A further development along these lines is that there is often no distinction between final *-ī* ي of either kind and the variety of final *-ā* spelt ى (= 'alif maqṣūra'), which are now both commonly spelt without dots, so that the sequence على may denote either 'alī/'aliyy 'Alī/high' or 'alā 'on'. The fact that so many typographical inconsistencies can occur even in the same text, e.g. *fī 'aṭnā'i wilāyatihī 'alā miṣra* printed as مصر في أثناء ولايته علي, with the dots absent from *fī* but present in 'alā, merely indicates that the system is still unstable.

The pausal spelling *-ī* in weak 3rd radical indef. nouns is also spreading, e.g. 'aḡānī أغاني instead of CA 'aḡānin أغان 'songs', also:

fī marā'i 'aw baṭṭariyyātin في مراعي أو بطريات
'in [free range] farms or batteries' for *marā'in* مراعي

nādī laylī نادي ليلي 'night club' for *nādin* نادي

māšī bi-huṭwatīn sarī'atin ماشي بخطوة سريعة 'walking with a quick step'
for *māšin* ماش

Certain common words in dep. form are pronounced with *tanwīn* (final *-n*) in all contexts, perhaps because they are felt to be loan words from CA, e.g. 'ayḍā أيضاً 'also', ḥāṣṣatan خاصة 'especially', ma'an معاً 'together'. Note that *maṭalan* مثلاً 'for example' will be pronounced either *masalan* or *maṭalan*, i.e. always with final *-an* but with locally variant reflexes of the CA *t* ث; contrast *mitl* 'like', a 'native' word with the colloquial reflex *t* for the CA *miṭla* مثل.

On the other hand, the standard pausal pronunciation of indefinite dep. *-an* ل as *-ā* َ seems to be confirmed by such innovative (though not yet productive) collocations as: 'akṭaruhā drāmā wa-ḡumūdā وغموضا أكثرها دراما 'the most dramatic and obscure of them', lit. 'the most of them as to drama and as to obscurity' (see 2.4.4 on the syntax of this comparative construction).

1.2.9 Case and mood markers

Case and mood markers (see 1.5.2), being mostly vocalic, seldom appear in MWA, which generally uses the unvowelled script, following the CA practice, where vowels were only inserted where felt necessary or in certain text categories

such as religious or poetic works. Moreover, the pausal pronunciation (1.2.8) removes nearly all inflections.

Certain morphological features remain unambiguous, especially where long vowels are involved, e.g. in nouns:

- Sound masc. plural, indep. -*ūna* ^{سُون} (but dep. -*ina* ^{يِن} is graphically identical with dual dep. -*ayni* ^{يَيْن}, though usually easy to distinguish by context).
- Dual indep. -*āni* ^{اَن}.
- Dep. sing. masc. indef. -*an*, spelt ^{اَ} with final 'alif (and so identical in unvowelled texts with dual indep. annexed ending -*ā* ^{اَ}, but the contexts never overlap).

In verbs, the dep. and apocopated verb endings which are marked by elision of -*n* ^ن are all visibly different from the indep., e.g. *yaktubūna* ^{يَكْتُبُون} 'they are writing' v. *yaktubū* ^{يَكْتُبُوا} '[that] they might write', (see 1.5.2.2).

Many distinctions require the application of a complex set of contrasts involving the stem, the pattern, the lexicon and the context, e.g.: *lam y-ḥ-t-j* ^{لَمْ يَحْتَجْ} as printed can be read *lam yaḥtaj* ^{لَمْ يَحْتَجْ} 'he did not need' from the hollow root, stem VIII *iḥtāja* or as *lam yaḥtaḥja* ^{لَمْ يَحْتَجْ} 'he did not argue', this after ruling out a verb **ḥataja*, which does not exist.

f-l-n-ṣ-y-d-h ^{فَلَنْشَيْدْهُ} must be read *fa-l-nuṣayyidhu* ^{فَلَنْشَيْدْهُ} 'so let us build it', assuming that the context suggests that *fa-li-* is the prefix 'so let' (see 3.24.2 for the syntax and verb form) and a dir. obj. is required by the sense, leaving *n-ṣ-y-d* to be interpreted. Since the required verb form with this prefix is apocopated, the only reading is *nuṣayyid*, stem II, active (since there is an obj. suffix), because the other closely similar stems (I and IV) would have the short middle syllable -*ṣid*- (namely, *fa-naṣid* ^{فَلَنْشِدْ} or *fa-nuṣid* ^{فَلَنْشِدْ}) and no -*y-* would be visible in the written form, which would also rule out further possible readings involving the doubled root *ṣadda* ^{شَدَّ} (e.g. *fa-l-naṣuddahu* ^{فَلَنْشُدْهُ} 'so let us tie it') or weak 3rd radical *ṣadā* ^{شَدَا} (e.g. *fa-l-naṣduhu* ^{فَلَنْشُدْهُ} 'so let us sing it').

The above are merely hints at the disambiguation strategies practised unconsciously by the native reader: they require a complete knowledge of all the possible morphological and syntactical combinations, and an awareness of the lexical and contextual factors. See 3.12 for a large-scale application of these principles to passive verbs, which differ from active verbs only in their internal vocalization which is seldom visible in print.

1.3 PUNCTUATION

There was no Western-style punctuation in CA which relied on a very small number of symbols and abbreviations to indicate the end of a passage or quotation, and the use of different coloured ink to separate or emphasize parts of the text, often involving formulaic introductory expressions. In general, the coordinating conjunctions (Chapter 6) and discourse markers (Chapter 11)

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served as punctuation, and texts were mostly written and printed in solid blocks without paragraph division.

MWA has adopted, and adapted, Western punctuation, without abandoning certain features of the CA system (especially noticeable in coordination, see **Chapter 6**). The result is that there are some differences from the conventions familiar to Western readers. The positioning of punctuation is evidently determined more by rhetorical and acoustic factors than by the contents of the periods and phrases, so that punctuation marks may occur more frequently in MWA than they do in Western writings. Note that in examples, the punctuation is reproduced exactly, even if it is not natural English and that '[...]' is not part of the text but merely indicates an omission.

The following is a typical case:

wa-lahu, fī hādāyni l-naw‘ayni, ‘iddatu majmū‘ātin, minhā, fī l-ši‘ri: [...]
وله، في هاذين النوعين، عدة مجموعات، منها، في الشعر:
‘by him, in these two genres, are a number of anthologies, among them, in poetry’: [...]

Full stops, commas and the compound signs colon and semi-colon are used in more or less the same way as in Western languages, that is, to separate the larger, sentence units from the smaller, clausal and phrasal units.

A colon often introduces direct questions:

sa‘alnā ba‘ḍa l-muṭaqqafīna: māḍā taṭlubūna min-a l-ra‘isi?
سألنا بعض المثقفين: ماذا تطلبون من الرئيس؟
‘we asked some of the intellectuals: What do you require from the President?’

and sometimes seems to serve merely to mark parenthesis:

‘inna lanā ‘irādatanā l-nābiġata min: wa-l-mu‘abbirata ‘an: turāṭīnā wa-ṣurūfīnā
إن لنا إرادتنا النابعة من: والمعبرة عن: تراثنا وظروفنا
‘we have our will which flows from: and is an expression of: our heritage and our circumstances’

A noticeable innovation is what might be called a horizontal colon ‘..’, which serves to indicate significant pauses of various kinds, e.g.:

kullu l-‘ālamī..šarqan wa-ġarban.. šimālan wa-janūban..ḥāliyyan wa-mustaqbalan
كل العالم..شرقا وغربا..شمالا وجنوبا..حاليا ومستقبلا
‘the whole world .. east and west .. north and south .. present and future’

wa-l-mulaḥḥaṣu .. 'anna l-'ajhizata lā ta'malu bi-kafā'atin

والمُلخَص .. ان الاجهزة لا تعمل بكفاءة

'the long and the short of it is .. that the instrumentalities are not performing with competence'

It is even used after *wa-* 'and' to introduce a certain suspense:

wa..lam 'ataḥammal-i l-istimrāra fī l-istimā'i 'ilayhim

و..لم اتحمل الاستمرار في الاستماع اليهم

'and .. I could not bear to continue listening to them'

Sometimes larger numbers of dots are used for the same effect:

wa-ba'du fa-la'allaka 'ayyuhā l-qāri'u l-karīmu

وبعد فلعلك أيها القارئ الكريم

'now then, perhaps you, most noble reader'

(See 1.2.1.3 for the spelling القارئ.)

The em dash is frequently used to introduce dialogue in paragraph form. It also serves as a separator for such adverbs as *'ayḍan* أيضا and *ka-dālika* كذلك 'also', *maṭalan* 'for example':

wa-l-mahrajānu sa-yamnaḥu—'ayḍan—jā'izatan li-'aḥdali l-'a'māli

والمهرجان سيمُنح — أيضا — جائزة لأفضل الأعمال

'and the Festival will award—also—a prize for the best works'

There are examples of the enterprising use of hyphens in the Western manner:

li-l-(manāzil – makātib – šarikāt)

للـ (منازل – مكاتب – شركات)

'for (homes – offices – businesses)'

Exclamation marks are sometimes doubled:

man 'an li-ḥudūṭi kāriṭatin natijata hādā l-takāsuli wa-l-'ihmāli!!

منعا لحدوث كارثة نتيجة هذا التكاثر والإهمال!!

'in order to prevent the occurrence of a disaster as a result of this laziness and negligence!!'

Question marks occur in three different functions:

- In direct questions (see **Chapter 10**):

man yansā dālika l-manẓara?

من ينسى ذلك المنظر؟

'who will ever forget that sight?'

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- In indirect questions (see **Chapter 10**):

tasā'ulan māḍā yaṣīru l-waḍ' u law wajada šarīkatan 'uḥrā lahu .. ?

تساؤلًا ماذا يصير الوضع لو وجد شريكة أخرى له .. ؟

'wondering what the situation would be if he were to find another partner ...?'

- As exclamation marks:

iḥḍar 'azīzī l-muštāriku??

إحذر عزيزي المشترك؟؟

'beware, dear subscriber??'

(See **1.2.1.1** for the spelling of إحذر.)

Question marks are also seen, redundantly, in rhetorical questions (see **10.13**):

wa-kayfa lā? wa-l- 'islāmu l-ḥanīfu dīnu l-wafā' i bi-l- 'ahdi

وكيف لا؟ والإسلام الحنيف دين الوفاء بالعهد

'how could it be otherwise? when true Islam is the religion of fulfilling covenants'

The plus sign + can appear for 'and':

al-biṭāqatu l-šaḥṣiyyatu li-l-iṭṭilā' i + ṣuratun minhā

البطاقة الشخصية للاطلاع + صورة منها

'personal ID card for inspection + a photocopy of it'

The diagonal stroke is used with 'and/or':

ḥilāla marḥalati l- 'intāji wa/ 'aw marḥalati l-taṣḍiri

خلال مرحلة الإنتاج و/أو مرحلة التصدير

'during the production and/or export stage'

Finally, it is not uncommon to see words run together, usually in set phrases, e.g. (word boundaries shown by hyphens in transliteration) *lā-budda* لابد 'must', *mā-yalī* مايلي 'as follows', *fa-yā-laytanā* فياليتنا 'if only we', *mā-bayna* مابين 'between', *mā-dāma* مادام 'as long as'.

Conversely the prefix *wa-* و 'and' (but never *fa-* ف) quite often appears detached from its noun, e.g. *wa llāhi* والله 'by God!', not والله, and even isolated at the end of a line.

1.3.1 Quotation marks

Quotations in CA were usually introduced by *qāla* قال 'he said', with '*alif-hā*' اهـ (short for *intahā* انتهى 'it is finished') often marking the end of the quotation.

MWA follows Western conventions in the main, with either English ('...') or French («...») quotation marks demarcating the text, sometimes introduced by em dashes. Increasingly, in dialogues, the quotations are on separate lines, introduced by em dashes.

1.4 MORPHOLOGY

This section deals with the morphological categories of noun, verb and the particles, together with items common to some or all members, e.g. number, gender, inflection/mood, definiteness. The aim is to present an exhaustive list of the closed classes (e.g. particles, conjunctions) by item and the open classes (e.g. nouns, verbs) by category: particles will be listed in groups by function, likewise the uninflected nouns, and inflected nouns and verbs will be listed by patterns. As far as practicable, cross-references will be given to the syntactic sections, and occasional items in the inventory will be repeated if they have more than one function.

Only features common to all words are dealt with here: for the individual morphemes and paradigms see **1.5** (mostly bound forms), **1.6** (mostly free forms), **1.7** (pronouns, demonstratives, relatives), **1.8** (nouns) **1.9** (verbs), **1.10** (stem system). The functions of the cases and moods are summarized in **1.12.5**.

1.4.1 Morphologically defined categories

This book will observe the following, mainly morphologically defined, categories:

1 Nouns, i.e. all those elements with nominal inflection or function (including invariables) and mostly free: this category also includes adjectives, adverbials and prepositionals, which are formally nouns in particular functions, and demonstratives, relatives and pronouns of all types, which are nouns in status but not form. The case and mood terminology used here attempts to replace the somewhat misleading Latin-based set.

Nouns have three cases: independent ['nominative'], dependent ['accusative'], oblique ['genitive'], three numbers: sing., dual, plur., two genders: masc., fem., and two states of definiteness: def., indef. They are either common nouns, e.g. *rajulun* رجل 'man' or proper nouns, e.g. *muḥammadun* مُحَمَّد 'Muḥammad' (see definiteness **1.12.3**). Pronouns and demonstratives have the syntactic status of proper nouns.

2 Verbs, i.e. all those elements with verbal inflection, including a few fossilized items. They are all free forms, though as such they incorporate an agent pronoun and may thus stand alone as complete sentences (cf. **3.7**).

Verbs have three moods: independent ['indicative'], dependent ['subjunctive'], apocopated ['jussive'] (treating energetic as a subset of apoc.), three numbers: sing., dual, plur., two genders: masc., fem., and two aspects: perf.,

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imperf. (treating the imperative as a subset of imperf.). It will be seen that in case/mood the nouns and verbs share two (indep. and dep.) and have one peculiar to each (obl. for nouns, apoc. for verbs).

3 Particles are morphologically indeterminate and can only be defined by their function. They are often bound, and comprise the prepositions, conjunctions, negatives, interrogatives, conditionals, exceptives, exclamations, and all the bound morphemes not included in the other two categories.

Particles are uninflected and devoid of number, gender and definiteness.

1.4.2 Patterns

Nouns and verbs, as well as being inflected, belong each to their own range of characteristic morphologies, which are usually represented as patterns. Following the traditional grammarians, the patterns will be represented by using the letters *f* ف, *l* ل and *ʿ* ع of the word *faʿala* فَعَلَ ‘he did’, with the appropriate affixes and vowels: thus, the word *maktūb* مَكْتُوب ‘written’ has the pattern *mafʿūl* مَفْعُول, while the word *yaktubūna* يَكْتُوبُونَ ‘they [masc.] write’ has the pattern *yafʿulūna* يَفْعُلُونَ. By this means it is possible to identify immediately the radical consonants, in this case *k-t-b* ك ت ب, and to distinguish them from any consonantal augments, here *m, w, y, n* م و ي ن, and furthermore to recognize the particular arrangement of vowels and augments constituting the pattern in question and hence the category of the word, noun or verb, which in turn determines the set of inflections proper to that word.

If for no other reason, this procedure has to be mastered in order to look up words in a dictionary, since the citation form for any root is the 3rd. sing. masc. perf. verb, and all other cognates (see 1.10!) will be indexed under that heading.

All Arabic words except the majority of the particles can be expressed in these terms, i.e. the three (or sometimes four and rarely two, five or six, the last two only in non-Arabic roots) radical consonants representing the semantic ‘root’ are set in a ‘pattern’ of vowels and affixes which express the grammatical category of the word, e.g. noun/agent or verb/imperf./derived stem, usually forming a stem to which additional affixes for number, gender, case/mood and definition are then attached.

Note that although many roots embody a single semantic notion, or at least a coherent group of related notions, it is not unusual for a root to contain not only different but even contradictory meanings, though these are mostly rendered unambiguous by context, e.g. *wajada* وَجَد ‘to find’ or ‘to feel intense emotion’.

There are a great many patterns and most of them are listed below, but in the end they will have to be looked up in the classical teaching and reference grammars (see **Chapter 13**) to cover all the morphophonological variants arising from the presence of weak or assimilating consonants. The following table simply presents a selection of words from the same root in order to give some idea of the range of possibilities. The root letters (radicals) are *d-r-s* د ر س and the root

meaning(s) are ‘study’ (also ‘decay’, ‘crumble’, which will not be taken into account here), and from it the following words are derived, among others:

Pattern	Meaning of pattern	Resulting form	Lexical product
<i>fa‘l</i> فَعْلٌ	Noun, sing.	<i>dars</i> دَرْسٌ	‘lesson’
<i>fu‘ūl</i> فُعُولٌ	Noun, plur.	<i>durūs</i> دُرُوسٌ	‘lessons’
<i>maf‘ala</i> مَفْعَلَةٌ	Place noun	<i>madrasa</i> مَدْرَسَةٌ	‘school’
<i>mafā‘il</i> مَفَاعِلٌ	Plur. of <i>maf‘ala</i>	<i>madāris</i> مَدَارِسٌ	‘schools’
<i>fi‘āla</i> فِعَالَةٌ	Verbal noun	<i>dirāsa</i> دِرَاسَةٌ	‘study[ing]’
<i>‘af‘ulu</i> أَفْعُلُ	Imperf. verb, 1st sing.	<i>‘adrusu</i> أَدْرُسُ	‘I study’
<i>fa‘‘ala</i> فَعْلَ	Factitive verb II	<i>darrasa</i> دَرَّسَ	‘he instructed’
<i>mudarrisa</i> مُدَرِّسَةٌ	Active part. II fem.	<i>mudarrisa</i> مُدَرِّسَةٌ	‘instructress’
<i>taf‘īl</i> تَفْعِيلٌ	Verbal noun II	<i>tadrīs</i> تَدْرِيسٌ	‘instruction’

The citation form of the root of all the above words and any others in the same set is *darasa* دَرَسَ ‘he studied’, and they will all be listed under that word in a dictionary.

A minimal example of a quadriliteral root: *jamhara* جَمِهَرَ ‘to gather’, ‘collect’ (see further 1.9.0.7). Note that in the *fa‘ala* فَعْلَ system the 3rd consonant is arbitrarily doubled to represent the fourth radical, to give a base *fa‘lala* فَعْلَلْ:

Pattern	Meaning of pattern	Resulting form	Lexical product
<i>mufa‘lil</i> مُفَعِّلٌ	Agent noun	<i>mutarjim</i> مُتَرْجِمٌ	‘translator’
<i>fu‘lila</i> فُعِّلَ	Perf. passive	<i>turjima</i> تُرْجِمَ	‘it was translated’
<i>fa‘lala</i> فَعْلَلْ	Verbal noun	<i>tarjama</i> تَرْجِمَةٌ	‘translation’
<i>tafa‘lala</i> تَفَعَّلَ	Reflexive (V)	<i>tatarjama</i> تَتَرَجَّمُ	‘it got translated’

The CA root and pattern system in principle survives intact in MWA, though the increasing number of morphologically unassimilated loan words is tending to destabilize the CA system. A word such as *film* فِلم ‘film’, which has the pattern *fi‘l* فَعْلٌ and thus fits into the indigenous system, may also be written as *film* فِيلِم, with a long vowel which violates the CA syllable rules (see 1.1.2, hence there is no CA word of the pattern **fi‘l* فِيعِلٌ), as the price of guaranteeing the value *i* for the vowel so that the word cannot be read as **falm* or **fulm* (see 1.2.6.1).

1.4.3 Inflection

Nominal inflection (or declension) is of three kinds, full (*munṣarif* مَنْصَرَف lit. ‘fully current’), partial (*ḡayr munṣarif* غَيْر مَنْصَرَف ‘not fully current’) and zero (or invariable, *mabnī* مَبْنِي ‘[permanently] constructed [in that form]’), and applies equally to adjectives and the other nominals such as prepositionals and adverbials.

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1 Full inflection is the norm, i.e. all three cases marked, namely, indep., dep. and obl., with *-n* suffix (*tanwīn*, see 1.5.1) on the indefinite forms, see complete paradigms in 1.8.2. Because the *tanwīn* is present, the cases where the complete set of inflections is precluded for phonological reasons are nevertheless treated as full inflection, in contrast with the partial inflection below.

2 Partial inflection (see paradigm 1.8.3). The principal feature is that these words never have *tanwīn*, and their indef. obl. forms are the same as the dep. forms, though they are fully inflected when definite.

Partial inflection is determined either by pattern or semantic status. Certain patterns are partially inflected by form, the commonest of which are:

'af'al أَفْعَالُ	e.g. 'akbaru أَكْبَرُ 'larger, largest'
fa'lā' فَعْلَاءُ	e.g. ḥasnā'u حَسَنَاءُ 'most beautiful'
fu'alā' فُعْلَاءُ	e.g. wuzarā'u وَزَرَاءُ 'ministers'
'af'ilā' أَفْعِلَاءُ	e.g. 'aṣḍiqā'u أَصْدِقَاءُ 'friends'
fawā'il' فَوَاعِلُ	e.g. ḥawādīṭu حَوَادِثُ 'events'
mafā'il' مَفَاعِلُ	e.g. makātibu مَكَاتِبُ 'offices'
'afā'il' أَفَاعِلُ	e.g. 'akābiru أَكَابِرُ 'seniors'
mafā'il' مَفَاعِلُ	e.g. mafātīḥu مَفَاتِيحُ 'keys'
'afā'il' أَفَاعِلُ	e.g. 'asāṭīlu أَسَاطِيلُ 'squadrons'.

Quadriliteral roots (note that these plural patterns are structurally identical with the corresponding trilateral plurals above, e.g. *mafā'īlu*, with appropriate re-assignment of the consonants):

fa'ālil' فَعَالِلُ	e.g. 'anāṣīru عَنَاصِرُ 'elements'
fa'ālil' فَعَالِلُ	e.g. jamāhīru جَمَاهِيرُ 'masses'

Other nouns are partially inflected by meaning, and are mostly proper nouns, e.g. 'umarū عَمْرُ 'Umar'; makkatu مَكَّةُ 'Mecca'; miṣru مِصْرُ 'Egypt'.

Loan words which do not conform to CA patterns are theoretically in this group, but since they are hardly ever printed with case endings it can only be assumed. Occasionally (in pedagogical contexts, for example) inflection is provided, e.g. *fikratu* 'arabsāta فِكْرَةُ عَرَبْسَاتِ 'the idea of Arabsat' is vocalized as partially inflected (not uninflected 'arabsāt عَرَبْسَاتِ, or fully inflected عَرَبْسَاتِ 'arabsātin).

However, many personal names are fully inflected, e.g. 'aliyyun عَلِيٌّ 'Alī', and although there are principles for determining this, it is now becoming irrelevant as these names are no longer inflected in normal MWA reading practice, and the matter is best treated as a lexical feature.

3 Pure invariability is found only with words bearing the fem. suffix *-ā* عِىَ, e.g. *kubrā* كُبْرَى 'largest [fem.]' or its variant كَا, as in *baqāyā* بَقَايَا 'remnants' (see 1.8.4). It is true that nouns with 3rd weak radical ending in *-an* عِىَ are invariable

for case, but they still take *tanwīn* in their indef. form and are therefore treated here as a subset of the fully inflected nouns (see 1.8.2).

Number is marked in two ways: dual is always by suffixation, plural either by suffixation in both genders or by a change of pattern (see 1.12.1.2). The inflection of all types is independent of number and gender, being a property of the pattern or class.

Gender is either marked, usually by the suffix *-at* *ة*, or is natural, or grammatical. Grammatical and natural gender are not always the same (see 1.12.2.1).

1.4.4 Inflection of adjectives

Morphologically the nouns include also adjectives, which have identical inflections, e.g. *kabīrun* كبير 'old', 'large' inflects in the same way as *wazīrun* وزير 'minister', with the same range of case, number, gender and definition markers as the noun, including full and partial inflection under the same conditions. One result of this is that a word such as *ḥasanun* حسن may represent either the adjective 'good' or the proper name 'Ḥasan' (but remaining fully inflected), similarly *kabīrun* كبير may mean 'large', 'old' or 'an old man'.

There are no patterns unique to adjectives (see 1.8.2 for their limited range). Adjectives occur (1) attributively, in which case they follow their noun or (2) predicatively (see 2.1.3.2 for agreement rules).

1.4.5 Nouns as adverbs and prepositions

An important subcategory of nouns is the set of space and time nouns whose functions overlap both the adverbs and the prepositions of Western languages. Since in Arabic these always remain nouns, they will be referred to as 'adverbials' and 'prepositionals' in this book, to contrast them with the relatively few genuine adverbs and prepositions (see 1.6.11, 1.6.12).

The characteristic formal feature of the adverbials and prepositionals is that they invariably have dep. form (for the 'adverbial' case *par excellence*, see 2.4, 3.29). See 1.8.7 for adverbials and 1.8.8 for prepositionals.

1.4.6 Pronouns

(See 1.7.1). Although invariable, pronouns carry number, gender and case information and are either bound or free. Bound pronouns are (1) possessive suffixes and (2) object suffixes; the two paradigms differ only in the 1st sing.

Free pronouns are usually topics, less often predicates (3.1.2.1), appositional reinforcements of various kinds (3.9), or separators, (3.5).

1.4.7 Verbs

For the purposes of this section only the morphological aspects are taken into account, and questions of transitivity, aspect v. tense, etc. are left aside. It is a particularly important feature of Arabic verbs that they incorporate their agent, i.e. there are no agentless or non-finite verbs, and the verb can by itself constitute a complete sentence (see 3.7).

All verbs have active and passive conjugations, distinguished only by their internal vocalization (see paradigms 1.9). There are three persons, with gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd person, and three numbers, with no dual in the 1st person.

Verbs have two patterns or conjugations, perfect and imperfect, of which the general formal properties are as follows:

- Perfect verbs are purely a suffix conjugation, i.e. the verb stem is suffixed with agent pronouns, e.g. *katab-ti* كَتَبْتَ ‘you [fem. sing.] wrote’ (see 1.9.1 for complete paradigms). The perfect has no moods, and expresses events either actually completed or regarded as such.
- Imperfect verbs are an affix conjugation, broadly with person assigned to the prefix, and number (as well as gender and mood in some instances) to a suffix (not the same as on the perf. verb), e.g. *ta-ktub-ī-na* تَكْتُبِينَ ‘you [fem. sing. indep.] are writing’. This segmentation does not actually correspond either to the traditional Arab analysis or to the likely historical origins, but is adopted for its convenience in marking the various morphological elements in the tables (see 1.9.2). Imperf. verbs have three moods, indep., dep. and apocopated: see 1.5.2 for the similarities with and differences from the nominal inflectional system. Imperfect verbs denote actions either not completed or regarded as such.

Within this system a great many variations occur when phonology and morphology conflict: the compromises generally involve a loss of either a radical consonant or an agent morpheme, and in some cases a neutralization of contrasts results, e.g. of gender or number, or (in certain participles) of voice. The whole CA system has been preserved, and although these phenomena can be reduced to a set of morphophonological rules it is probably better to look closely at the paradigms in 1.9 to infer the operating principles directly.

1.5 INFLECTION

This section simply itemizes the bound morphemes marking definiteness, case/mood, number and gender. For the contexts in which these morphemes occur it will be necessary to consult the complete paradigms in 1.8 and 1.9. For the syntactic categories of definiteness, case/mood, etc. see 1.12.

The uninflected classes are largely conjunctions, prepositions and various particles such as interrogatives, negatives, conditionals, etc., whose syntactic functions will be dealt with in the appropriate sections (see 1.6 for precise references).

The sequence definiteness/indefiniteness – case/mood – number/gender has been chosen in this section because the def./indef. affixes enclose the case markers which in turn enclose the gender markers, and moreover many of the morphemes involved perform dual functions of indications of number/gender or number/case, and they cannot be dealt with in separate sections.

As far as is convenient, and where appropriate, morpheme boundaries will henceforth be indicated in the transliteration by hyphens, e.g. *al-jarīd-at-u* الجريدة ‘the newspaper’, representing def. art. - stem - fem. affix - case marker, *jarīd-at-u-n* جريدة ‘a newspaper’, stem - fem. affix - case marker - indef. marker. This will hopefully be easily linked with the relevant categories, and spare the need for detailed and cumbersome morphological parsing, which will be used only rarely:

<i>al-</i>	<i>jarīd</i>	<i>-at</i>	<i>-u</i>	الجريدة ‘the newspaper’
Def. Art	- Stem	- Fem. Affix	- Indep. Case	
<i>jarīd</i>	<i>-at</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-n</i>	جريدة ‘a newspaper’
Stem	- Fem. Affix	- Indep. Case	- Indef.	

Since the morphemes are for the most part short vowels the tables will only show them in their transliterated forms.

1.5.1 Definiteness markers

Definiteness markers are bound, being either the prefix *al-* ‘the’ or the suffix *-n*, termed *tanwīn*, lit. ‘making an *n*’, which marks indefiniteness on common nouns. They are normally in complementary distribution, but see below on the exceptions.

Definiteness with *al-*:

- *al-* is prefixed to all nouns except those which are def. by nature, e.g. *makkatu* مكة ‘Mecca’, by convention, e.g. *‘aḥmadu* أحمد ‘Aḥmad’, or by position, e.g. *ism-u l-walad-i* اسم الولد ‘[the] name [def.] of the boy’ (see 1.12.3 on definiteness), thus *al-walad-u* الولد ‘the boy’, *al-madīnatu* المدينة ‘the town’.
- The *l* of the def. art. is always written as such, but it assimilates in pronunciation to all apical consonants (namely, *t, ṭ, d, ḍ, r, z, s, š, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, z, l, n*), thus *al-rajul-u* الرجل ‘the man’ is pronounced *ar-rajulu*, *al-ṭā’ir-at-u* الطائرة ‘the aeroplane’ as *aṭ-ṭā’iratu*, and *al-saḡīr-u* السفير ‘the ambassador’ as *as-saḡīru* etc. This assimilation is marked by the *šadda* (doubling sign) above the consonant concerned.
- Moreover, the initial element of the article is a default syllable which occurs only in utterance-initial position or after a pause (see 1.2.8): in all other contexts a vowel is provided by the previous word and replaces the first element of the article, e.g. *fi l-ṭā’ir-at-i* في الطائرة ‘in the aeroplane’, not **fi ‘al-ṭā’irati*. The elided syllable is marked by a sign over the ‘*alif*’.

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Indefiniteness with *tanwīn*:

The *tanwīn* was not primarily an indef. marker in CA and is therefore found regularly on proper names, e.g. *muḥammad-u-n* مُحَمَّدٌ ‘Muḥammad’, but with common nouns it contrasts with def. nouns prefixed with *al-*, e.g. *walad-u-n* وَلَدٌ ‘a boy’, *al-walad-u* الْوَلَدُ ‘the boy’, *jarīd-at-u-n* جَرِيدَةٌ ‘a newspaper’, *al-jarīd-at-u* الْجَرِيدَةُ ‘the newspaper’; note that the case inflections and gender markers are unaffected by either affix.

For historical reasons the *tanwīn* is written as a doubling of the relevant vowel sign, e.g. *bayt-u-n* بَيْتٌ *bayt-i-n* بَيْتٍ ‘house’; from the dep. form *bayt-a-n* بَيْتًا it becomes clear that the spellings were based on the pausal forms (1.2.8), namely -0 in indep. and obl., and -ā in dep., to which the double vowel signs were only added later.

For the dual and masc. plur. allomorphs of *tanwīn* see 1.5.3: there is an inconsistency in these markers, which are dropped like *tanwīn* in annexation but which remain in the presence of the def. article:

bayt-ā-ni بَيْتَانِ ‘two houses’ v. *al-bayt-ā-ni* الْبَيْتَانِ ‘the two houses’

ṣuḥuf-iyy-ū-na صُحُفِيّوْنَ ‘journalists’ v. *al-ṣuḥuf-iyy-ū-na* الصُّحُفِيّوْنَ ‘the journalists’

but in annexation:

muslim-ū baljīkā مُسْلِمُو بَلْجِيكََا ‘the Muslims of Belgium’
not *muslim-ū-na* مُسْلِمُونَ

However the fem. plur. inflects normally:

ṭālib-āt-u-n طَالِبَاتٌ [fem.] students’ v. *al-ṭālib-āt-u* الطَالِبَاتُ ‘the [fem.] students’
students’, *ṭālibāt-u baljīkā* طَالِبَاتُ بَلْجِيكََا ‘the [fem.] students of Belgium’

1.5.2 Case and mood markers

Case and mood markers are bound, and may be divided into simple and complex morphemes. The simple morphemes are the short vowels -u, -a, -i and -0 (zero-vowel, *sukūn*, vowellessness) and denote only case/mood, while the complex markers are long vowels and consonants and mark both number and case/mood, with definiteness being a hybrid feature. See 1.12 for the general description of the case and mood system.

These morphemes overlap in their distribution, some being common to both nouns and verbs, but the relationship between apparently identical forms (e.g. masc. plur. -ūna) and between sing. *tanwīn*, dual and masc. plur. -ni/-na is not symmetrical. Nevertheless the formal and functional similarities between indep./dep. nouns and indep./dep. verbs justify using the same nomenclature, though in Western grammars these are usually separated into nom./acc. case for nouns and indic./subj. mood for verbs. However, case and mood will still be used as the umbrella term for these features (see further 1.12).

The pausal form (*waqf*, lit. ‘stopping’) is the reduced form originally restricted to utterance-final and other breaks at the phrasal level, and its most conspicuous features are (1) the elision of final short vowels and (2) the reduction of the endings of fem. words from *at*+inflection to *-a(h)*, thus *ṭālibatun* طالبة ‘female student’ is read as *ṭāliba* (the *h* of طالبة is seldom heard and is now merely an orthographical remnant), but has now been generalized for the reading of all varieties of Arabic up to the highest levels, though a fully vocalized reading style will always be invoked if the solemnity of the context dictates it. It will be apparent from the tables below that the reading of MWA in pausal form has the effect of obliterating most of the inflectional system. See further **1.2.9**.

In the tables below a complete set of nominal and verbal inflections is given separately:

1.5.2.1 Regular nouns

			<i>Def.</i>	<i>Annexed</i>	<i>Indef.</i>	<i>Pausal</i>
Indep.	Sing.	m.	-u	-u-	-u-n	-0
		f.	-at-u	-at-u	-at-u-n	-ah
	Dual	m.	-ā-ni	-ā	-ā-ni	-ā-n
		f.	-at-ā-ni	-at-ā	-a-tā-ni	-at-ān
	Plur.	m.	-ū-na	-ū	-ū-na	-ū-n
		f.	-āt-u	-āt-u	-āt-u-n	-āt
Dep.	Sing.	m.	-a	-a	-a-n	-0
		f.	-at-a	-at-a	-at-a-n	-ah
	Dual	m.	-ay-ni	-ay	-ay-ni	-ay-n
		f.	-at-ay-ni	-at-ay	-at-ay-ni	-at-ay-n
	Plur.	m.	-ī-na	-ī	-ī-na	-ī-n
		f.	-āt-i	-āt-i	-āt-i-n	-āt
Obl.	Sing.	m.	-i	-i	-i-n	-0
		f.	-at-i	-at-i	-at-i-n	-ah
	Dual	m.	-ay-ni	-ay	-ay-ni	-ay-n
		f.	-at-ay-ni	-at-ay	-at-ay-ni	-at-ay-n
	Plur.	m.	-ī-na	-ī	-ī-na	-ī-n
		f.	-āt-i	-āt-i	-āt-i-n	-āt

Note: ‘Def.’ means with def. art. prefixed.

Partially inflected nouns (applies in sing. and broken plur. only).

			<i>Def.</i>	<i>Annexed</i>	<i>Indef.</i>	<i>Pausal</i>	<i>Def.</i>
Indep.	Sing.	m.	-u	-u-	-u	-u	-0
		f.	-at-u	-at-u	-at-u	-at-u	-ah
Dep.	Sing.	m.	-a	-a	-a	-a	-0
		f.	-at-a	-at-a	-at-a	-at-a	-ah
Obl.	Sing.	m.	-i	-i	-a	-a	-0
		f.	-at-i	-at-i	-at-a	-at-a	-ah

1.5.2.2 Regular verbs

Imperfect (1.4.7, and see 1.9.2 for the complete paradigms, where also the agent prefixes 'a-/u-, na-/nu-, ta-/tu-, ya-/yu- are given).

		Indep.		Dep.		Apoc.	
		Juncture	Pause	Juncture	Pause	Juncture	Pause
Sing.	1st	-u	-0	-a	-0	-0	-0
	2nd m.	-u	-0	-a	-0	-0	-0
	2nd f.	-ī-na	-ī-n	-ī	-ī	-ī	-ī
	3rd m.	-u	-0	-a	-0	-0	-0
	3rd f.	-u	-0	-a	-0	-0	-0
Dual	2nd m.	-ā-ni	-ā-n	-ā	-ā	-ā	-ā
	3rd m.	-ā-ni	-ā-n	-ā	-ā	-ā	-ā
	3rd f.	-ā-ni	-ā-n	-ā	-ā	-ā	-ā
Plur.	1st	-u	-0	-a	-0	-0	-0
	2nd	-ū-na	-ū-n	-ū	-ū	-ū	-ū
	2nd f.	-na	-na	-na	-na	-na	-na
	3rd m.	-ū-na	-ū-n	-ū	-ū	-ū	-ū
	3rd f.	-na	-na	-na	-na	-na	-na

In the above tables it becomes clear that:

- 1 Nouns and verbs have in common the indep. and dep. set of inflections, with internal variations specific to each, while the obl. form is unique to nouns and the apoc. to verbs.
- 2 The dual and masc. plur. indefiniteness markers, unlike *tanwīn*, are compatible with the def. art., but, like the art. and *tanwīn*, are incompatible with annexation (see 2.3.1).
- 3 Fem. plur. verbs are invariable in *-na*.
- 4 The distribution of verbal *-na* in fem. sing., duals and masc. plurals is completely unrelated to that of nominal *-ni/-na* in the duals and masc. plur.
- 5 The apocopated paradigm is identical to the dep. in all forms except those marked by short vowels.

Imperatives are formed by removing the personal prefixes from the 2nd person apocopated forms and resolving any resulting non-canonical initial consonant clusters with a *hamza* ʾ (see 1.2.1.1). Partial vowel harmony occurs, the prefix being *u-* for verbs with medial vowel *-u-* (e.g. *u-ktub* اكتب 'write') and *i-* for the other two, (e.g. *i-šrab* اشرب 'drink!', *i-drib* اضرِب 'hit!'); no prefix is required where no consonant cluster results, e.g. stem II, *qarrib* قَرِّب 'bring near!'.¹

An 'energetic' form survives, though it is less common than in CA. It is formed by suffixing the syllable *-anna* -انْ to the 3rd radical of the imperf. verb, e.g. *yaktubanna* يَكْتُبَنَّ 'he most certainly will write'; because of the morpho-phonological problems it raises, it is not likely to be seen outside the unsuffixed forms (see 3.26).

Verbs, perfect (see 1.9.1 for paradigms)

		<i>Juncture</i>	<i>Pause</i>
Sing.	1st	-tu	-t
	2nd m.	-ta	-t
	2nd f.	-ti	-t(i)
	3rd m.	-a	-0
	3rd f.	-at	-at
Dual	2nd m.	-tumā	-tumā
	3rd m.	-ā	-ā
	3rd f.	-atā	-atā
Plur.	1st	-nā	-nā
	2nd m.	-tum	-tum
	2nd f.	-tunna	-tunna
	3rd m.	-ū	-ū
	3rd m.	-na	-na

1.5.3 Number/gender markers

The nominal markers are already set out in the table above, since they are affixes which combine number, gender, case and definiteness features. Note that number affixes apply only in the dual and the so-called ‘sound’ plurals, i.e. those formed on the unaltered singular stem. The ‘broken’ plur. (see 1.12.1.2) inflects like a singular.

All the suffixes below are given in their normal form: they vary according to the phonology of the stems to which they are suffixed (see paradigms in 1.8.2).

The nominal suffixes consist of two or more elements (separated below by hyphens and morphologically parsed), a number, a case, a gender and a component with a mixed distribution, labelled here Def. for convenience.

	<i>Indep.</i>	<i>Dep.</i>	<i>Obl.</i>
Dual m.	-ā-ni -[Num+Case]-[Def]	-ay-ni	-ay-ni
Dual f.	-at-ā-ni -[Gen]-[Num+Case]-[Def]	-at-ay-ni	-at-ay-ni
Plur. m.	-ū-na -[Gen+Num+Case]-[Def]	-ī-na	-ī-na
Plur. f.	-āt-u-n -[Gen+Num]-[Case]-[Def]	-āt-i-n	-āt-i-n

The final element *-n* remains with the def. art and is only dropped in annexation, so its function as a def. marker is inconsistent (see examples below):

al-muslim-ūna wa-muslim-at-āni

المسلمون ومسلمتان

‘the male Muslims and two [indef.] female Muslims’

li-l-muslim-āti

للمسلمات

‘for **the female** Muslims’

li-taqbīli yad-ay wa-qadam-ay hārūna l-rašīdi

‘for the kissing of **the hands and feet** [dual] of Harun al-Rashid’ (see 2.3.7 on binomial annexation)

In annexation a default vowel *i* is added if required in juncture before *hamzat al-waṣl* (see 1.1.2.1; seen only with dual in practice):

fi yaday-i l-maliki في يدي الملك ‘in the **two hands** of the king’

In imperf. verbs (see 1.4.7) number/gender is shown by the suffixes listed below. Again, the morphemes are complex, indicating mood as well as number/gender (the fem. plur. ending *-na* is common to all three moods).

	<i>Indep.</i>	<i>Dep.</i>	<i>Apoc.</i>
2nd Sing. f.	<i>-ī-na</i> [Gen+Num]-[Mood]	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-ī</i>
2nd Dual m. and f.	<i>-ā-ni</i> [Num]-[Case]	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ā</i>
2nd and 3rd Plur. m.	<i>-ū-na</i> [Gen+Num]-[Mood]	<i>-ū</i>	<i>-ū</i>
2nd and 3rd Plur. f.	<i>-na</i> [Gen+Num]	<i>-na</i>	<i>-na</i>

In contrast to the nom. suffix *-ū-*, the verbal suffix is spelt with a following *’alif* for reasons which can only be conjectured (see example, *tadhabū* تذهبوا below):

tadhab-īna تذهبين ‘you are going [**fem. sing. indep.**.]’

hal turīd-ūna هل تريدون أن تذهبوا ‘do you want [**masc. plur. indep.**] to go?’, lit. ‘want that you go? [**masc. plur. dep.**.]’

In perfect verbs, number and gender are coded in the agent pronoun suffixes (see 1.5.2.2, paradigms 1.9.2).

1.6 UNINFLECTED WORDS: PARTICLES

This section is reserved for the class of particles, few of which are derived from full consonantal roots, with the occasional nominal form. In any case no inflections are involved (see 1.8.4 for uninflected nouns).

1.6.1 The vocative

The vocative (2.15) is effected through the following particles.

Bound prefix 'a- أ, prefixed to the noun:

'a-muḥammadu ta 'āla أُمَحَمَّدُ تَعَال 'O Muḥammad, come here!'

The free particles *yā* يَا, *hayā* هَيَا, *a-yā* أَيَا (a combination of 'a and *yā*) and 'ayyuhā أَيُّهَا are much more common, especially *yā* يَا and 'ayyuhā أَيُّهَا:

yā rajulu ta 'ala يَا رَجُلُ تَعَال 'O man, come here!'

'ayyuhā l-sayyidātu أَيُّهَا السَيِّدَاتُ 'O Ladies'

See 2.15.1 and 2.15.2 for the syntactical rules. See also 1.6.2, for *yā* in exclamations.

1.6.2 Exclamations

Most exclamations are particles, and they are either bound or free. See 2.16.5, 2.17 for the general syntax.

Bound exclamations:

wā-...āh وَا...آه encapsulates the object of the exclamation,
e.g. *wā-zayd-āh* وَازَيْدَاه 'Woe upon Zayd!'

wa- with obl. nouns is found in oaths,
e.g. *wa-llāhi* وَاللَّهِ 'by God!' (*ta-* in this sense is now obsolete)

Free exclamations are of a number of different types, mostly particles, though a few are (fossilized) nouns.

- Agreement or dissent (cf. 10.12):

'ajal أَجَل and na'am نَعَمْ 'yes'

lā لَا 'no', *balā* بَلَا and *kallā* كَلَّا 'not at all, by no means'

- Warnings:

ḥaḍāri حَذَار 'beware', an invariable word with imperative force

'iyyāka إِيَّاكَ + pronoun 'mind', 'be careful of' (2.16.4, 3.27.4)

- Surprise:

hayhāta/i/u هَيْهَات (not in C) 'how unlikely', 'how remote' (2.16.5)

See also the *mā 'af'ala* مَا أَفْعَل construction in 3.27.1.

- Sorrow:
waylun ويل etc. ‘woe to’
yā li- يا لـ ‘woe to’, ‘woe on’
’āh آ ‘oh’
- Enthusiasm:
halumma [bi-] هلم (▷C2:303, see 3:11 with apoc.) used to introduce proposals, ‘let’s get’, ‘let’s do’
- Wishes:
yā layta- يا ليت + noun or pronoun ‘would that, if only’, see 3.2.6.
- Commands:
hātī هاتِ ‘give it here’ *ṣah* صه ‘shush’
ih إيه ‘eh? say that again’ *mah* مه ‘what!?’
ruwayda رويداً + pron. ‘gently does it’
- Presentative:
hā ها ‘here is’ (▷C2:30; see also 3.3.5)
- Quantitative:
rubba ‘how much!’, ‘how few!’ (see 3.28.1)

1.6.3 Coordinating conjunctions

See **Chapter 6** for syntax.

- Bound:
wa- و and *fa-* ف ‘and’, ‘and so’
- Free:
’aw أو ‘or’, *’am* أم ‘or’, *tumma* ثم ‘then’,
sawā’un سواء ‘same’, ‘whether’, *bal* بل ‘rather’, ‘nay’,
ḥattā حتَّى ‘even, until’, *lākin* لكن ‘but’
rubbamā ربّما ‘perhaps’, ‘maybe’
’immā إمّا ‘either’
’ay أي ‘that is’, ‘i.e.’
ḥaytu حيثُ ‘where’ (but subordinating in combination with *’anna* أن ‘that’, see 7.6.9)

1.6.4 Subordinating conjunctions

See **Chapter 7** for the general topic and other locations where indicated.

- Bound subordinating conjunctions:

wa- ‘and’ is subordinating in two contexts, (1) in the meaning of ‘with’ (*wāw ma‘iyya* *واو المعية* ‘the *wa-* which means “with”, see 3.29.8) and (2) introducing circumstantial clauses (*wāw al-ḥāl* *واو الحال* ‘the *wa-* of circumstance’, see 7.3.2)

fā- ‘and so’ is subordinating when introducing consequential clauses (*fā* ‘*al-sababiyya* *فاء السببية* ‘the causal *fā-*’, see 7.4.1)

- Free subordinating conjunctions may be divided into those which subordinate a single clause and those which subordinate two clauses. They may be further divided into those which introduce nominal sentences (for which see 1.6.7, where they are treated as emphasizers) or verbal sentences, which are dealt with here.

- Single-clause conjunctions:

The basic sub. conj. is ‘*an*’ *أن* ‘that’ (7.5.2).

Other conjunctions are either separate words or combinations of ‘*an*’ *أن* and another element.

- Purposive (7.6.1.3 and 7.6.2):

li-‘an *لأن*, *kay* *كي*, *li-kay* *لكي*, all meaning ‘in order to’ (note also *kay-mā* *كما* in the same sense, with rel. *mā* *ما* suffix)

‘allā *ألا* (= ‘*an*+*lā* ‘that not’ *لا أن*), *li-‘allā* *لئلا*, both meaning ‘lest’, ‘so that not’

ḥattā *حتى* ‘until’, ‘in order to’

- Locative (7.6.9):

ḥaytu *حيث* ‘where’ (subordinating only with ‘*anna*’ *أن* ‘that’, see 7.6.9)

raytamā *ريثما* ‘when(ever)’ (see 5.9.13)

- Comparative: *ka-* ‘like’ (7.7.1 and 7.7.3), often with rel. *mā* *ما* suffix (see 5.9.9), here transliterated with a hyphen to indicate the components:

ka-‘an *كان*, *ka-mā* *كما* ‘as if’ (see also *ka-‘anna* in emphasizers, 1.6.7)

- Two-clause conjunctions (excluding conditionals, see 1.6.5). These are mostly temporal:

'*id* 'أذ', '*idā* 'إذا', *lammā* 'لما', (see 7.6.4, 7.6.5, 7.6.3) and '*inda-mā* 'عندما' (see 5.9.8) all meaning 'when'

As well as '*inda-mā* 'عندما, there are several other conjunctions formed with the rel. *mā* 'ما' suffix:

hīna-mā 'حينما' 'when', *bayna-mā* 'بينما' 'while', *qalla-mā* 'قلما' 'seldom', *tāla-mā* 'طالما' 'long', *kulla-mā* 'كلما' 'every time', 'the more ... the more' etc. (see 5.9.10)

Rel. *mā* is also a conj. in its own right, especially in the temporal sense as *mā dāma* 'ما دام' 'for as long as' (see 5.6.1).

Likewise, this *mā* 'ما' is also found with prepositionals making idiomatic compound conjunctions, e.g. *fīmā* 'فيما' 'regarding', 'concerning', *bimā* 'بما' 'in connection with' (usually with '*anna* 'أن' 'that' in this sense, see 5.7).

1.6.5 Conditionals

See Chapter 8.

Simple conditional particles:

'*in* 'إن', *law* 'لو', '*idā* 'إذا', all meaning 'if', 'when' (but see 7.6.5 on '*idā* 'إذا')

'*illā* 'إلا' 'unless', and also in apodotes as a resumptive particle (see 11.3)

lawlā 'لولا' 'if not for', 'were it not for'

man 'من' 'whoever', *mā* 'ما' 'whatever', rel. nouns in conditional meaning

Compound conditional particles are formed from interrogatives suffixed with *mā* 'ما' 'whatever', mostly written as one word (the common exception is *matā mā* 'متى ما'):

mahmā 'مهما' 'whatever' (note the change from *mā* to *mah* for euphony in the first syllable)

matā mā 'متى ما' 'whenever'

kayfa-mā 'كيفما' 'however'

haytu-mā 'حيثما' 'however', 'wherever'

'*ayyu-mā* 'أيما' 'whichever'

'*ayna-mā* 'أينما' 'wherever'

Note the non-conditional set of conjunctions ending in rel. *mā* 'ما', see 1.6.4.

1.6.6 Exceptives

See Chapter 9. These are of three types:

- The particle '*illā* 'إلا' 'except', 'unless', etymologically '*in lā* 'إن لا' 'if not'
- The nouns *ḡayr* 'غير' and *siwā* 'سوى', which both mean 'other than'
- The former and now fossilized verbs *mā 'adā* 'ما عدا', *ḥāšā* 'حاشي' and *mā ḥalā* 'ما خلا', all of which mean 'excluding'.

1.6.7 Emphasizers

Emphasizers are a somewhat heterogeneous class of mostly particles serving to introduce or emphasize topics or phrases.

The only bound example is *la-* لا, prefixed to both nouns and verbs:

- Prefixed to nouns (and pronouns) it emphasizes topic or comment (see 3.2.1.1):

'innahu la-mu'allifun ṣa'bun

إنه لمؤلف صعب

'he is **indeed** a difficult author'

- Prefixed to verbs it often strengthens an asseveration (see 3.26.1):

la-'aqtulannahu

لأقتلنه

'I **most certainly** will kill him'

and is regularly found in the apodosis of *law* لو clauses (see 8.2).

Free emphasizees fall into several groups according to distribution and meaning:

- A set of sentence introducers (see 3.2):

'inna إِنَّ 'indeed', *la'alla* لعل 'perhaps', [*yā*] *layta* ليت [يا] 'if only', introducing independent sentences

'anna أَنَّ 'that', *li-'anna* لَأَنَّ 'because', [*wa*]-*lākin*-[*na*] لكن [و] 'but',

introducing subordinate clauses (here *ka-'anna* كَأَنَّ 'as if' may also be included, in a different sense from the purely comparative in 1.6.4, see 5.9.9.4)

- Topic focus (see 3.3.4) is effected with:

'ammā أَمَّا 'as for' (followed by *fa-* فـ 'then' introducing the comment)

- Verb reinforcers:

qad قد in the sense 'enough' is now archaic, but the same particle is regularly used to reinforce the past/perfect aspect of verbs (see 3.10.4, 3.10.5).

qaṭṭu قَطُّ 'ever', reinforcing neg. verbs (see 4.2.8).

- Exclamatory sentences are introduced by:

kam كَمْ 'how much', followed by nouns or verbs (3.28.2)

1.6.8 Restrictives

Similar to English ‘only’ (see 3.30).

'innamā إنما, *faqat* فقط (not in C) ‘only’

bal بل, *lākin* لكن ‘but’, ‘but rather’

ḥasbu حسب, *fa-ḥasbu* فحسب are invariable nouns meaning ‘and enough’, ‘and no more’

rubbamā ربما ‘often’, ‘frequently’, ‘perhaps’

nāhika ‘an ناهيك عن ‘not to mention’ (see 2.5.7(1))

1.6.9 Negatives

The selection of neg. particle is determined by the context (see Chapter 4).

The following are all used in various senses of ‘not’:

lā لا, *lam* لم, *mā* ما, *lan* لن, *'in* إن, (only in the combination *mā 'in* ما إن)

lammā لمّا ‘not yet’ (now rare: see 4.2.4)

The following are used with nouns:

lā لا and *bi-lā* بلا ‘no’, ‘not’

ḡayr غير and *siwā* سوى, are both nouns in the meaning of ‘other than’, (see 2.9.2.3, 2.9.2.4) hence in annexation *ḡayr* acts as a virtual prefix meaning ‘un-’, ‘non-’ etc. (see 1.10.3, 12.6) and in exceptive clauses both *ḡayr* and *siwā* are used in the meaning ‘except’ (see 9.5.1 and 9.5.2).

1.6.10 Interrogatives

Interrogatives are always at the beginning of the sentence in direct questions (see Chapter 10).

The only bound interrogative particle is *'a-* أ ‘?’. When prefixed to words already bearing the def. art. *al-* ال the *'alif* of the article is usually elided:

'a-l-mudīru mawjūdun المدير موجود ‘is the director present?’

Free interrogative elements are either particles or originally adverbial nouns.

- Particles:

hal هل ‘?’ introducing positive questions, *hallā* هلّا ‘not ... ?’ introducing neg. questions.

- The combination 'a أ ' with neg. particles:
'a-lā 'ألا', 'a-mā 'أما', 'a-lam 'ألم', 'a-lan 'ألن', 'a-laysa 'أليس (cf. 10.13.1)
- Relative nouns used as interrogatives:
man(dā) من (ذا) 'who?', *mā(dā)* ما (ذا) 'what?'
- Compounds of these, which are always spelt with a short second syllable (partly to distinguish them from relatives):
li-ma لِمَ 'why?', lit. 'for what?' *bi-ma* بِمَ 'with what?'
'alā-ma 'عَلَامَ 'on what?' 'ilā-ma 'إِلَامَ 'until what?'
(contrast relatives with long second syllable, e.g. *li-mā* لِيْمَا 'for that which', *bi-mā* بِمَا 'by/with which', etc., see 10.5.2)
- Qualitative and quantitative questions:
'ayyu أَيَّ 'which?' *kam* كم 'how much?'
'ayna أَيْنَ 'where?' *matā* مَتَى 'when?'
kayfa كَيْفَ 'how?' 'annā أَنَّى 'how?' (archaic)

1.6.11 Adverbs

(See 1.8.7 on the adverbial function of nouns.) These are either bound or free. The only bound adverb is *sa-* سـ, prefixed to imperfect verbs to give a specific future meaning (see 3.10.3).

Free adverbs, all invariable:

sawfa سوف the noun from which the prefix *sa-* سـ is assumed to be derived, giving future meaning to verbs (see 3.10.3); *qaṭṭu* قَطْ 'ever' after neg. (see 4.2.8); *faqat* فَقَطْ 'only', esp. with neg. (see 4.2.8.3); 'amsi أَمْسَ 'yesterday'; *tumma* ثُمَّ 'then'; *tamma(ta)* تَمَّ 'there'

hunā هُنَا, *hunāka* هُنَاكَ, *hunālika* هُنَالِكَ 'here'

A subset is the non-productive invariable form of two nouns which are otherwise inflected normally and also occur as adverbials (see 1.8.7; 2.5.4):

ba'du بَعْدُ 'afterwards', *qablu* قَبْلُ 'before', invariable even after prepositions (see 2.5.4; >C2:260), e.g. *min qablu* مِنْ قَبْلُ 'after[wards]' (adverbial phrase)

Here may be included *haytu* حَيْثُ 'where' (cf. 7.6.9), though it has no regular noun correlate. The *-u* ending in these words is historically not the same as the indep. ending (1.5.2.1), it may be a remnant of an old locative.

1.6.12 Prepositions

(See 1.8.8 on nouns with prepositional function.) Prepositions are either bound or free.

Bound prepositions are prefixed to their nouns and the latter take oblique form as in annexation (the translations are minimal, for details see the appropriate section in 2.6):

bi- بـ 'with', *li-* لـ 'for', *ka-* كـ 'like'

wa- و 'by' (only in oaths or as a synonym of *rubba* رَبُّ, see 1.6.2)

ta- تـ 'by' (in oaths, now obsolete: see 2.17)

Free prepositions are annexed to their nouns:

min من 'from'

'ilā إلى 'to'

fī في 'in'

'an عن 'about'

'alā على 'on'

ḥattā حتَّى 'until'

ma'a مع 'with'

'inda عند 'at'

ladā لدى 'at'

mud/mundu مذ/منذ 'since'

All these lie outside the derivational system. Only one of them (*'alā* على 'on') has a surviving productive Arabic root, and although some were doubtless originally nouns (*ma'a* مع 'with' still has an indef. adverbial variant *ma'an* معا 'together', see 2.6.11), this is no longer synchronically relevant.

1.7 UNINFLECTED AND PARTIALLY INFLECTED NOMINALS

These are pronouns, demonstratives and relatives. The latter are originally deictic elements which have assumed nominal status.

1.7.1 Pronouns

Pronouns are either bound or free. Bound pronouns are indep., dep. (objective) and oblique (possessive). Indep. bound pronouns are found only as agents of verbs and are dealt with there (see 1.5.2.2). Free pronouns are normally indep., i.e. topics or predicates (3.1.2.1), but can occur in apposition to elements of any case, see 2.2.7 and 2.8.5.

There are no gender distinctions or dual in any 1st person pron.

1.7.1.1 Bound objective and possessive pronouns are identical but for the 1st sing., and their interpretation is naturally determined by their context: noun+pron = possessive (including prepositionals), verb+pron = objective.

		<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1st	(Nominal)	-ī يـ	(none)	-nā نـا
	(Verbal)	-nī يـنـي	(none)	(same)
2nd m.		-ka كـ	-kumā كـمـا	-kum كـم
2nd f.		-ki كـي	(same)	-kunna كـنـنـا
3rd m.		-hu هـ	-humā هـمـا	-hum هـم
3rd f.		-hā هـا	(same)	-hunna هـنـنـا

The noun with possessive pron. is in a state of annexation (see 2.3.1) and therefore loses all def. markers:

kitābu-hu كِتَابُهُ ‘his book’, lit. ‘[the] book of him’

fi kutubi-him فِي كُتُبِهِمْ ‘in their books’, lit. ‘in [the] books of them’

Note the vowel harmony in 3rd pers. pron only (excluding fem. sing. -hā هـا) when the previous syllable contains *i* or *y*, including verbs, e.g. *yakfihinna* يَكْفِيهِنَّ ‘it suffices for them [plur.]’ for -hunna هُنَّ.

The 1st pers. sing. is alone in being vocalic and it has a number of morphological consequences:

- It displaces the short vowel inflections on its noun:

‘ustād-ī أُسْتَاذِي ‘my professor’ = *‘ustādu* + -ī

manzilat-ī مَنْزِلَتِي ‘my status’ = *manzilat* + -ī

- When 1st pers. -ī ‘my’ is suffixed to words already ending in long vowels or diphthongs (namely, semi-vowels *‘alif*, *w* and *y*) it changes to -*ya*:

dunyā-ya دُنْيَايَ ‘my world’ = *dunyā* + -*ya*

‘alay-ya عَلَيَّ ‘on me’ = *‘alā* + -*ya*

With *min* مِنْ and *‘an* عَنْ only, the -ī suffix causes the doubling of the final *n*, *minnī* مِنْنِي ‘from me’, *‘annī* عَنْنِي ‘about me’, and with the *‘inna* set (see 3.2), there are light (assimilated) and heavy (unassimilated) alternants, evidently in free variation, *‘innī* إِنْنِي and *‘innanī* إِنْنِي ‘indeed I’, *‘annī* أَنْنِي and *‘annanī* أَنْنِي ‘that I’, *lākinnī* لَكِنْنِي and *lākinnanī* لَكِنْنِي ‘but I’, etc., and also in the plur. *‘innā/‘innanā* إِنْنَا/إِنْنَانَا ‘indeed we’, *‘annā/‘annanā* أَنْنَا/أَنْنَانَا ‘that we’, *lākinnanā/lākinnā* لَكِنْنَانَا/لَكِنْنَا ‘but we’, *ka-‘annanā/ka-‘annā* كَأَنَّا/كَأَنْنَا ‘as if we’.

Note that with *la ‘allanī/la ‘allī* لَعَلَّنِي/لَعَلَّنِي ‘maybe I’, the alternation is between the nominal and the verbal form of the suffix.

The preposition *li* لِ ‘for’, ‘to’ (2.6.9) changes to *la-* before all pron. except 1st sing. (*lī* لِي, e.g. *la-ka* لَكَ ‘to you’ [masc. sing.], *la-hu* لَهُ ‘to him’, *la-nā* لَنَا ‘to us’, etc.

Examples of verbal suffix:

šāhadat-nī شَاهَدَتْنِي ‘she saw me’

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ṣāḥabū-nī صاحبوني ‘they accompanied **me**’ (صاحبوا + ني), with regular loss of redundant final ‘*alif*’ on the masc. plur. verb, both perf. and imperf.)

1.7.1.2 The free pronouns are invariable and often occur as topics (3.1.2.1):

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1st	<i>’anā</i> أنا	(none)	<i>nahnu</i> نحن
2nd m.	<i>’anta</i> أنت	<i>’antumā</i> أنتما	<i>’antum</i> أنتم
2nd f.	<i>’anti</i> أنتي	(same)	<i>’antunna</i> أنتن
3rd m.	<i>huwa</i> هو	<i>humā</i> هما	<i>hum</i> هم
3rd f.	<i>hiya</i> هي	(same)	<i>hunna</i> هن

’anā ma’akum أنا معكم ‘I am with you’

huwa ṣaḍīqun lī هو صديق لي ‘he is a friend of mine’

nahnu muntaẓirātānī نحن منتظرتان ‘we are waiting [dual fem.]’

A compound free pronoun is formed by suffixing the bound pronouns above to ‘*’iyyā-*’ (a word whose origins are still unexplained):

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1st	<i>’iyyā-ya</i> إياي	(none)	<i>’iyyā-nā</i> إيانا
2nd m.	<i>’iyyā-ka</i> إياك	<i>’iyyā-kumā</i> إياكما	<i>’iyyā-kum</i> إياكم
2nd f.	<i>’iyyā-ki</i> إياكِ	(same)	<i>’iyyā-kunna</i> إياكن
3rd m.	<i>’iyyā-hu</i> إياه	<i>’iyyā-humā</i> إياهما	<i>’iyyā-hum</i> إياهم
3rd f.	<i>’iyyā-hā</i> إياها	(same)	<i>’iyyā-hunna</i> إياهن

Note that the rule for the 1st pers., *-ī* becomes *-ya* after a long vowel, applies also here.

These are used almost exclusively as free object pronouns in three situations:

1 Preposed direct object (see 3.11.1.1):

’iyyā-ka naṭlubu إياك نطلب ‘you we want’,

for the usual

naṭlubuka نطلبك ‘we want you’

2 When a dir. obj. cannot be annexed to its operator (see 2.10.1 for the conditions):

qatluhu ’iyyā-hum قتلهم إياهم ‘his killing them’

3 In warnings (see 2.16.4, 3.27.4):

’iyyā-ka wa-l-’asada! إياك والأسد! ‘watch out for the lion!’

1.7.2 Demonstratives (see 2.2.5)

These are a closed set, consisting of a core deictic element *dā* (cf. 3.3.5) supplemented by other deictic elements. Several variants survive from a larger range in CA and are still occasionally seen. Only the duals inflect for case, and the plural is the same for both genders. The archaic spellings are retained (cf. 1.2.2).

The core deictic element, *dā* ذَا ‘look there’, is still used as a presentative (see 3.3.5):

- ‘this/these’, characterized by the prefix *hā-*

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Masc.	<i>hādā</i> هَذَا	<i>hādāni</i> هَذَانِ	<i>hā'ulā'i</i> هَؤُلَاءِ
Fem.	<i>hāḍihi</i> هَذِهِ	<i>hātāni</i> هَاتَانِ	(same)

- ‘that/those’, characterized by the suffix *-ka*

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Masc.	<i>dālika</i> ذَلِكَ	<i>dānika</i> ذَانِكَ	<i>'ulā'ika</i> أُولَئِكَ
Fem.	<i>tilka</i> تِلْكَ	<i>tānika</i> تَانِكَ	(same)

Other forms are still occasionally found, e.g. *dāka* ذَاك ‘that’ (esp. as 2nd element of time expressions, 1.8.7.2), *hātihi* ‘this’ fem. sing. (▷C1:151).

A largely Qur’anic practice of inflecting the *-ka* as if it were a 2nd person pron. (see 1.7.1.1) is still followed in highly formal style, somewhat like the English ‘**there**’s another one **for you**’:

tilkum šūratun rā’i ‘atun ‘uḥrā tajallat fī šulḥi l-ḥudaybiyati

تلكم صورة رائعة أخرى تجلت في صلح الحديبية

‘**that** was another splendid image **for you**, [masc. plur.] which revealed itself in the Treaty of Ḥudaybiyya’

The ancient *dū* ذُو ‘the one with’ belongs here: it is used idiomatically, always in annexation, to denote the possessor of a quality or thing (see 2.3.8).

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Masc.	<i>dū</i> ذُو	<i>dawā</i> ذَوَا	<i>dawū</i> ذَوُو
Fem.	<i>dāt</i> ذَات	<i>dātā</i> ذَاتَا	<i>dawāt</i> ذَوَات

Masc. sing. *dū* ذُو inflects exactly like the biliteral roots (see ‘ab أب ‘father’ 1.8.2), the others are regular (cf. the annexed forms in 1.5.2.1).

The related element ‘*id* إِذْ can be included here: it is originally a noun meaning ‘time’, and now survives, with its dep. variant ‘*idā* إِذَا, as a conjunction ‘since’, ‘when’ (7.6.4, 7.6.5; indirect questions 10.9), and when introducing sentences with the meaning of ‘lo’, ‘all of a sudden’ (3.31); also with nouns of

time annexed, e.g. *hīna'idīn* حينئذٍ 'then', 'at the time of that' (1.8.7.2), and finally as an indef. adverbial *'idān* إذا 'then', 'in that case' (2.5.4), also spelt phonetically as *idūn* (cf. 1.2.2).

1.7.3 Relatives (see 5.2)

These are also a closed set consisting largely of similar deictic elements to the demonstratives. Again only the dual inflects for case, but this time the plur. has different forms for masc. and fem. The prefix *al-* in juncture behaves like the def. article (cf. 1.5.1), to which it is historically related.

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Masc.	<i>alladī</i> الذي	<i>alladāni</i> اللذان	<i>alladīna</i> الذين
Fem.	<i>allatī</i> التي	<i>allatāni</i> اللتان	<i>allawātī</i> اللواتي

A common variant of the fem. plur. is *allātī* اللاتي, and less commonly *allā'i* اللائي.

1.8 INFLECTED CLASSES

These contain only nouns (and their sub-categories, adjectives and adverbs) and verbs. They form two morphologically distinct sets with a minimum of homology (the only common pattern occurring in both classes is *'af'al* أفعل, see 1.8.6.1 and 1.8.6.2). Both nouns and verbs occur in a variety of stem patterns, basic (i.e. unaugmented) and derived (i.e. augmented). The nouns in their basic patterns are dealt with here, in their derived patterns in 1.10, and verbs in their basic patterns are in 1.9, derived stems in 1.10.

Biliteral roots are limited in number but are found in some very common words, namely, *'ab* أب 'father', *ibn* ابن 'son', *'ah* أخ 'brother', *fam* فم 'mouth' (rarely also *fū* فو, like *dū* ذو), and the pron. *dū* ذو 'possessor of' (see 1.8.2 for forms and 2.3.8 for syntax of the last).

A few nouns have unique irregularities, of which the following are still frequently seen:

imru'un امرؤ 'man' with vowel harmony in the other two cases, *imra'an* امرأة [dep.], *imri'in* امرئ [obl.]

imra'atun امرأة 'woman' changes to *al-mar'atu* المرأة when prefixed with def. art. There is no internal vowel harmony.

True compound nouns are invariable, see 1.8.10.

1.8.1 Noun patterns

There are many basic patterns for nouns. The following list excludes all the deverbatives from the augmented stems (see 1.10) and includes both sing. and plur. patterns (those with permanent fem. ending are given in pausal form, many of the others may also take fem. ending, as indicated). All indigenous words fit into one of these patterns, and in principle all imported words are required to accommodate to them, though this was often not enforced in CA and is now breaking down, or rather, foreign patterns are tending to become productive (cf. 12.1.2).

- Minimal patterns, i.e. without affixes: *fa'l* فَعْل, *fi'l* فُعْل, *fu'l* فُئْل, *fa'al* فَعْل, *fa'il* فَعْل, *fi'al* فُعْل, *fu'al* فُئْل, *fu'ul* فُئْل, all of which may also carry the fem. suffix *-at* ة e.g. *fa'la* فَعْلَة etc.
- Extended patterns, with affixes, including vowel lengtheners (those with fem. variants are indicated): *fā'al* فَاعِل, *fa'lā* فَعْلَى, *fa'āl(a)* فَعَال(ة), *fa'ālā* فَعَالَى, *fa'ālī* فَعَالِي, *fu'lā* فُعْلَى, *fa'il(a)* فَعِيل(ة), *fa'ūl(a)* فُعُول(ة), *fi'lā* فُعْلَى, *fi'āl(a)* فُعَال(ة), *fu'ūl(a)* فُعُول(ة), *fu'alā* فُعْلَاء, *fawā'il* فَوَاعِل, *'af'al* أَفْعَال, *'af'āl* أَفْعَال, *'af'ilā* أَفْعِلَاء, *'af'āl(a)* أَفْعَال(ة), *'af'ūl(a)* أَفْعُول(ة), *maf'al(a)* مَفْعَل(ة), *maf'il(a)* مَفْعِل(ة), *maf'ula* مَفْعَلَة, *mif'al(a)* مِفْعَل(ة), *mif'āl* مِفْعَال, *mafā'il* مَفَاعِل, *mafā'il* مَفَاعِل.
- Quadriliteral and longer roots (the CA theoretical maximum is four radicals with up to three augments) are accommodated in the *fa'ala* system by repeating the third radical: *fa'lal(a)* فَعْلَل(ة), *fa'alil* فَعَالِل, *fa'alil* فَعَالِيل.
- Other patterns containing augments will use the same scheme, so (with radicals here capitalizedized) *maṣāliḥ* مَصَالِح, *'akābir* أَكَابِر, *taḡārib* تَجَارِب, all have the same pattern as *Baṇādiq* بَنَادِق, namely, *fa'alil* فَعَالِل, and *maṣāḥir* مَصَاهِير, *'aḥādīṭ* أَحَادِيث and *tafāṣīl* تَفَاصِيل, have the same pattern as *ṣaṇādiq* صَنَادِق, namely, *fa'alil* فَعَالِيل.
- Many patterns carry a semantic load of their own. Apart from plurals (see 1.12.1.2 for broken plur.) and abstract nouns, there are patterns denoting intensity, diminutive, and a large set of abstract nouns (see next paragraphs) as well as a number of pure deverbatives denoting the instrument, location, manner or instance of an action, on which see 1.11.

1.8.1.1 Habitual or intensive action is principally expressed by the pattern *fa'āl* فَعَال. In nouns this pattern often denotes a professional, e.g. *ḥabbāz* خَبَّاز 'baker' from *ḥubz* خُبْز 'bread', *ḥayyāṭ* خَيَّاط 'tailor' from *ḥāṭa* خَاط 'to sew', *ṣarrāf* صَرَّاف 'moneychanger' from *ṣaraḥa* صَرَف 'to circulate (currency)'; the fem. of these occurs for even greater emphasis, *raḥḥāla* رَحَّالَة 'great traveller' (see 1.12.2.1). As adjectives, they imply intensity, e.g. *kaddāb* كَذَّاب 'great liar', from *kaḍib* كَذِب 'lying'.

Another, less common intensive pattern is *mif'āl* مِفْعَال, e.g. *miṣḍāq* مِصْدَق 'very truthful', from *ṣadaqa* صَدَق 'to tell the truth'.

1.8.1.2 The diminutive is used mainly for denoting small entities but also to express contempt. The basic dim. pattern is *fu‘ayl* فُعَيْل and this is extended to *fuway‘il* فُوَيْعِل for words of longer stems or quadrilaterals, where *f-w-‘l* represent the four radicals or three radicals plus any augments. Note that they both contain the same sequence of central vowels *u-ay-(i)*: since this sequence is unique to the dim., it could be said to carry that meaning.

The principle of formation is simple, namely to redistribute the radicals of the original word in the dim. pattern, e.g. *kalb* كَلْب ‘dog’, *kulayb* كَلَيْب ‘little dog’. It is best seen in the proper names, e.g. *ḥasan* حَسَن ‘Hasan’ v. *ḥusayn* حُسَيْن ‘Husayn’, i.e. ‘Little Hasan’, ‘*abdu llāhi* عَبْدُ اللَّهِ ‘Abdullāh’ v. ‘*ubaydu llāhi* عُبَيْدُ اللَّهِ ‘Ubaydullāh’, i.e. ‘Little ‘Abdullāh’. With longer stems the procedure is the same: *šā‘ir* شَاعِر ‘poet’ gives *šuway‘ir* شُوَيْعِر ‘poetaster’, *kahrab* كَهْرَب ‘electron’ has the dim. *kuhayrib* كَهْيَرِب ‘electron’. In all cases the fem. affix is retained if present in the original noun, e.g. *ṭalḥatu* طَلْحَة ‘Ṭalḥa’, dim. *ṭulayḥatu* طُلَيْحَة ‘Little Ṭalḥa’ (retaining also the partial inflection, if present in the original name).

Morphologically, diminutives are fully inflected nouns; occasional plurals are seen, e.g. *‘uwayqāt* أُوَيْقَات ‘little times’, from the plur. *‘awqāt* أَوْقَات of *waqt* وَقْتُ ‘time’, i.e. spare moments, and it is particularly significant that two prepositional (see 1.8.8) form diminutives, e.g. *bu‘ayda* بُعَيْدَة ‘a little after’, from *ba‘da* بَعْد ‘after’ and *qubayla* قُبَيْلَة ‘a little before’ from *qabla* قَبْل ‘before’.

1.8.1.3 Abstract nouns are often expressed by the *nisba* (‘gentilic’) adjective in its fem. form (see 1.8.6.3), an ancient practice which has now become extraordinarily productive, e.g. *‘imkāniyya* إِمْكَانِيَّة ‘possibility’, from the verbal noun *‘imkān* إِمْكَان ‘being possible’, *manṭiqiyya* مَنْطِقِيَّة ‘logicality’, from *manṭiq* مَنْطِق ‘logic’. These are dealt with in more detail in 12.4.

1.8.1.4 For the various deverbatives, e.g. *maṭbah* مَطْبَخ ‘place where cooking is done’, i.e. ‘kitchen’, *mustašfā* مُسْتَشْفَى ‘place where treating is done’, i.e. ‘hospital’, see the comprehensive review in 1.11.

1.8.2 Inflection of nouns

Regular fully inflected nouns have three case endings, and *-n* (*tanwīn*, see 1.5.1) in their indefinite forms, e.g. *-walad-* وَلَد ‘boy’.

	Def.	Annexed	Indef.	Pausal
Sing.:				
Indep.	<i>al-walad-u</i> الْوَلَدُ	<i>walad-u</i> وَلَدُ	<i>walad-u-n</i> وَلَدٌ	<i>walad</i> وَلَدٌ
Dep.	<i>al-walad-a</i> الْوَلَدَ	<i>walad-a</i> وَلَدًا	<i>walad-a-n</i> وَلَدًا	<i>walad-ā</i> وَلَدًا
Obl.	<i>al-walad-i</i> الْوَلَدِ	<i>walad-i</i> وَلَدٍ	<i>walad-i-n</i> وَلَدٍ	<i>walad</i> وَلَدٍ

	<i>Def.</i>	<i>Annexed</i>	<i>Indef.</i>	<i>Pausal</i>
Dual:				
Indep.	<i>al-walad-ā-ni</i> الولدان	<i>walad-ā</i> ولدا	<i>walad-ā-ni</i> ولدان	<i>walad-ān</i> ولدان
Dep.	<i>al-walad-ay-ni</i> الولدين	<i>walad-ay</i> وليد	<i>walad-ay-ni</i> ولدين	<i>walad-ayn</i> ولدين
Obl.	<i>al-walad-ay-ni</i> الولدين	<i>walad-ay</i> وليد	<i>walad-ay-ni</i> ولدين	<i>walad-ayn</i> ولدين

This class comprises most sing. and broken plur. nouns (see 1.12.1.2), including those with fem. affix *-at-*, thus *al-madīn-at-u* المدينة ‘the town’, *madīn-at-u* مدينة, *madīn-at-u-n* مدينة, *madīn-ah* مدينة etc., dual *madīn-at-ā-ni* مدينتان, *madīn-at-ay-ni* مدينتين etc. (see 1.5.2.1 for complete list of endings).

Plural: the inflection of the ‘broken plural’ (see 1.12.1.2) is the same as the singular, either fully or partially according to the pattern or phonology, hence, for the broken plur., ‘*awlād-* أولاد ‘boys’, the endings will be the same as above. But the two ‘sound’ (i.e. suffix) plurals will be tabulated here.

Sound masc. plur. *ban-ūna* بنون ‘sons’:

	<i>Def.</i>	<i>Annexed</i>	<i>Indef.</i>	<i>Pausal</i>
Indep.	<i>al-ban-ū-na</i> البنون	<i>ban-ū</i> بنو	<i>ban-ū-na</i> بنون	<i>ban-ūn</i> بنون
Dep.	<i>al-ban-ī-na</i> البنين	<i>ban-ī</i> بني	<i>ban-ī-na</i> بنين	<i>ban-īn</i> بنين
Obl.	<i>al-ban-ī-na</i> البنين	<i>ban-ī</i> بني	<i>ban-ī-na</i> بنين	<i>ban-īn</i> بنين

Sound fem. plur. *ban-ātun* بنات ‘daughters’:

	<i>Def.</i>	<i>Annexed</i>	<i>Indef.</i>	<i>Pausal</i>
Indep.	<i>al-ban-āt-u</i> البنات	<i>ban-āt-u</i> بنات	<i>ban-āt-u-n</i> بنات	<i>ban-āt</i> بنات
Dep.	<i>al-ban-āt-i</i> البنات	<i>ban-āt-i</i> بنات	<i>ban-āt-i-n</i> بنات	<i>ban-āt</i> بنات
Obl.	<i>al-ban-āt-i</i> البنات	<i>ban-āt-i</i> بنات	<i>ban-āt-i-n</i> بنات	<i>ban-āt</i> بنات

There are five (some say six) defective nouns (i.e. biliteral roots) whose short vowel inflections are replaced by long vowels in the annexed form only, e.g. ‘*ab* أب ‘father.

	<i>Def.</i>	<i>Annexed</i>	<i>Indef.</i>	<i>Pausal</i>
Indep.	<i>al-‘ab-u</i> الأب	<i>‘ab-ū</i> أبو	<i>‘ab-u-n</i> أب	<i>‘ab</i> أب
Dep.	<i>al-‘ab-a</i> الأب	<i>‘ab-ā</i> أبا	<i>‘ab-a-n</i> أبأ	<i>‘ab-ā</i> أبا
Obl.	<i>al-‘ab-i</i> الأب	<i>‘ab-ī</i> أبي	<i>‘ab-i-n</i> أب	<i>‘ab</i> أب

In MWA the inflections have largely been abandoned in compound names, e.g. ‘*Abū Dhābi*’ أبو ظبي, now uninflected (see 1.8.5).

Two subsets of the fully inflected noun have reduced case markings for phonological reasons, though they retain the *-n* suffix in their indef. forms:

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3rd weak radical nouns where the weak radical is preceded by *-i-* reduce the inflections in both sing. and sound plur., where incompatible sequences arise, e.g. *al-muḥāmī* المحامي ‘the lawyer’ (not **al-muḥāmiyu*).

	<i>Def.</i>	<i>Annexed</i>	<i>Indef.</i>	<i>Pausal</i>
Sing.:				
Indep.	<i>al-muḥāmī</i> المحامي	<i>muḥāmī</i> محامي	<i>muḥāmī-n</i> محام	<i>muḥāmī</i> محامي
Dep.	<i>al-muḥāmiy-a</i> المحامي	<i>muḥāmiy-a</i> محامي	<i>muḥāmiy-a-n</i> محامياً	<i>muḥāmiy-ā</i> محامياً
Obl.	<i>al-muḥāmī</i> المحامي	<i>muḥāmī</i> محامي	<i>muḥāmī-n</i> محام	<i>muḥāmī</i> محامي

The fem. is completely regular, *al-muḥāmiyatu* المحامية ‘female lawyer’ as above.

Dual is completely regular.

	<i>Def.</i>	<i>Annexed</i>	<i>Indef.</i>	<i>Pausal</i>
Indep.	<i>al-muḥāmiy-ā-ni</i> المحاميان	<i>muḥāmiy-ā</i> محاميا	<i>muḥāmiy-ā-ni</i> محاميان	<i>muḥāmiy-ān</i> محاميان
Dep.	<i>al-muḥāmiy-ay-ni</i> المحاميين	<i>muḥāmiy-ay</i> محاميي	<i>muḥāmiy-ay-ni</i> محاميين	<i>muḥāmiy-ayn</i> محاميين
Obl.	<i>al-muḥāmiy-ay-ni</i> المحاميين	<i>muḥāmiy-ay</i> محاميي	<i>muḥāmiy-ay-ni</i> محاميين	<i>muḥāmiy-ayn</i> محاميين

Sound masc. plur. eliminates any sequence *-iyu-*, *-iyi-*

	<i>Def.</i>	<i>Annexed</i>	<i>Indef.</i>	<i>Pausal</i>
Indep.	<i>al-muḥām-ū-na</i> المحامون	<i>muḥām-ū</i> محامو	<i>muḥām-ū-na</i> محامون	<i>muḥām-ūn</i> محامون
Dep.	<i>al-muḥām-ī-na</i> المحامين	<i>muḥām-ī</i> محامي	<i>muḥām-ī-na</i> محامين	<i>muḥām-īn</i> محامين
Obl.	<i>al-muḥām-ī-na</i> المحامين	<i>muḥām-ī</i> محامي	<i>muḥām-ī-na</i> محامين	<i>muḥām-īn</i> محامين

Sound fem. plur. is completely regular, *al-muḥāmiy-ātu* المحاميات, etc.

3rd radical nouns where the weak 3rd radical is preceded by *-a-* lose the case distinctions entirely but retain *tanwīn* in the indef. form (this class is to be distinguished from the invariable class of words where *-ā* is a suffix, see 1.8.4): e.g. *-hudā* هدى ‘guidance’, root letters *h-d-y*.

	<i>Def.</i>	<i>Annexed</i>	<i>Indef.</i>	<i>Pausal</i>
All cases	<i>al-hudā</i> الهدى	<i>hudā</i> هدى	<i>hudan</i> هدى	<i>hudā</i> هدى

Duals and plurals of these words are hardly ever seen.

There are no weak 3rd radical nouns where a single final radical is preceded by *-u-*: wherever the pattern system produces the sequence *-u_w-/-uy-* it is changed to *-ī* and follows the inflections of *muḥāmī*, e.g. *ta‘addīn* تعد ‘aggression’ for **ta‘addūyun*. This is particularly important for the deverbal nouns from weak 3rd radical roots, cf. 1.11.1.

1.8.3 Partially inflected nouns

Partially inflected nouns never have *tanwīn*, and their inflections are reduced to two in the indef. forms only. The sing. nouns in this class are mostly proper names, but there are many plur. patterns which are partially inflected, e.g. *-‘ulamā’*- علماء ‘scholars’, ‘experts’:

	Def.	Annexed	Indef.	Pausal
Indep.	<i>al-‘ulamā’-u</i> العلماء	<i>‘ulamā’-u</i> علماء	<i>‘ulamā’-u</i> علماء	<i>‘ulamā’</i> علماء
Dep.	<i>al-‘ulamā’-a</i> العلماء	<i>‘ulamā’-a</i> علماء	<i>‘ulamā’-a</i> علماء	<i>‘ulamā’</i> علماء
Obl.	<i>al-‘ulamā’-i</i> العلماء	<i>‘ulamā’-i</i> علماء	<i>‘ulamā’-a</i> علماء	<i>‘ulamā’</i> علماء

1.8.4 Suffix *-ā*

Completely invariable are nouns ending in the suffix *-ā* (either *يَ* or *اَ*, not a 3rd weak radical, contrast *hudā* هدى above). They have neither *tanwīn* nor inflections, e.g. *-dīkrā* ذكْرَى ‘memory’ (with fem. suffix *يَ*).

	Def.	Annexed	Indef.	Pausal
All cases	<i>al-dīkrā</i> الذكْرَى	<i>dīkrā</i> ذكْرَى	<i>dīkrā</i> ذكْرَى	<i>dīkrā</i> ذكْرَى

Duals are hardly ever seen but plurals are common: sound, *dīkrāyāt* memories, broken, *-hadāyā* هدايا ‘gifts’ (plur. of *hadiyya* هدية, with suffix *اَ*).

	Def.	Annexed	Indef.	Pausal
All cases	<i>al-hadāyā</i> الهدايا	<i>hadāyā</i> هدايا	<i>hadāyā</i> هدايا	<i>hadāyā</i> هدايا

1.8.5 Proper names

Proper names (▷C2:26; see also definiteness 1.12.3) are usually uninflected now (with approval from the Academies): *wa-tas’alu maḥmūd kulla ṣabāḥin [...]* ‘an *yaqra’a lahā* لها أن يقرأ كل صباح [...] ‘she asks **Maḥmūd** every

morning to read to her', not CA *maḥmūdān* محمودًا marked with dep. form as dir. obj.

But inflection is still seen: *istad'ā 'ilayhi nadīmahu l-šā'ira 'abā nuwāsīn* استدعى إليه نديمه الشاعر أبا نواس 'he summoned his drinking partner the poet **Abū Nuwās**', with *'abā* أبا marked dep. in apposition to the dir. obj. *al-šā'ira* الشاعر 'the poet' (see 2.2.3 on apposition).

Sometimes usage is inconsistent within the same text: *'anna ra'īfan* أن رئيفا 'that **Ra'īf** [marked as dep., see 1.2.9]' but elsewhere *la'alla ra'īf* لعل رئيف 'perhaps **Ra'īf**' with no dep. case marking as required after *la'alla* لعل 'perhaps' (see 3.2.2 and 3.2.5 on the syntax).

Fem. names may be printed with pausal form (1.2.8), e.g. *nādiyah* نادية alternating with *nādiyatu* نادية 'Nadia'. The name may even be printed in parenthesis to avoid problems of inflection, e.g. *al-rā'iyatu (hadiyya)* الراعية (هدية) '**Hadiyya** the shepherdess' (note the word order, cf. 2.2.3). In *mala'a šadra ('abū 'aḥmad)* ملأ صدر (أبو أحمد) 'filled the breast of **Abū Aḥmad**' the name is also uninflected, for *šadra 'abī 'aḥmada* صدر أبي أحمد.

In the particular case of family names modelled on the Western system an inflection consistent with CA rules is impossible: in a name such as **Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahhāb** محمد عبد الوهاب agreement by apposition of the first (son) with the second (now family name, not direct parent) would be genealogically incorrect.

1.8.6 Adjectives

Adjective patterns are rather few, but are supplemented by the participial patterns (see 1.11) which often fulfil adjectival functions. The only common adjectival patterns are:

- fa'il* e.g. *kabīr* كبير 'big', *ṣagīr* صغير 'small',
ṣaḥīḥ صحيح 'true', *qawī* قوي 'strong'
 (= *qawīy* with weak 3rd radical)
fa'al e.g. *ḥasan* حسن 'good'
fa'il e.g. *kaḍīb* كذب 'mendacious'
fa'l e.g. *ḍaḥm* ضخم 'fat'

Note that these patterns are not unique to adjectives: there are many nouns in the same patterns (see noun patterns above).

For the emphatic adj. patterns *fa'āl* فَعَال etc. see 1.8.1.1.

1.8.6.1 Colours and defects are expressed through a particular set of patterns. The table shows the complete set (indep. form) of *'aḥmar* أحمر 'red' and *'aṭraṣ* أطرش 'deaf', and the inflections in the singular are identical with those of *'ulamā'* علماء above, while the dual and plur. are regular.

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Masc.	'aḥmaru أحمر 'aṭrašu أطرش	'aḥmarāni أحمران 'aṭrašāni أطرشان	ḥumrun حمير ṭurṣun طرش
Fem.	ḥamrā'u حمراء ṭaršā'u طرشاء	ḥamrāwāni حمراوان ṭaršāwāni طرشاوان	ḥumrun حمير ṭurṣun طرش

The sing. forms are partially inflected and never have *tanwīn* (see 1.8.3), the dual endings are regular (see 1.8.2, and note the substitution of -w- for -' before the suffix) and the plur. is regular and common to both genders (see 1.8.2).

1.8.6.2 *Elatives* (Arabic tafḍīl تفضيل 'making superior')

This is the name for a graded adjective which corresponds to both the comparative and superlative in English (see 2.11 for syntax). The forms are very similar to the previous set but the historical relationship is not entirely clear. The table shows the complete set (indep. form) of 'akbar أكبر 'bigger', 'biggest':

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Masc.	'akbaru أكبر	'akbarāni أكبران	'akbarūna أكبرون
Fem.	kubrā كبرى	kubrāyāni كبريان	kubrāyātun كبريات

The masc. sing. is partially inflected and never has *tanwīn* (see 1.5.1), the fem. sing. is invariable, the dual endings are regular (see 1.5.3) and the plur. is regular, either sound masc. or sound fem. (see 1.5.3).

1.8.6.3 *The nisba ('gentilic') subset*

CA had a well-developed mechanism for indicating membership of a class, originally a tribe or location, with the suffix -iyy-un, e.g. quraṣiyyun قُرَاشِي 'from the Qurayš tribe', makkiyyun مَكِّي 'from Mecca', subsequently generalized to any class, e.g. 'islāmiyyun إِسْلَامِي 'of Islam', 'Islamic', 'ilmiyyun عِلْمِي 'of science', 'scientific', malakiyyun مَلِكِي 'of the king', 'royal'.

This suffix, termed *nisba* ('relationship', and usually both realized and transcribed as -ī, see 1.2.8) has since become very productive, and in the process the CA morphological rules restricting the stem patterns have been more or less abandoned, with the consent of the academies, and almost the only remaining rule is that any fem. endings are removed before the *nisba* suffix is added.

MWA now makes *nisba* adjectives as the need arises (see 12.4.3 for further examples), e.g. riyādī ريادي 'pioneering' from riyāda ريادة 'exploration', drāmī درامي 'dramatic' from drāmā دراما 'drama', ma'lūmātī معلوماتي 'pertaining to information [technology]', muḥābarātī مُحَابَرَاتِي 'pertaining to the security services', from muḥābarāt مُحَابَرَات 'security services', etc.

Variants: -awī, e.g. tanmawī تَنْمَوِي 'developmental' from tanmiya تنمية 'development', -āwī, e.g. ma'sāwī مَأْسَوِي 'tragic', from ma'sāh مَأْسَاء 'tragedy'.

Complex *nisbas*: būrṣa'idī بُورْسَعِيدِي 'of/from Port Said', and cf. šarq 'awsaṭī شَرْقْ أَوْسَطِي 'Middle Eastern', from al-šarq al-awsaṭ الأوسط 'the Middle East' (see 2.1.3.5). For ra'simālī رَأْسِمَالِي 'of capital', 'capitalist' see 1.8.10.1.

There are also a few nouns with this ending, e.g. *iḥtiyāfī* احتياطي 'reserve', *bardī* بردي 'papyrus'.

1.8.7 Adverbials

The class of pure adverbs in Arabic is extremely small (see 1.6.11), and the same method of classification will be used as for preposition(al)s (see 1.8.8), namely, elements which are completely invariable and non-productive, both bound and free, will be called 'adverbs', and the term 'adverbials' will be applied to the open class of nouns in the dependent form which appear to correspond to English adverbs. A further distinction between adverbs and adverbials is that the former do not always have etymologies linking them to nouns.

Adverbials are dep. nouns, generally indef., and all are free forms; the class is now open, though in CA it was much much restricted (as adverbial qual. was largely effected through the various comps., see 2.4.2–2.4.7): the following are now more or less fossilized equivalents of Western 'adverbs' which have been in use since the medieval period:

<i>ayḍā</i> أَيْضًا 'also'	
<i>ʿabadān</i> أَبَدًا 'ever' (usually reinforcing neg., as 'never', see 4.2.8)	
<i>dāʾiman</i> دَائِمًا 'always'	<i>jiddan</i> جَدًّا 'very'
<i>al-battata</i> الْبَتَّةُ 'at all', 'absolutely'	<i>jamīʿan</i> جَمِيعًا 'wholly'
<i>muṭlaqan</i> مُطْلَقًا 'absolutely'	<i>ḥāṣṣatan</i> خَاصَّةً 'specially'

See further in 2.5 for the wide range of MWA adverbials, and note that a few of these also have an invariable form, e.g. *baʿdu* بَعْدُ 'afterwards' (see 1.6.11).

1.8.7.1 An extremely productive subset is the adverbial (dep.) form of the *nisba* adjective (see 1.8.6.3), e.g. *nisbiyyan* نَسَبِيًّا 'relatively' from *nisba* نَسَبَة 'relation', *siyāsiyyan* سِيَاسِيًّا 'politically' from *siyāsa* سِيَاسَة 'politics' (see 2.5 and examples in 2.5.1–2.5.4).

1.8.7.2 Compound adverbs

There is a group of compound words of which the first element is an adverbial (time noun in dep. form, cf. 2.5.2) annexed to the deictic elements *id* إِذْ or *dāka* ذَاكَ 'that':

<i>ḥīnaʾidīn</i> حِينَئِذٍ 'at that time', lit. 'at the time of that'
<i>yawmaʾidīn</i> يَوْمَئِذٍ 'on that day', lit. 'on the day of that'
<i>waqtaḍāka</i> وَقْتِذَاكَ 'at that time', lit. 'at the time of that'

Also to be included here are the compounds: *kaḍālika* كَذَلِكَ 'thus', lit. 'like that', *hākaḍā* هَكَذَا 'thus', lit. 'like this'.

1.8.7.3 For convenience a few specimen phrasal adverbs are listed here (see 2.5.8 for details):

bi-sur'atin بسرعة 'quickly', lit. 'with speed'

bi-wuḍūhin بوضوح 'clearly', lit. 'with clarity'

More elaborately:

bi-ṣūratin ḥāṣṣatin بصورة خاصة 'specially', lit. 'in a special form'

bi-ṣaklin 'āmin بشكل عام 'generally', lit. 'in a general form'

The occurrence of such forms such as *min-a l-'āna* من الآن 'from now' (not obl. *al-'āni*), *ḥattā l-'āna* حتى الآن 'until now', *fī 'ibbāna* في إبان 'in the time of', suggests that final vowel may now have become atrophied in some classes of words which most commonly occur as adverbials.

1.8.8 Prepositions and prepositionals

Arabic has two categories of word which map on to the Western class of prepositions, though they have different origins and should not be equated. There are true prepositions (1.6.12, 2.6, including a few whose original nominal quality is now extinct) and there are pure nouns with adverbial inflection (see 2.7) and prepositional function (cf. English 'in front of', 'at the back of'). Syntactically both behave identically, i.e. they form an annexation unit with their nouns (see 2.3), which accounts for the two types often being classed as undifferentiated 'prepositions'.

In this book the two groups will be kept terminologically distinct: the name 'prepositions' will be restricted to the closed class of items which have traditionally been identified as prepositions and with which any possible nominal status has long ceased to be recognisable, and these elements are now invariable. The name 'prepositionals' will be applied to those nouns whose function is superficially that of prepositions but which have not lost their nominal status and still inflect under certain conditions even in their 'prepositional' function. Their nominal status is further confirmed by their ability to form diminutives, e.g. *qubayla* قبيل 'a little before' from *qabla* قبل 'before' (see diminutive 1.8.1.2). The class of prepositionals is probably still open. On occasions the form 'preposition(al)' will be used where the original grammatical status of the item is not relevant.

Prepositionals are all free forms. Since the class is still somewhat ill-defined, the following list is merely a sample to show the close correspondence between these nouns and the English prepositions (see 2.7 for treatment of all the nouns which appear to have achieved lexical status as prepositionals):

<i>bayna</i> بين 'between'	<i>ba'da</i> بعد 'after'	<i>qabla</i> قبل 'before'
<i>tahta</i> تحت 'under'	<i>fawqa</i> فوق 'above'	<i>naḥwa</i> نحو 'towards'
<i>ḥilāla</i> خلال 'during'	<i>'izā'a</i> إزاء 'opposite'	<i>jiwāra</i> جوار 'beside'
<i>ḥawla</i> حول 'around'	<i>ḥārija</i> خارج 'outside'	<i>dāḥila</i> داخل 'inside'
<i>ḍidda</i> ضد 'against'	<i>warā'a</i> وراء 'behind'	<i>quddāma</i> قدام 'in front of'

For preposition(al)s + relatives, such as *ba* ‘*damā* بعدما ‘after’ (conjunction), see 5.7.

1.8.9 Nominal exclamations (cf. 3.27.4; 3.28)

waylun li - ويلٌ لـ ‘woe to...!’
subhāna سبحان ‘glory be to...!’, *wayḥa* - ويح ‘woe to...!’
‘ayyu أي ‘what...!’, *kam* كم ‘how much ...!’

1.8.10 Compound and quasi-compound nouns

True compound nouns are rare, and are intrinsically invariable. This class is now represented only by the numbers 13–19 (see 2.12.4 and 2.12.5), one or two phrases such as *layla nahāra* ليل نهار ‘night and day’ (2.5.2) and an occasional place name. The hundreds from 300 are orthographically compounds, but they inflect internally (see 2.12.8). The other candidates, the so-called *naḥt* types (see 1.8.10.2, 12.5), would inflect if CA rules were applied, though in practice they do not.

A few cases of sentences behaving as a noun exist, e.g. *mā jarayāt* ما جريات ‘happenings’, a fem. plur. of the phrase *mā jarā* ما جرى ‘what happened’, *al-mā-warā’iyyātu* الماورائيات ‘things transcendental’, lit. ‘what is beyond’ with the abstract noun plur. suffix *-iyyāt* يات (12.4), *al-lā’ adriyyūna* اللا أدريون ‘sceptics’, lit. ‘the I don’t knows’. There are CA precedents for this but it is not apparently very productive.

To reproduce compound nouns from Western languages MWA predominantly uses either noun+adj. or annexation units (see 2.3.4 and cf. also 1.8.10.3).

1.8.10.1 In the case of *ra’simālī* رأسمالي ‘of capital’, ‘capitalist’ (▷C2:97) the adjective seems to be a genuine compound, but the structure is evidently not productive, and the noun is the regular annexation unit *ra’su l-mālī* رأس المال ‘capital’, lit. ‘the head of the money’. Among other specimens noted is *šibhijumla* شبهجملة ‘quasi-sentence’, and there is evidence that the intervening vowel may even be spelt long, e.g. *ba’diḥarbī* بعددحربي ‘post-war’ (see next section).

1.8.10.2 There is a large set of compounds, apparently all adjectives and scientific coinages, using the CA principle of *naḥt*, lit. ‘sculpting’, i.e. fusing two words into one, to form compounds from the components of other words, e.g. *baytaqāfi* بينثقافي ‘intercultural’ from *bayna* بين ‘between’ and *taqāfa* ثقافة ‘culture’ (see 12.5 for more examples).

Scientific terms show a more adventurous morphology, e.g. *ḥadidik* حديدك and *ḥadidos* حديدوس to reproduce ‘ferric’ and ‘ferrous’ respectively, using the Arabic *ḥadid* حديد ‘iron’ and adding the Western suffixes. However, their impact on ordinary MWA is slight so far.

1.8.10.3 Quasi-compounds

Many compound nouns equivalents are formed by preposing or annexing with the appropriate negative or quantifier or the like. A few specimens only are provided here: see 12.6; 12.7 for more examples.

- Negatives: ‘un-’, ‘non-’ *lā* لا ‘not’; *ḡayr* غير ‘other than’; ‘adam’ *adam* عدم ‘lack of’, e.g.:

al-da‘mu l-lā-mahdūdu الدعم اللامحدود ‘unlimited support’,
lit. ‘the no-limited’

- Quantifiers:

‘quasi-’ *šibh* شبه ‘like’; ‘semi-’ *niṣf* نصف ‘half’
‘re-’ *i‘ādat* ‘repetition of’

- Others: ‘trans-’ *‘abra* عبر ‘across’; ‘mid-’ *waṣṭa* وسط ‘in the middle of’; ‘pre-’ *qabla* قبل ‘before’, ‘post-’ *ba‘da* بعد ‘after’, e.g.:

munaẓẓamātun ‘abra qawmiyyatin ‘uḥrā

منظمات عبر قومية أخرى

‘other **transnational** organizations’, lit. ‘across of national’

- ‘-able’ *qābil* قابل ‘receptive’, e.g. (this example combines with *ḡayr* غير ‘un-’)

ḡayru qābilin li-l-taksīri

غير قابل للتكسير

‘unbreakable’, lit. ‘other than **receptive** of breaking’

1.9 VERB MORPHOLOGY

Verb morphology encodes five grammatical categories: stem, aspect, voice, mood and agent, some being interlocking. As elsewhere, the citation form of the verb will be used by default, namely, the 3rd masc. sing. perf., e.g. *kataba* كتب ‘he wrote’ and ‘to write’, and patterns may also be referred to by the *fa‘ala* فعل convention (see 1.4.2). Since stems are the main issue here, the transliterations will capitalize the radicals, e.g. *KaTaB*-.

1.9.1.1 The stem of the verb is either basic or augmented (the latter often referred to as ‘derived forms’ but ‘stems’ is preferred here because the emphasis here is on the creation of a new paradigmatic base). Basic stems consist of the minimal consonants of the root (normally three, but also four, see 1.9.1.7). In the perf. these consonants enclose the characteristic vowels of the perf. aspect, e.g. *KaTaB*- (where the final radical further carries the agent suffixes), and in the imperf. the three consonants are embedded in the imperf. affixes, e.g. *ya-KTuB*- (where the final radical carries further markers of mood, number, etc.).

The vowels vary in both aspects, originally perhaps on the grounds of verb class (stative, transitive, intransitive, etc.), but now best treated as a lexical feature: while it is true that all verbs with *-u-* as their medial vowel in the perf. are intransitive and also have *-u-* in their imperf., the *yaf'ulu* form may be transitive. Even the crude generalization that most verbs are of the pattern *fa'ala* in the perf. and *yaf'ulu* in the imperf. is unreliable.

In the perf. there are three patterns of stem vowels: (1) *a-a*, as in *KaTaB-* كَتَبَ 'to write'; (2) *a-i*, as in *ŠaRiB-* شَرِبَ 'to drink' and (3) *a-u*, as in *HaSuN-* حَسُنَ 'to be good'.

In the imperf. there are three possible stem vowels, namely, *-a-*, as in *yaŠRaB-* يَشْرَبُ 'he drinks', *-i-*, as in *yaDRiB-* يَضْرِبُ 'he hits' and *-u-* as in *yaKTuB-* يَكْتُبُ 'he writes'.

1.9.1.2 Augmented (derived) stems (or forms) are expansions of the basic stem by various means, and are conventionally numbered from II to XV, each of which implies (though not consistently) a specific semantic extension of the root meaning. The following brief characterizations of those extensions should be reinforced by consultation of more detailed sources, and as always the likelihood that a stem has more than one root meaning can never be ruled out. In addition, the fiction will be maintained that the augmented stems are in fact derived directly from the base stem, though in practice this is not always the case:

- Stem II, *fa'ala* فَعَّلَ, i.e. doubled middle radical, e.g. *QaRRaB-* قَرَّبَ 'to bring near', from *QaRuB-* قَرُبَ 'to be near'. Stem II verbs are largely factitive or causative as shown, but an extremely important stem II function is to create delocutives, e.g. *KaBBaR-* كَبَّرَ 'to say *allāhu 'akbar*' [God is most great]', *SalLaM-* سَلَّمَ 'to say *'al-salāmu 'alaykum*' [peace upon you]', both of which contrast with a factitive *KaBBaR-* 'to enlarge', 'magnify' from *KaBuR-* كَبُرَ 'to be big' and *SalLaM-* 'to preserve from injury' from *SaLiM-* سَلِمَ 'to be safe from harm'.
- Stem III, *fā'ala* فَاعَلَ, i.e. with lengthened first syllable, makes the indirect obj. (nearly always human) of a verb into its direct obj., e.g. *KāTaB-* كَاتَبَ 'to write to someone', from *KaTaB-* كَتَبَ 'to write'. This pattern also has a conative sense, e.g. *QāTaL-* قَاتَلَ 'to fight against', i.e. 'try to kill' from *QaTaL-* قَتَلَ 'to kill'.
- Stem IV, *'af'ala* أَفْعَلَ, i.e. prefix *'a-*, with loss of an internal syllable, another causative, e.g. *'aŠLaḤa-* أَصْلَحَ 'to reform', 'improve', from *ŠaLuḤ-* صَلَحَ 'to be sound', 'to be healthy'. Among the other meanings of stem IV which is still active is that of performing in a certain manner, e.g. *'aḤSaN-* أَحْسَنَ 'to do something well', *'aKTaR-* أَكْثَرَ 'to do something frequently', see 2.5.8, 3.23.4.
- Stem V, *tafa'ala* تَفَاعَلَ, i.e. stem II with prefix *ta-*, is often the reflexive of stem II, e.g. *taQaRRaB-* تَقَرَّبَ 'to approach', 'to be brought near'.

- Stem VI, *tafā'ala* تَفَاعَلَ, i.e. stem III with prefix *ta-*, is often the reflexive of stem III, hence has largely reciprocal meaning, e.g. *taKāTaB-* تَكَاتَبَ 'to write to each another', cf. 3.11.4.
- Stem VII, *infa'ala* اِنْفَعَلَ, i.e. with prefix *-n-* (see 1.2.1.1 for the resolution of the initial consonant cluster which arises), conveys a middle or passive sense, e.g. *inFaTaH-* اِنْفَتَحَ 'to come open [by itself]'. For phonological reasons verbs with 1st radical *w-*, *y-*, and the liquids *n-*, *l-*, *r-* do not form stem VII verbs (though they do occur in some colloquials).
- Stem VIII, *ifta'ala* اِفْتَعَلَ, i.e. with infix *-t-* (the resulting consonant cluster is resolved in exactly the same way as in stem VII, and it may help with the paradigm to observe that prosodically these two forms are identical, namely, iCCaCaC, thus VII = inCaCaCa, VIII = iCtaCaCa). The meanings of stem VIII are impossible to define with accuracy: it seems mostly to be used when the action has some personal importance to the agent, e.g. *iJtaMa-* اِجْتَمَعَ 'to gather together [e.g. for a meeting]', from *JaMa-* جَمَعَ 'to gather', *iJTaHaD-* اِجْتَهَدَ 'to exert oneself' from *JaHaD-* جَهَدَ 'to strive'.

Assimilation problems: the phonology of stem VIII is complicated by the fact that the infix *-t-* assimilates to the first radical of the verb in various ways:

- Partial assimilation, progressive $t > t$, $t > d$:
iṣṭabara اصْطَبَرَ 'to endure' from *ṣabara* صَبَرَ
iḍṭaraba اضْطَرَبَ 'to be confused' from *ḍaraba* ضَرَبَ
izdahara ازْدَهَرَ 'to flourish' from *zahara* زَهَرَ
 The case of *iṭṭarada* اِطَّرَدَ 'to be uninterrupted' from *ṭarada* طَرَدَ probably belongs here rather than under complete assimilation.
- Complete assimilation, progressive, $t > d$, $t > \underline{d}$, $t > \underline{z}$:
iddaḡama ادَّغَمَ 'to assimilate' from *daḡama* دَغَمَ
iddaḥara ادَّخَرَ 'to store', from *ḍaḥara* ذَخَرَ (less commonly *idḍaḥara* ادَّخَرَ)
iẓẓalama اِظْلَمَ 'to be wronged' from *ẓalama* ظَلَمَ (also explained as stem VII, **inẓalama* انْظَلَمَ)
- Complete assimilation, regressive, $w > t$ and ' to t :
ittafaqa اتَّفَقَ 'to agree', from *wafaqa* وَفَقَ
ittahaḡa اتَّخَذَ 'to adopt' from *'ahaḡa* أَخَذَ

Note that in all the above the characteristic stem VIII syllable structure is preserved, iCCaCaCa.

- Stem IX, *if'alla* اِفْعَلَّ, i.e. with doubling of 3rd radical, which probably accounts for the compensatory clustering of the initial syllable. This stem is restricted to verbs indicating colours or physical defects, e.g. *iḤMaRR-* احْمَرَّ 'to be or go red', cognate with *'aḤMaR-* أَحْمَرَ 'red'.

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- Stem X, *istafʿala* اِسْتَفْعَلَ, i.e. with prefix *sta-* (and the same problems with initial consonant clusters as VII, VIII and IX), conveys an estimative sense, e.g. *istaḤSaNa* اِسْتَحْسَنَ ‘to regard as good’, ‘to approve’, from *HaSuN-* حَسَنَ ‘to be good’. It can also denote requests, e.g. *istaʿLaM-* اِسْتَعْلَمَ ‘to enquire’, i.e. to ask for knowledge, from *aLiM-* عَلِمَ ‘to know’.

The remaining stems are exceedingly rare, with the exception of XII.

- Stem XI, *ifʿālla* اِفْعَالٌ is a longer form of stem IX and has the same functions, with somewhat more emphasis, e.g. *iḤmāRRa* اِحْمَارٌ ‘to be very red’.
- Stem XII, *ifʿawʿala* اِفْعَوْعَلَ, with reduplication of the middle radical and the infix *-aw-*, e.g. *iḤDawDaB-* ‘to be hunchbacked’, cognate with *aḤDaB* اَحْدَبٌ ‘hunchbacked’; this form is by no means rare.

The following were not seen in the data:

- Stem XIII, *ifʿawwala* اِفْعَوَّلَ, a variant of XII.
- Stem XIV, *ifʿanlala* اِفْعَنَّلا, with infix *-an-* and reduplication of 3rd radical.
- Stem XV, *ifʿanlā* اِفْعَنْلَى, a variant of XIV with suffix *-ā* instead of reduplication.

A small number of verbs still lie outside the system, e.g. *irʿawā* ارْعَوَى ‘to desist’, conventionally treated as a stem IX, though no examples were found outside the dictionaries.

For quadriliteral stems see 1.9.1.7.

1.9.1.3 Aspect (also tense, since the distinction is no longer clear in MWA) is expressed by the appropriate stem, perfect or imperfect. All the examples above are given in the perfect.

1.9.1.4 Voice is either active or passive and is marked entirely by the vowel pattern. While there is some variation in the sequences of vowels in the active throughout all the stems (complicated by differences in the vowels of the personal prefixes), the vowels of all passive verbs are uniform, perf. *-u-i-*, with a spread left (so *-u-i-* becomes *-u-u-i-*) and imperf *-u-a-*, with a spread right if the stem has more than one syllable, including now the affixes (so *-u-a-* becomes *-u-a-a-*).

	<i>Perf.</i>		<i>Imperf.</i>	
Stem I	<i>-u-i-</i>		<i>-u-a-</i>	
	<i>KuTiB-</i>	‘was written’	<i>yuKTaB-</i>	‘is written’
Others	<i>-u-u-i-</i>		<i>-u-a-a-</i>	
	<i>tuQuRRiB-</i>	‘approaching was done’	<i>yutaQaRRaB-</i>	‘approaching is done’
	<i>uJtuHiD-</i>	‘striving was done’	<i>yuJtaHaD-</i>	‘striving is done’
	<i>ustuḤSiN-</i>	it was approved	<i>yustaḤSaN-</i>	‘it is approved’

The Arabic passive is essentially impersonal (cf. 3.12.4), hence the translations above are more literal than idiomatic.

1.9.1.5 Mood is a property of imperf. verbs only, and is marked by changes in the suffixes (see 1.5.2 for a complete list).

1.9.1.6 Agents are marked by suffixes in perf. and a combination of prefixes and suffixes in imperf. verbs (see 1.5.3 for complete list).

1.9.1.7 Quadriliteral verbs, i.e. those with four radicals, are not a homogeneous category, and are conventionally divided into four groups: a basic stem QI and its augmented stem QII, then two unrelated stems QIII and QIV. Paradigms are at 1.10.12.

QI *fa'lala* فَعَلَّلَ (the symbolic *fa'ala* acquires an extra 3rd radical) has the same prosodic structure as stem II of the trilateral verbs, i.e. with a medial consonant cluster, compare *QaRRaB-* ($C^1aC^2C^2aC^3$), *yuQaRRiB-* ($yuC^1aC^2C^2iC^3$) with *JaMHaR-* ($C^1aC^2C^3aC^4$), *yuJaMHiR-* ($yuC^1aC^2C^3iC^4$), and likewise QII is prosodically the same as trilateral stem V, i.e. with *ta-* prefixed, *tafa'lala* تَفَعَّلَلَ.

Their patterns are as follows, using the verb *jamhara* جَمَّهَرَ ‘to crowd together’.

		Active	Passive
QI	Perf.	<i>JaMHaR-</i>	<i>JuMHiR-</i>
	Imperf.	<i>yuJaMHiR-</i>	<i>yuJaMHaR-</i>
QII	Perf.	<i>taJaMHaR-</i>	<i>tuJuMHiR-</i>
	Imperf.	<i>yataJaMHaR-</i>	<i>yutaJaMHaR-</i>

These roots are often reduplicated, e.g. *ZaLZaLa* زَلَزَلَ ‘to shake’ (trans.), *taZaLZaLa* تَزَلَزَلَ ‘to quake’, ‘to be shaken’.

QIII *if'anlala* اِفْعَنْلَلَ is rather rare. Historically, it is an extension of trilateral or quadriliteral roots by infixation, e.g. *iSLanTaHa* اسْلَنْطَحَ ‘to be broad’, ‘to be wide’, where for dictionary purposes the *-n-* is treated as an infix. Examples are still listed in Wehr, but none have been found in the data; however, the paradigm has the same prosodic structure as the trilateral stem X, cf. *yaSTaHRiJu* يَسْتَخْرِجُ ‘he extracts’ ($yaSTaC^1C^2iC^3$) and QIII *yaSLanTiHu* يَسْلَنْطَحُ ($yaC^1C^2aNC^3iC^4$) ‘it is broad’. The QIII stem is also prosodically identical with trilateral stem XIV.

QIV *if'alalla* اِفْعَلَّلَ, on the other hand, is quite common, and always involves doubling of the final radical, hence these verbs display the same structure as stem X doubled verbs, cf. *yastaHiMMu* يَسْتَحِمُّ ‘he bathes’ ($yaSTaC^1iC^2C^2$), *yastaHiMna* يَسْتَحِمْنَ ‘they [fem. plur.] bathe’ ($yaSTaC^1C^2iC^2na$) and *yaDMaHLiLu*, يَضْمَحِلُّ ‘it fades away’ ($yaC^1C^2aC^3iC^4C^4$) *yaDMaHLiLna* يَضْمَحِلْنَ ‘they [fem. plur.] fade away’ ($yaC^1C^2aC^3C^4iC^4na$).

1.9.1.8 In all of the above no account has been taken of the morphonologically determined variants. These are certainly numerous, but are almost entirely rule governed, and the tables below should give sufficient information for the correct production of every form in all the paradigms.

The following general rules may be helpful:

- From stem II onwards the range of possibilities is reduced to one (except for the verbal nouns), in other words, these verbal paradigms contain no alternatives.
- Non-canonical sequences are all resolved in the same way, on the model of one of the verbs listed in full below, e.g. all passive verbs with 3rd weak radical -w or -y conjugate like لَقِيَ *laqiya* in the perf. and رَمِيَ *ramā* in the imperf., regardless of stem number, e.g. اِخْتَفَى *iḥtafā* 'to hide', stem VIII, passive perf. اُخْتُفِيَ *uḥtiḥtiya*, imperf. يُخْتَفَى *yuhṭafā*; all hollow verbs have the same alternation of a long and short stem in all forms, e.g. اِنْقَادَ *inqāda* 'to be led' with long stem -qād- before vowels both in the perf. and the imperf. and the short stem -qad- before consonants, *inqad-tu* اِنْقَدْتُ 'I was led', *yanqad-na* يَنْقَدْنَ 'they [fem.] are led', etc. (which means that all the unvowelled apocopated forms will also have the short stem, e.g. *lam yanqad* لَمْ يَنْقَدْ 'he was not led').
- A few anomalies survive, but will be immediately apparent from the lexicon: a few verbs retain a strong semi-vowel -w-, e.g. اَحْوَلَ *aḥwala* (imperf. *yuhwilu* يُحْوَلُ) 'to be squint-eyed', *istaḥwada* اِسْتَحْوَذَ (imperf. *yastaḥwidu* يَسْتَحْوِذُ) 'to overwhelm'. Some doublets are now observable, e.g. strong *istajwaba* اِسْتَجَوَّبَ (imperf. *yastajwibu* يَسْتَجِوِبُ) 'to interrogate', contrasting with weak *istajāba* اِسْتَجَابَ (imperf. *yastajību* يَسْتَجِيبُ) 'to answer a request'. These conjugate exactly like regular verbs, but it is not clear whether this class will become productive.

1.9.2 Stem I phonological variants

The following paradigms show stem I in all phonological variants (vocalization of the Arabic is, however, kept to a minimum). For the augmented stems see 1.10. To obtain the passive paradigm make the stem substitutions indicated. Participles are given even if sometimes rather implausible (though a pass. *makūn* مَكُون from *kāna* كَانَ 'be' is recorded as an impersonal: 'in which being has been done'). For verbal nouns, basically non-predictable, see 1.11. 'Energetic' forms are not listed: see 1.5.2.2.

Regular verb with three sound radicals, *balaḡa* بَلَغَ 'to reach', active stems perf. *balaḡ* بَلَغَ, imperf. *-a-bluḡ-* يَبْلُغُ, active part. *bālīḡ* بَالِغٌ, pass. part. *mablūḡ* مَبْلُوغٌ. For variations in medial vowels see 1.9.1.1.

The passive stems are perf. *buliḡ* بُلِيَغٌ and imperf. *-u-blaḡ-* يُبْلَغُ.

Perfect

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1st	<i>balag-tu</i> بَلَّغْتُ	(none)	<i>balag-nā</i> بَلَّغْنَا
2nd m.	<i>balag-ta</i> بَلَّغْتَ	<i>balag-tum-ā</i> بَلَّغْتُمَا	<i>balag-tum</i> بَلَّغْتُمْ
2nd f.	<i>balag-ti</i> بَلَّغْتِ	(same)	<i>balag-tumna</i> بَلَّغْتُنَّ
3rd m.	<i>balag-a</i> بَلَّغَ	<i>balag-ā</i> بَلَّغَا	<i>balag-ū</i> بَلَّغُوا
3rd f.	<i>balag-at</i> بَلَّغَتْ	<i>balag-at-ā</i> بَلَّغْتَا	<i>balag-na</i> بَلَّغْنَ

Imperfect

	<i>Indep.</i>	<i>Dep.</i>	<i>Apoc.</i>	<i>Imperat.</i>
Sing.				
1st	<i>'a-bluḡ-u</i> أَبْلُغُ	<i>'a-bluḡ-a</i> أَبْلُغْ	<i>'a-bluḡ</i> أَبْلُغْ	
2nd m.	<i>ta-bluḡ-u</i> تَبْلُغْ	<i>ta-bluḡ-a</i> تَبْلُغْ	<i>ta-bluḡ</i> تَبْلُغْ	<i>u-bluḡ</i> أَبْلُغْ
2nd f.	<i>ta-bluḡ-i-na</i> تَبْلِغِينَ	<i>ta-bluḡ-ī</i> تَبْلِغِي	<i>ta-bluḡ-ī</i> تَبْلِغِي	<i>u-bluḡī</i> أَبْلِغِي
3rd m.	<i>ya-bluḡ-u</i> يَبْلُغْ	<i>ya-bluḡ-a</i> يَبْلُغْ	<i>ya-bluḡ</i> يَبْلُغْ	
3rd f.	<i>ta-bluḡ-u</i> تَبْلُغْ	<i>ta-bluḡ-a</i> تَبْلُغْ	<i>ta-bluḡ</i> تَبْلُغْ	
Dual				
2nd	<i>ta-bluḡ-ā-ni</i> تَبْلِغَانِ	<i>ta-bluḡ-ā</i> تَبْلِغَا	<i>ta-bluḡ-ā</i> تَبْلِغَا	<i>u-bluḡā</i> أَبْلِغَا
3rd m.	<i>ya-bluḡ-ā-ni</i> يَبْلِغَانِ	<i>ya-bluḡ-ā</i> يَبْلِغَا	<i>ya-bluḡ-ā</i> تَبْلِغَا	
3rd f.	<i>ta-bluḡ-ā-ni</i> تَبْلِغَانِ	<i>ta-bluḡ-ā</i> تَبْلِغَا	<i>ta-bluḡ-ā</i> تَبْلِغَا	
Plur.				
1st	<i>na-bluḡ-u</i> نَبْلُغْ	<i>na-bluḡ-a</i> نَبْلُغْ	<i>na-bluḡ</i> نَبْلُغْ	
2nd m.	<i>ta-bluḡ-ū-na</i> تَبْلِغُونَ	<i>ta-bluḡ-ū</i> تَبْلِغُوا	<i>ta-bluḡ-ū</i> تَبْلِغُوا	<i>u-bluḡū</i> أَبْلِغُوا
2nd f.	<i>ta-bluḡ-na</i> تَبْلِغْنَ	<i>ta-bluḡ-na</i> تَبْلِغْنَ	<i>ta-bluḡ-na</i> تَبْلِغْنَ	<i>u-bluḡna</i> أَبْلِغْنَ
3rd m.	<i>ya-bluḡ-ū-na</i> يَبْلِغُونَ	<i>ya-bluḡ-ū</i> يَبْلِغُوا	<i>ya-bluḡ-ū</i> تَبْلِغُوا	
3rd f.	<i>ya-bluḡ-na</i> يَبْلِغْنَ	<i>ya-bluḡ-na</i> يَبْلِغْنَ	<i>ya-bluḡ-na</i> يَبْلِغْنَ	

The various phonologically determined deviations from the above scheme can be summed up in tables for each kind, with the rule that all simple and derived stems will follow the same principle, as will be explained before each paradigm.

Doubled verbs (2nd and 3rd radical identical), *ḍamma* ضَمَّ ‘to bring together’, ‘to embrace’. With these verbs the two identical radicals are either assimilated or remain unassimilated, hence, like the hollow verbs (see below), they have two stems, one long (in this case unassimilated) and one short (assimilated), selected by the same criterion, namely, the long stem, here perf. *ḍamam*-ضَمَمَ, imperf. *-a-ḍmum*-ضَمَمَ before unvowelled agent suffixes (and by definition then in the apocopated form, but see further below), and the short stem, here perf. *ḍamm*-ضَمَّ, imperf. *-a-ḍumm*-ضَمَّ before vowelled suffixes (actually the opposite distribution to that of hollow verbs).

In these verbs the archaic and morphologically quite regular apocopated *taḍmum* تَضَمُّم *naḍmum* نَضَمُّم etc., have been entirely replaced by the ancient variant

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taḍumma نَضُمَ, *naḍumma* نَضُمَ etc. and the paradigm is thus now identical in every way with the dep. form. The imperatives likewise are now based on the dep. rather than the apoc. form. Passive stems are perf. *ḍumm-* ضُمِّ, *ḍumim-* ضُمِّمَ, imperf. *u-ḍamm-* يُضَمُّ, *u-ḍmam-* يُضَمِّمُ, active part. *ḍāmm* ضَامٌّ, pass. part. *maḍmūm* مَضْمُومٌ.

Perfect

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1st	<i>ḍamam-tu</i> ضَمَمْتُ	(none)	<i>ḍamam-nā</i> ضَمَمْنَا
2nd m.	<i>ḍamam-ta</i> ضَمَمْتَ	<i>ḍamam-tum-ā</i> ضَمَمْتُمَا	<i>ḍamam-tum</i> ضَمَمْتُمْ
2nd f.	<i>ḍamam-ti</i> ضَمَمْتِ	(same)	<i>ḍamam-tunna</i> ضَمَمْتِنَ
3rd m.	<i>ḍamm-a</i> ضَمَّ	<i>ḍamm-ā</i> ضَمَّا	<i>ḍamm-ū</i> ضَمُّوا
3rd f.	<i>ḍamm-at</i> ضَمَّتْ	<i>ḍamm-at-ā</i> ضَمَّتَا	<i>ḍamam-na</i> ضَمْنَنَ

Imperfect

	<i>Indep.</i>	<i>Dep.</i>	<i>Apoc.</i>	<i>Imperat.</i>
<i>Sing.</i>				
1st	<i>'a-ḍumm-u</i> أُضِمُّ	<i>'a-ḍumm-a</i> أُضِمَّ	<i>'a-ḍumm-a</i> أُضِمَّ	
2nd m.	<i>ta-ḍumm-u</i> تُضَمُّ	<i>ta-ḍumm-a</i> تُضَمَّ	<i>ta-ḍumm-a</i> تُضَمَّ	<i>ḍumm-a</i> ضِمَّ
2nd f.	<i>ta-ḍumm-i-na</i> تُضَمِّينَ	<i>ta-ḍumm-i</i> تُضَمِّي	<i>ta-ḍumm-i</i> تُضَمِّي	<i>ḍumm-i</i> ضَمِّي
3rd m.	<i>ya-ḍumm-u</i> يَضُمُّ	<i>ya-ḍumm-a</i> يَضَمَّ	<i>ya-ḍumm-a</i> يَضَمَّ	
3rd f.	<i>ta-ḍumm-u</i> تُضَمُّ	<i>ta-ḍumm-a</i> تُضَمَّ	<i>ta-ḍumm-a</i> تُضَمَّ	
<i>Dual</i>				
2nd	<i>ta-ḍumm-ā-ni</i> تُضَمَّانَ	<i>ta-ḍumm-ā</i> تُضَمَّا	<i>ta-ḍumm-ā</i> تُضَمَّا	<i>ḍumm-ā</i> ضَمَّا
3rd m.	<i>ya-ḍumm-ā-ni</i> يَضَمَّانَ	<i>ya-ḍumm-ā</i> يَضَمَّا	<i>ya-ḍumm-ā</i> يَضَمَّا	
3rd f.	<i>ta-ḍumm-ā-ni</i> تُضَمَّانَ	<i>ta-ḍumm-ā</i> تُضَمَّا	<i>ta-ḍumm-ā</i> تُضَمَّا	
<i>Plur.</i>				
1st	<i>na-ḍumm-u</i> نَضُمُّ	<i>na-ḍumm-a</i> نَضَمَّ	<i>na-ḍumm-a</i> نَضَمَّ	
2nd m.	<i>ta-ḍumm-ū-na</i> تَضُمُّونَ	<i>ta-ḍumm-ū</i> تَضُمُوا	<i>ta-ḍumm-ū</i> تَضُمُوا	<i>ḍumm-ū</i> ضُمُّوا
2nd f.	<i>ta-ḍum-na</i> تَضُمْنَ	<i>ta-ḍum-na</i> تَضُمْنَ	<i>ta-ḍum-na</i> تَضُمْنَ	<i>u-ḍum-na</i> اِضْمَنْ
3rd m.	<i>ya-ḍumm-ū-na</i> يَضُمُّونَ	<i>ya-ḍumm-ū</i> يَضُمُوا	<i>ya-ḍumm-ū</i> يَضُمُوا	
3rd f.	<i>ya-ḍum-na</i> يَضُمْنَ	<i>ya-ḍum-na</i> يَضُمْنَ	<i>ya-ḍum-na</i> يَضُمْنَ	

1st radical w- verbs. In these verbs the perfect is completely regular, and the imperfect has a short stem lacking the 1st radical, e.g. *wajada* وجد 'to find', perf. stem *wajad-* وَجَدَ, imperf. *-a-jid-* جَدَ. The passive stems are perf. *wujid-* وَجِدَ and imperf. *-ū-jad-* يُوجَدُ (where the 1st radical is retained in the context of the *u*-vowel in the prefix), active part. *wājid* واجِد, pass. part. *mawjūd* موجود.

Perfect

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
1st	<i>wajad-tu</i> وَجَدْتُ	(none)	<i>wajad-nā</i> وَجَدْنَا
2nd m.	<i>wajad-ta</i> وَجَدْتَ	<i>wajad-tum-ā</i> وَجَدْتُمَا	<i>wajad-tum</i> وَجَدْتُمْ
2nd f.	<i>wajad-ti</i> وَجَدْتِ	(same)	<i>wajad-tunna</i> وَجَدْتُنَّ
3rd m.	<i>wajad-a</i> وَجَدَ	<i>wajad-ā</i> وَجَدَا	<i>wajad-ū</i> وَجَدُوا
3rd f.	<i>wajad-at</i> وَجَدَتْ	<i>wajad-at-ā</i> وَجَدَتَا	<i>wajad-na</i> وَجَدْنَ

Imperfect

	Indep.	Dep.	Apoc.	Imperat.
Sing.				
1st	<i>'a-jid-u</i> أَجِدُ	<i>'a-jid-a</i> أَجِدُ	<i>'a-jid</i> أَجِدْ	
2nd m.	<i>ta-jid-u</i> تَجِدُ	<i>ta-jid-a</i> تَجِدُ	<i>ta-jid</i> تَجِدْ	<i>jid</i> جِدْ
2nd f.	<i>ta-jid-i-na</i> تَجِدِينَ	<i>ta-jid-i</i> تَجِدِي	<i>ta-jid-i</i> تَجِدِي	<i>jid-i</i> جِدِي
3rd m.	<i>ya-jid-u</i> يَجِدُ	<i>ya-jid-a</i> يَجِدُ	<i>ya-jid</i> يَجِدْ	
3rd f.	<i>ta-jid-u</i> تَجِدُ	<i>ta-jid-a</i> تَجِدُ	<i>ta-jid</i> تَجِدْ	
Dual				
2nd	<i>ta-jid-ā-ni</i> تَجِدَانِ	<i>ta-jid-ā</i> تَجِدَا	<i>ta-jid-ā</i> تَجِدَا	<i>jid-ā</i> جِدَا
3rd m.	<i>ya-jid-ā-ni</i> يَجِدَانِ	<i>ya-jid-ā</i> يَجِدَا	<i>ya-jid-ā</i> يَجِدَا	
3rd f.	<i>ta-jid-ā-ni</i> تَجِدَانِ	<i>ta-jid-ā</i> تَجِدَا	<i>ta-jid-ā</i> تَجِدَا	
Plur.				
1st	<i>na-jid-u</i> نَجِدُ	<i>na-jid-a</i> نَجِدُ	<i>na-jid</i> نَجِدْ	
2nd m.	<i>ta-jid-ū-na</i> تَجِدُونَ	<i>ta-jid-ū</i> تَجِدُوا	<i>ta-jid-ū</i> تَجِدُوا	<i>jid-ū</i> جِدُوا
2nd f.	<i>ta-jid-na</i> تَجِدْنَ	<i>ta-jid-na</i> تَجِدْنَ	<i>ta-jid-na</i> تَجِدْنَ	<i>jid-na</i> جِدْنَ
3rd m.	<i>ya-jid-ū-na</i> يَجِدُونَ	<i>ya-jid-ū</i> يَجِدُوا	<i>ya-jid-ū</i> يَجِدُوا	
3rd f.	<i>ya-jid-na</i> يَجِدْنَ	<i>ya-jid-na</i> يَجِدْنَ	<i>ya-jid-na</i> يَجِدْنَ	

The pattern *wajila* وجل 'to be afraid', with imperf. *yawjalu* يوجل, retaining the *w*- in the stem, is rare (not seen in the data but listed in the dictionaries).

Doubled verbs with 1st rad w- retain the *w*- in all positions and are effectively the same as regular doubled verbs. They thus have two stems, e.g.

wadda وَدَّ ‘to like’, perf. stems *wadd-* وَدَّ and *wadad-* وَدَدَ, imperf. *-a-wadd-* وَدَّ and *-a-wdad-* وَدَدَ (though the latter, occurring only in the fem. plur., is so rare that it has never been sighted), active part. *wādd* وَادَّ, pass. part. *mawdūd* مَوْدُود.

Middle weak radical verbs, i.e. those whose middle radical is *-w-* or *-y-*. In these so-called ‘hollow’ verbs in both perfect and imperfect there are two stems, one long, e.g. *qāla* قَالَ ‘to say’, has long stems: perf. *qāl-* قَالَ, imperf. *-qūl-* يَقُولُ, and a short stem, *-qul-* قُلْ in both aspects. The stems are selected automatically by the suffix: if the suffix begins with a consonant the short stem is used (hence also in those apoc. and imperat. forms where the 3rd radical is unvowelled anyway), otherwise the long stem is used (the opposite principle is applied with doubled verbs, see above).

There are three sets of stem patterns, mostly reflecting the quality of the middle radical: (1) middle radical *-w-*, perf. stems *-ā-* and *-u-*, imperf. stems *-ū-* and *-u-*, as in the example just given; (2) middle radical *-y-*, perf. stems *-ā-* and *-i-*, imperf. stems *-ī-* and *-i-*, e.g. *sāra/sirtu*, *yasīru/yasirna* (see full paradigm below); (3) a historically heterogeneous group in which the middle radical is mostly *-w-*, with perf. stems *-ā-* and *-i-*, imperf. stems *-ā-* and *-a-*, e.g. *nāla* نَالَ ‘to obtain’, perf. stems *nāl-* نَالَ, *nil-* نِلْ and imperf. *-nāl-* نَالَ, *-nal-* نَالَ. This is now best regarded as a lexical feature, as there are only a half dozen or so such verbs in common use, though they are frequent, especially *kāda* كَادَ ‘to almost do’ and *zāla* زَالَ ‘to cease’ (see 3.21.3 and 4), also *hāfa* خَافَ ‘to fear’.

In all these the active part. replaces the weak radical with *hamza*, e.g. active part. *qā’il* قَائِلٌ ‘saying’ (root *q-w-l*), *zā’id* زَائِدٌ ‘increasing’ (root *z-y-d*).

The passive follows the same double stem system but is uniform in all hollow verbs, e.g. middle radical *-w-* *zāra* زَارَ ‘to visit’, with perf. stems *zīr-* زِيرَ, *zīr-* زَرَّ, imperf. *-u-zār-* يُزَارُ, *-u-zar-* يُزَرُّ, pass. part. *mazūr* مَزُورٌ, middle radical *-y-* *zāda* زَادَ ‘to increase’ (trans.): perf. *zīd-* زِيدَ, *zīd-* زُدَ, imperf. *-u-zād-* يُزَادُ, *-u-zad-* يُزَدُّ, active pass. part. *mazīd* مَزِيدٌ. Note that the pass. participles preserve the middle radical at the expense of the pattern, *mazūr* (not **mazwūr*), *mazīd* (not **mazyūd*).

Paradigm of type (1), middle radical *-w-*, *qāla* قَالَ ‘to say’, active.

Perfect

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1st	<i>qul-tu</i> قُلْتُ	(none)	<i>qul-nā</i> قُلْنَا
2nd m.	<i>qul-ta</i> قُلْتَ	<i>qul-tum-ā</i> قُلْتُمَا	<i>qul-tum</i> قُلْتُمْ
2nd f.	<i>qul-ti</i> قُلْتِ	(same)	<i>qul-tunna</i> قُلْتُنَّ
3rd m.	<i>qāl-a</i> قَالَ	<i>qāl-ā</i> قَالَا	<i>qāl-ū</i> قَالُوا
3rd f.	<i>qāl-at</i> قَالَتْ	<i>qāl-at-ā</i> قَالَتَا	<i>qul-na</i> قُلْنَ

Imperfect

	<i>Indep.</i>	<i>Dep.</i>	<i>Apoc.</i>	<i>Imperat.</i>
Sing.				
1st	'a-qūl-u أقول	'a-qūl-a أقول	'a-qul أقل	
2nd m.	ta-qūl-u تقول	ta-qūl-a تقول	ta-qul تقل	قل qul
2nd f.	ta-qūl-ī-na تقولين	ta-qūl-ī تقولِي	ta-qul-ī تقولِي	قولي qūl-ī
3rd m.	ya-qūl-u يقول	ya-qūl-a يقول	ya-qul يقل	
3rd f.	ta-qūl-u تقول	ta-qūl-a تقول	ta-qul تقل	
Dual				
2nd	ta-qūl-ā-ni تقولان	ta-qūl-ā تقولَا	ta-qūl-ā تقولَا	قولا qūl-ā
3rd m.	ya-qūl-ā-ni يقولان	ya-qūl-ā يقولَا	ya-qūl-ā يقولَا	
3rd f.	ta-qūl-ā-ni تقولان	ta-qūl-ā تقولَا	ta-qūl-ā تقولَا	
Plur.				
1st	na-qūl-u نقول	na-qūl-a نقول	na-qul نقل	
2nd m.	ta-qūl-ū-na تقولون	ta-qūl-ū تقولُوا	ta-qūl-ū تقولُوا	قولوا qūl-ū
2nd f.	ta-qul-na تقلن	ta-qul-na تقلن	ta-qul-na تقلن	قلن qul-na
3rd m.	ya-qūl-ū-na يقولون	ya-qūl-ū يقولُوا	ya-qūl-ū يقولُوا	
3rd f.	ya-qul-na يقلن	ya-qul-na يقلن	ya-qul-na يقلن	

Paradigm of type (2), middle radical -y-, *ṣāra* صار 'to become', active.

Perfect

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1st	ṣir-tu صرت	(none)	ṣir-nā صرنا
2nd m.	ṣir-ta صرت	ṣir-tum-ā صرتما	ṣir-tum صرتم
2nd f.	ṣir-ti صرت	(same)	ṣir-tumna صرتن
3rd m.	ṣār-a صار	ṣār-ā صارَا	ṣār-ū صارُوا
3rd f.	ṣār-at صارت	ṣār-at-ā صارتَا	ṣir-na صرن

Imperfect

	<i>Indep.</i>	<i>Dep.</i>	<i>Apoc.</i>	<i>Imperat.</i>
Sing.				
1st	'a-ṣīr-u أصيرُ	'a-ṣīr-a أصيرُ	'a-ṣīr أصيرُ	
2nd m.	ta-ṣīr-u تصير	ta-ṣīr-a تصير	ta-ṣīr تصر	صرْ ṣir
2nd f.	ta-ṣīr-ī-na تصيرين	ta-ṣīr-ī تصيري	ta-ṣīr-ī تصيري	صيري ṣīr-ī
3rd m.	ya-ṣīr-u يصيرُ	ya-ṣīr-a يصيرُ	ya-ṣīr يصرُ	
3rd f.	ta-ṣīr-u تصير	ta-ṣīr-a تصير	ta-ṣīr تصر	

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Dual				
2nd	<i>ta-ṣīr-ā-ni</i> تصيران	<i>ta-ṣīr-ā</i> تصيرا	<i>ta-ṣīr-ā</i> تصيرا	<i>ṣīr-ā</i> صيرا
3rd m.	<i>ya-ṣīr-ā-ni</i> يصيران	<i>ya-ṣīr-ā</i> يصيرا	<i>ya-ṣīr-ā</i> يصيرا	
3rd f.	<i>ta-ṣīr-ā-ni</i> تصيران	<i>ta-ṣīr-ā</i> تصيرا	<i>ta-ṣīr-ā</i> تصيرا	
Plur.				
1st	<i>na-ṣīr-u</i> نصيرُ	<i>na-ṣīr-a</i> نصيرَ	<i>na-ṣīr</i> نصر	
2nd m.	<i>ta-ṣīr-ū-na</i> تصيرون	<i>ta-ṣīr-ū</i> تصيروا	<i>ta-ṣīr-ū</i> تصيروا	<i>ṣīr-ū</i> صيروا
2nd f.	<i>ta-ṣīr-na</i> تصرن	<i>ta-ṣīr-na</i> تصرن	<i>ta-ṣīr-na</i> تصرن	<i>ṣīr-na</i> صرن
3rd m.	<i>ya-ṣīr-ū-na</i> يصيرون	<i>ya-ṣīr-ū</i> يصيروا	<i>ya-ṣīr-ū</i> يصيروا	
3rd f.	<i>ya-ṣīr-na</i> يصرن	<i>ya-ṣīr-na</i> يصرن	<i>ya-ṣīr-na</i> يصرن	

Paradigm of type (3), middle radical usually -w-, *nāma* نام ‘to sleep’, active:

Perfect

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1st	<i>nīm-tu</i> نِمتُ	(none)	<i>nīm-nā</i> نِمتنا
2nd m.	<i>nīm-ta</i> نِمتَ	<i>nīm-tum-ā</i> نِمتما	<i>nīm-tum</i> نِمتم
2nd f.	<i>nīm-ti</i> نِمتِ	(same)	<i>nīm-tunna</i> نِمتنَّ
3rd m.	<i>nām-a</i> نَامَ	<i>nām-ā</i> ناما	<i>nām-ū</i> ناموا
3rd f.	<i>nām-at</i> نامتِ	<i>nām-at-ā</i> نامتا	<i>nīm-na</i> نِمن

Imperfect

	<i>Indep.</i>	<i>Dep.</i>	<i>Apoc.</i>	<i>Imperat.</i>
Sing.				
1st	<i>'a-nām-u</i> أنام	<i>'a-nām-a</i> أنام	<i>'a-nam</i> أنم	
2nd m.	<i>ta-nām-u</i> تنام	<i>ta-nām-a</i> تنام	<i>ta-nam</i> تنم	<i>nam</i> نم
2nd f.	<i>ta-nām-i-na</i> تنامين	<i>ta-nām-ī</i> تنامي	<i>ta-nām-ī</i> تنامي	<i>nām-ī</i> نامي
3rd m.	<i>ya-nām-u</i> ينام	<i>ya-nām-a</i> ينام	<i>ya-nam</i> ينم	
3rd f.	<i>ta-nām-u</i> تنام	<i>ta-nām-a</i> تنام	<i>ta-nam</i> تنم	
Dual				
2nd	<i>ta-nām-ā-ni</i> تنانان	<i>ta-nām-ā</i> تناما	<i>ta-nām-ā</i> تناما	<i>nām-ā</i> ناما
3rd m.	<i>ya-nām-ā-ni</i> ينانان	<i>ya-nām-ā</i> يناما	<i>ya-nām-ā</i> يناما	
3rd f.	<i>ta-nām-ā-ni</i> تنانان	<i>ta-nām-ā</i> تناما	<i>ta-nām-ā</i> تناما	
Plur.				
1st	<i>na-nām-u</i> ننام	<i>na-nām-a</i> ننام	<i>na-nam</i> ننم	
2nd m.	<i>ta-nām-ū-na</i> تنامون	<i>ta-nām-ū</i> تناموا	<i>ta-nām-ū</i> تناموا	<i>nām-ū</i> ناموا
2nd f.	<i>ta-nam-na</i> تنمن	<i>ta-nam-na</i> تنمن	<i>ta-nam-na</i> تنمن	<i>nam-na</i> نمن
3rd m.	<i>ya-nām-ū-na</i> ينامون	<i>ya-nām-ū</i> يناموا	<i>ya-nām-ū</i> يناموا	
3rd f.	<i>ya-nam-na</i> ينمن	<i>ya-nam-na</i> ينمن	<i>ya-nam-na</i> ينمن	

Third weak radical verbs are of three common kinds (the others are rare and in any case follow the same principles): (1) 3rd radical *-w* with medial vowel *u*; (2) 3rd radical *-y* with med. vowel *a*, 3rd. radical *-y* with med. vowel *i* (see further 1.9.1.1 on the medial vowel system).

In the following paradigms the transliteration reproduces the consonantal spellings *uw* (realized as *ū*) and *iy* (realized as *ī*) in order to emphasize the underlying regularities in the stem and allow the third radical to be identified as far as possible.

Third radical *-w*, *da‘ā* دعا ‘to call’: perf. stem *da‘aw-* دَعَوْ, imperf. *-a-d‘uw-* دَعُو, and see below for the exceptions. Irregularities in this verb arise from conflicts between the 3rd radical and the agent suffixes: in the perf. the 3rd sing. masc. and fem., 3rd. dual fem. and the 3rd plur. masc. are irregular, while the sequence *-aw-* in all the other forms represents the normal 3rd radical consonant (cf. *balaḡ-*), even though a diphthong results. In the imperfect the morphophonological compromises have different results: wherever the word-final and non-canonical sequence *-uwu-* would occur it is reduced to *-ū* (= *-uw*); the 2nd sing. fem. sacrifices the 3rd radical altogether, while the 2nd and 3rd plur. masc. fuse the 3rd radical with the plur. suffix, hence *uw+ūna* = *-ūna*, thus obliterating the gender distinction. By comparing these two masc. plurals with their fem., it will be seen that the fem. plurals are actually completely regular, namely, stem *tad‘uw-/yad‘uw-* + *-na* (cf. *yabluḡ-na*).

The imperf. dep. is completely regular, and the apoc. is produced by eliding the final radical, thus indep. *yad‘ū* (= *yad‘uw*) becomes *yad‘u*, etc. The fem. sing. imperative would have to be *id‘ī* according to 1.5.2.2, but, like most of the examples in the tables, none has been seen in the data. The same applies to *irmū* (*urmū*?) in the next paradigm.

The passive stems are, perf. *du‘iy* دُعِيَ (= *du‘ī* before a consonant) and imperf. *-u-d‘ā-* دُعِيَ (conjugates exactly like *laqiya/yalqā* لَقِيَ/يَلْقَى, see below).

Active part. *dā‘in* دَاعٍ, pass. part. *mad‘uww* مَدْعُو.

Perfect

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1st	<i>da‘aw-tu</i> دَعَوْتُ	(none)	<i>da‘aw-nā</i> دَعَوْنَا
2nd m.	<i>da‘aw-ta</i> دَعَوْتَ	<i>da‘aw-tum-ā</i> دَعَوْتُمَا	<i>da‘aw-tum</i> دَعَوْتُمْ
2nd f.	<i>da‘aw-ti</i> دَعَوْتِ	(same)	<i>da‘aw-tumna</i> دَعَوْتُنَّ
3rd m.	<i>da‘-ā</i> دَعَا	<i>da‘aw-ā</i> دَعَا	<i>da‘-aw</i> دَعَوْا
3rd f.	<i>da‘-at</i> دَعَتْ	<i>da‘-at-ā</i> دَعَتَا	<i>da‘aw-na</i> دَعَوْنَ

Imperfect

	<i>Indep.</i>	<i>Dep.</i>	<i>Apoc.</i>	<i>Imperat.</i>
Sing.				
1st	<i>‘a-d‘uw</i> أَدْعُو	<i>‘a-d‘uw-a</i> أَدْعُوا	<i>‘a-d‘-u</i> ادْعُ	
2nd m.	<i>ta-d‘uw</i> تَدْعُو	<i>ta-d‘uw-a</i> تَدْعُوا	<i>ta-d‘-u</i> تَدْعُ	<i>u-d‘u</i> ادْعُ

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2nd f.	<i>ta-d'-ī-na</i> تدعين	<i>ta-d'-ī</i> تدعي	<i>ta-d'-ī</i> تدعي	<i>i-d'-ī</i> ادعي
3rd m.	<i>ya-d'uw</i> يدعو	<i>ya-d'uw-a</i> يدعو	<i>ya-d'-u</i> يدع	
3rd f.	<i>ta-d'uw</i> تدعو	<i>ta-d'uw-a</i> تدعو	<i>ta-d'-u</i> تدع	

Dual				
2nd	<i>ta-d'uw-ā-ni</i> تدعوان	<i>ta-d'uw-ā</i> تدعوا	<i>ta-d'uw-ā</i> تدعوا	<i>u-d'uw-ā</i> ادعوا
3rd m.	<i>ya-d'uw-ā-ni</i> يدعوان	<i>ya-d'uw-ā</i> يدعو	<i>ya-d'uw-ā</i> يدعو	
3rd f.	<i>ta-d'uw-ā-ni</i> تدعوان	<i>ta-d'uw-ā</i> تدعوا	<i>ta-d'uw-ā</i> تدعوا	
Plur.				
1st	<i>na-d'uw</i> ندعو	<i>na-d'uw-a</i> ندعو	<i>na-d'-u</i> ندع	
2nd m.	<i>ta-d'uw-na</i> تدعون	<i>ta-d'uw</i> تدعوا	<i>ta-d'uw</i> تدعوا	<i>u-d'uw</i> ادعوا
2nd f.	<i>ta-d'uw-na</i> تدعون	<i>ta-d'uw-na</i> تدعون	<i>ta-d'uw-na</i> تدعون	<i>u-d'uw-na</i> ادعون
3rd m.	<i>ya-d'uw-na</i> يدعون	<i>ya-d'uw</i> يدعو	<i>ya-d'uw</i> يدعو	
3rd f.	<i>ya-d'uw-na</i> يدعون	<i>ya-d'uw-na</i> يدعون	<i>ya-d'uw-na</i> يدعون	

An infrequent stem with medial vowel *-u-* is listed in the classical dictionaries, e.g. *saruwa* سَرُو 'to be magnanimous' but has not been seen in the data. The imperf. in any case follows *yad'uw* يدعو exactly, namely, *yasruw* يسرو, etc.

Third radical -y, type one: *ramā* رمى 'to throw', perf. stem *ramay-*, imperf. *-a-rmiy-*, active part. *rāmin* رام, pass. part. *marmiy* مرمي. This class has a different set of compromises from the 3rd radical *-w* verbs, losing the contrast between 2nd fem. sing. and plur.

Perfect

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1st	<i>ramay-tu</i> رميت	(none)	<i>ramay-nā</i> رمينا
2nd m.	<i>ramay-ta</i> رميت	<i>ramay-tum-ā</i> رميتما	<i>ramay-tum</i> رميتم
2nd f.	<i>ramay-ti</i> رميت	(same)	<i>ramay-tunna</i> رميتن
3rd m.	<i>ram-ā</i> رمى	<i>ramay-ā</i> رميا	<i>rama-w</i> رموا
3rd f.	<i>ram-at</i> رمت	<i>ram-at-ā</i> رمتا	<i>ramay-na</i> رمين

Imperfect

	<i>Indep.</i>	<i>Dep.</i>	<i>Apoc.</i>	<i>Imperat.</i>
Sing.				
1st	<i>'a-rmiy</i> أرمي	<i>'a-rmiy-a</i> أرمي	<i>'a-rm-i</i> أرم	
2nd m.	<i>ta-rmiy</i> ترمي	<i>ta-rmiy-a</i> ترمي	<i>ta-rm-i</i> ترم	<i>i-rmi</i> ارم
2nd f.	<i>ta-rm-ī-na</i> ترمين	<i>ta-rm-ī</i> ترمي	<i>ta-rm-ī</i> ترمي	<i>i-rm-ī</i> أرمي

3rd m.	<i>ya-rmiy</i> يرمي	<i>ya-rmiy-a</i> يرمي	<i>ya-rm-i</i> يرم	
3rd f.	<i>ta-rmiy</i> ترمي	<i>ta-rmiy-a</i> ترمي	<i>ta-rm-i</i> ترم	
Dual				
2nd	<i>ta-rmiy-ā-ni</i> ترميان	<i>ta-rmiy-ā</i> ترميا	<i>ta-rmiy-ā</i> ترميا	<i>i-rmiy-ā</i> ارميا
3rd m.	<i>ya-rmiy-ā-ni</i> يرميان	<i>ya-rmiy-ā</i> يرميا	<i>ya-rmiy-ā</i> يرميا	
3rd f.	<i>ta-rmiy-ā-ni</i> ترميان	<i>ta-rmiy-ā</i> ترميا	<i>ta-rmiy-ā</i> ترميا	
Plur.				
1st	<i>na-rm-iy</i> نرمي	<i>na-rmiy-a</i> نرمي	<i>na-rm-i</i> نرم	
2nd m.	<i>ta-rm-ū-na</i> ترمون	<i>ta-rm-ū</i> ترموا	<i>ta-rm-ū</i> ترموا	<i>i-rm-ū</i> ارموا
2nd f.	<i>ta-rm-iy-na</i> ترمين	<i>ta-rm-iy-na</i> ترمين	<i>ta-rm-iy-na</i> ترمين	<i>i-rm-iy-na</i> ارمين
3rd m.	<i>ya-rm-ū-na</i> يرمون	<i>ya-rm-ū</i> يرموا	<i>ya-rm-ū</i> يرموا	
3rd f.	<i>ya-rmiy-na</i> يرمين	<i>ya-rmiy-na</i> يرمين	<i>ya-rmiy-na</i> يرمين	

Third radical -y, type two: *laqiya* لقي 'to meet', perf. stem *laqiy-*, imperf. *-a-lqā-*, active part. *lāqinḡ* لاق, pass. part. *malqiyy* ملقي. This class also compromises by neutralizing the number distinction in 2nd and 3rd fem. plur. The passive stems are perf. *luqiy-* (conjugates like *laqiy-*) and imperf. *yu-lqā* (conjugates like *ramā* رمى).

Perfect

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1st	<i>laqiy-tu</i> لقيت	(none)	<i>laqiy-nā</i> لقينا
2nd m.	<i>laqiy-ta</i> لقيت	<i>laqiy-tum-ā</i> لقيتما	<i>laqiy-tum</i> لقيتم
2nd f.	<i>laqiy-ti</i> لقيت	(same)	<i>laqiy-tuṣṣna</i> لقيتن
3rd m.	<i>laqiy-a</i> لقي	<i>laqiy-ā</i> لقيا	<i>laq-ū</i> لقوا
3rd f.	<i>laqiy-at</i> لقيت	<i>laqiy-at-ā</i> لقيتا	<i>laqiy-na</i> لقين

Imperfect

	<i>Indep.</i>	<i>Dep.</i>	<i>Apoc.</i>	<i>Imperat.</i>
Sing.				
1st	<i>'a-lq-ā</i> ألقى	<i>'a-lq-ā</i> ألقى	<i>'a-lq</i> الق	
2nd m.	<i>ta-lq-ā</i> تلقى	<i>ta-lq-ā</i> تلقى	<i>ta-lq-a</i> تلق	<i>i-lqa</i> الق
2nd f.	<i>ta-lqay-na</i> تلقين	<i>ta-lqa-y</i> تلقى	<i>ta-lqa-y</i> تلقى	<i>i-lqay</i> القى
3rd m.	<i>ya-lq-ā</i> يلقي	<i>ya-lq-ā</i> يلقي	<i>ya-lq-a</i> يلقي	
3rd f.	<i>ta-lq-ā</i> تلقى	<i>ta-lq-ā</i> تلقى	<i>ta-lq-a</i> تلق	
Dual				
2nd	<i>ta-lqay-ā-ni</i> تلقيان	<i>ta-lqay-ā</i> تلقيا	<i>ta-lqay-ā</i> تلقيا	<i>i-lqay-ā</i> القيا

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3rd m.	<i>ya-lqay-ā-ni</i> يلقيان	<i>ya-lqay-ā</i> يلقيًا	<i>ya-lqay-ā</i> يلقيًا	
3rd f.	<i>ta-lqay-ā-ni</i> تلقيان	<i>ta-lqay-ā</i> تلقيًا	<i>ta-lqay-ā</i> تلقيًا	
Plur.				
1st	<i>na-lq-ā</i> نلقى	<i>na-lq-ā</i> نلقى	<i>na-lq-a</i> نلق	
2nd m.	<i>ta-lqaw-na</i> تلقون	<i>ta-lqaw</i> تلقوا	<i>ta-lqaw</i> تلقوا	<i>i-lqaw</i> القوا
2nd f.	<i>ta-lqay-na</i> تلقين	<i>ta-lqay-na</i> تلقين	<i>ta-lqay-na</i> تلقين	<i>i-lqay-na</i> القين
3rd m.	<i>ya-lqaw-na</i> يلقون	<i>ya-lqaw</i> يلقوا	<i>ya-lqaw</i> يلقوا	
3rd f.	<i>ya-lqay-na</i> يلقين	<i>ya-lqay-na</i> يلقين	<i>ya-lqay-na</i> يلقين	

First radical *w-*, *waqā* وقى 'to be next', 'to be in control over', perf. stem *waqay-* وقى, imperf. *-a-qiy-* قى. These verbs combine the behaviour of 1st radical *w-* verbs (see above) and 3rd radical *-y* of both kinds, with the result that in several parts of the paradigm only the middle radical is left embedded in the affixes (the imperative stem is thus reduced to a single consonant, but in any case is exceedingly rare). The passive stems are perf. *wuqiy-* وقى and imperf. *-ū-qā-* وقى, active part. *wāqin* واق, pass. part. *mawqiy* موقى.

Note that the final element in the imperf. behaves exactly as in *-a-rmī* رمى from *ramā*, see above.

Perfect

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1st	<i>waqay-tu</i> وقيت	(none)	<i>waqay-nā</i> وقينا
2nd m.	<i>waqay-ta</i> وقيت	<i>waqay-tum-ā</i> وقيتما	<i>waqay-tum</i> وقيتم
2nd f.	<i>waqay-ti</i> وقيت	(same)	<i>waqay-tunna</i> وقيتن
3rd m.	<i>waq-ā</i> وقى	<i>waqay-ā</i> وقيا	<i>waq-aw</i> وقوا
3rd f.	<i>waq-at</i> وقت	<i>waq-at-ā</i> وقتا	<i>waqay-na</i> وقين

Imperfect (imperative not seen in data, listed for information only)

	<i>Indep.</i>	<i>Dep.</i>	<i>Apoc.</i>	<i>[Imperat.]</i>
Sing.				
1st	<i>'a-qiy</i> أقى	<i>'a-qiy-a</i> أقى	<i>'a-qi</i> أق	
2nd m.	<i>ta-qiy</i> تقى	<i>ta-qiy-a</i> تقى	<i>taqi</i> تق	[ق ق]
2nd f.	<i>ta-q-i-ā</i> تقين	<i>ta-q-i</i> تقى	<i>ta-q-ī</i> تقى	
3rd m.	<i>ya-qiy</i> يقى	<i>ya-qiy-a</i> يقى	<i>ya-qi</i> يق	
3rd f.	<i>ta-qiy</i> تقى	<i>ta-qiy-a</i> تقى	<i>ta-qi</i> تق	
Dual				
2nd	<i>ta-qiy-ā-ni</i> تقيان	<i>ta-qiy-ā</i> تقيا	<i>ta-qiy-ā</i> تقيا	[قيا قيا]
3rd m.	<i>ya-qiy-ā-ni</i> يقيان	<i>ya-qiy-ā</i> يقيا	<i>ya-qiy-ā</i> يقيا	
3rd f.	<i>ta-qiy-ā-ni</i> تقيان	<i>ta-qiy-ā</i> تقيا	<i>ta-qiy-ā</i> تقيا	

Plur.				
1st	<i>na-qiy</i> نقي	<i>na-qiy-a</i> نقي	<i>na-qi</i> نق	
2nd m.	<i>ta-q-ū-na</i> تقون	<i>ta-q-ū</i> تقوا	<i>ta-q-ū</i> تقوا	[<i>qū</i> قوا]
2nd f.	<i>ta-qiy-na</i> تقين	<i>ta-qiy-na</i> تقين	<i>ta-qiy-na</i> تقين	[<i>qiy-na</i> قين]
3rd m.	<i>ya-qū-na</i> يقون	<i>ya-q-ū</i> يقوا	<i>ya-q-ū</i> يقوا	
3rd f.	<i>ya-qiy-na</i> يقين	<i>ya-qiy-na</i> يقين	<i>ya-qiy-na</i> يقين	

All weak 3rd radical verbs fit into one of the paradigms above, as do all the derived stems below, the medial vowel being the determinant: when it is *-a-* the verb follows *ram-ā* رمى in the perf. or *yalq-ā* يلقي in the imperf., and when it is *-i-*, it follows *laqiy-a* لقي in the perf. and *yarm-i* يرمي in the imperf. regardless of voice or stem number. The doubly weak *waliyā* ولي 'to be next' is unusual in being the only weak 3rd radical verb with the same vowel in both perf., stem *waliy-* ولي and imperf., stem *a-liy-* ليل, though there are several verbs which, for phonological reasons, retain *-a-* as their stem vowel in both perf. and imperf., e.g. *wada'a* وضع, *yaḍa'u* يضع 'to put', where the guttural 3rd radical [ʕ] influences the stem vowel.

1.9.3 Anomalous verbs

There are only four verbs which could be described as anomalous, i.e. which are not fully accounted for by the morphophonological rules.

laysa ليس 'not to be' (see 4.2.8), which is anomalous (1) in that it has no imperf. forms; and (2) in that it has a diphthong for its long stem vowel (contrast hollow verbs above).

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1st	<i>las-tu</i> لست		<i>las-nā</i> لسنا
2nd m.	<i>las-ta</i> لست	<i>las-tumā</i> لستما	<i>las-tum</i> لستم
2nd f.	<i>las-ti</i> لست	(same)	<i>las-tunna</i> لستن
3rd m.	<i>lays-a</i> ليس	<i>lays-ā</i> ليسا	<i>lays-ū</i> ليسوا
3rd f.	<i>lays-at</i> ليست	<i>lays-at-ā</i> ليستا	<i>las-na</i> لسن

ra'ā 'to see' is only anomalous in that its middle radical [ʕ] is elided completely in the imperf. forms (the final weak radical behaves normally, exactly like *yabqā* يبقي above).

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1st	<i>'a-rā</i> أرى		<i>na-rā</i> نرى
2nd m.	<i>ta-rā</i> ترى	<i>ta-ray-ā-ni</i> تريان	<i>ta-raw-na</i> ترون
2nd f.	<i>ta-ray-na</i> ترين	(same)	<i>ta-ray-na</i> ترين
3rd m.	<i>ya-rā</i> يرى	<i>ya-ray-ā-ni</i> يريان	<i>ya-raw-na</i> يرون
3rd f.	<i>ta-rā</i> ترى	<i>ta-ray-ān-i</i> تريان	<i>ya-ray-na</i> يرين

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Active part. *rā'in* راء, pass. part. *mar'iy* مرئي. Note also that this verb retains the same stem vowel, -a-, in both perf., and imperf., as do many verbs with a guttural radical in any position (here *hamza*, cf. 'abā أبى, ya'bā يابى 'to decline', 'to refuse').

The middle radical is also elided in stem IV, *yurī* يرى, etc. 'to show' and the passives of I and IV, *yurā* يرى etc. The imperative is rare, and only the stem I masc. sing. form *ra* ر is likely to be seen, if at all.

ni'ma نعم 'how good!' and *bi'sa* بئس 'how bad!' (see 3.27.2 for their syntax) are only anomalous in that their stem vowels have been transposed and a syllable elided, **na'[i]ma* نَعِم > *ni'[a]ma* نَعِم > *ni'[-]ma* نَعِم (the historical reconstruction is purely speculative, however). These verbs are found only in the 3rd singular, masc. and fem. (*ni'mat* نعمة, *bi'sat* بئس).

Some other fossilized verbs such as 'asā عسى 'perhaps', 'maybe' (see 3.15.4 for syntax), *ḥalā* خلا 'except', *ḥāšā* حاشى 'except', 'adā عدا 'except' (see 9.5.3) have become invariable words.

1.10 DERIVED STEMS

See 1.9 for the general principles.

1.10.1

Here will be given examples of all patterns in common use, in all stems, by class. Only the basic parts will be listed, from which the rest can be derived by substitution. The forms given are 3rd masc. sing. active and passive perf. and imperf. with their participles and the verbal noun, following the same order of root types as above.

For verbal nouns of stem I see 1.11.1.

1.10.2 Stem II

Sound verb: *qarraba* قَرَّب 'to bring near', verbal noun *taqrīb* تَقْرِيب

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>qarrab-a</i> قَرَّبَ	<i>qurrib-a</i> قَرِّبَ
Imperf.	<i>yu-qarrib-u</i> يَقْرِيبُ	<i>yu-qarrab-u</i> يُقَرَّبُ
Participles	<i>mu-qarrib-un</i> مُقَرَّبٌ	<i>mu-qarrab-un</i> مُقَرَّبٌ

Doubled verb: *ḥaddada* حَدَّدَ 'to limit', 'to define', verbal noun *taḥdīd* تَحْدِيد

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>ḥaddad-a</i> حَدَّدَ	<i>ḥuddid-a</i> حُدِّدَ
Imperf.	<i>yu-ḥaddid-u</i> يُحَدِّدُ	<i>yu-ḥaddad-u</i> يُحَدَّدُ
Participles	<i>mu-ḥaddid-un</i> مُحَدِّدٌ	<i>mu-ḥaddad-un</i> مُحَدَّدٌ

First radical w-: *wajjahā* ‘to direct’, ‘to send’ وَجَّهَ, verbal noun *tawjīh* توجيه

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>wajjah-a</i> وَجَّهَ	<i>wujjih-a</i> وَجَّهَ
Imperf.	<i>yu-wajjih-u</i> يُوَجِّهَ	<i>yu-wajjah-u</i> يُوَجِّهَ
Participles	<i>mu-wajjih-un</i> مُوَجِّهَ	<i>mu-wajjah-un</i> مُوَجَّهَ

Hollow -w-: *qawwama* قَوَّمَ ‘to estimate’, ‘to straighten’, verbal noun *taqwīm* تقويم

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>qawwam-a</i> قَوَّمَ	<i>quwwim-a</i> قَوَّمَ
Imperf.	<i>yu-qawwim-u</i> يَقُومُ	<i>yu-qawwam-u</i> يُقَوِّمُ
Participles	<i>mu-qawwim-un</i> مُقَوِّمُ	<i>mu-qawwam-un</i> مُقَوَّمُ

Hollow -y-: *ḡayyara* غَيَّرَ ‘to change’ (trans.), verbal noun *tagyīr* تغيير

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>ḡayyar-a</i> غَيَّرَ	<i>ḡuyyir-a</i> غَيَّرَ
Imperf.	<i>yu-ḡayyir-u</i> يَغَيِّرُ	<i>yu-ḡayyar-u</i> يُغَيَّرُ
Participles	<i>mu-ḡayyir-un</i> مُغَيِّرُ	<i>mu-ḡayyar-un</i> مُغَيَّرُ

Weak 3rd radical: *ḥallā* خَلَّى ‘to empty’, ‘to leave’, verbal noun *taḥliya* تخلية

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>ḥall-ā</i> خَلَّى	<i>ḥulliy-a</i> خُلِّيَ
Imperf.	<i>yu-ḥall-ī</i> يُخَلِّي	<i>yu-ḥall-ā</i> يُخَلَّى
Participles	<i>mu-ḥalli-n</i> مُخَلِّلٌ	<i>mu-ḥalla-n</i> مُخَلَّلٌ

Weak 1st and 3rd radical: *wallā* وَلَّى ‘to place in charge’, verbal noun *tawliya* تولية

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>wall-ā</i> وَلَّى	<i>wulliy-a</i> وَلِّيَ
Imperf.	<i>yu-wall-ī</i> يُوَلِّي	<i>yu-wall-ā</i> يُوَلَّى
Participles	<i>mu-walli-n</i> مُوَلِّلٌ	<i>mu-walla-n</i> مُوَلَّلٌ

General comments: stem II verbal noun patterns are mostly predictable: sound verbs and most others will use the pattern *tafʿīl* تَفْعِيل, all weak 3rd radical and 3rd radical *hamza* verbs use the pattern *tafʿila* تَفْعِلَة, e.g. *tajziʿa* تجزئة ‘fragmentation’ from *jazzaʿa* جَزَّأ (which is also found with a relatively small number of sound verbs, e.g. *tajriba* تجربة ‘experimenting’), and there is a third rather uncommon pattern *tafʿāl* تَفْعَال, e.g. *takrār* تَكَرَّر ‘repetition’ from *karrara* كَرَّر. Occasionally a verb may use more than one verbal noun pattern, e.g. *tafriq* تفريق and *tafriqa* تَفْرِيقَة, from *farraqa* فَرَّق ‘to separate’, ‘to divide’, with no apparent difference in meaning.

1.10.3 Stem III

Sound verb: *kātaba* كَاتَبَ 'to write to someone', verbal noun *mukātaba* مُكَاتَبَة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>kātab-a</i> كَاتَبَ	<i>kūtib-a</i> كُوتِبَ
Imperf.	<i>yu-kātib-u</i> يُكَاتِبُ	<i>yu-kātab-u</i> يُكَاتَبُ
Participles	<i>mu-kātib-un</i> مُكَاتِبٌ	<i>mu-kātab-un</i> مُكَاتَبٌ

Doubled verb: *ḍādda* ضَادَّ 'to be contrary to', verbal noun *muḍādda* مُضَادَّة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>ḍādd-a</i> ضَادَّ	<i>ḍūdd-a</i> ضُودَّ
Imperf.	<i>yu-ḍādd-u</i> يُضَادُّ	<i>yu-ḍādd-u</i> يُضَادُّ
Participles	<i>mu-ḍādd-un</i> مُضَادٌّ	<i>mu-ḍādd-un</i> مُضَادٌّ

First radical w-: *wāfaqa* وَافَقَ 'to agree with', verbal noun *muwāfaqa* مُوَافَقَة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>wāfaq-a</i> وَافَقَ	<i>wūfiq-a</i> وُوفِقَ
Imperf.	<i>yu-wāfiq-u</i> يُوَافِقُ	<i>yu-wāfaqa-u</i> يُوَافِقُ
Participles	<i>mu-wāfiq-un</i> مُوَافِقٌ	<i>mu-wāfaqa-un</i> مُوَافِقٌ

Hollow -w-: *ḥāwala* حَاوَلَ 'to attempt', 'to try', verbal noun *muḥāwala* مُحَاوَلَة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>ḥāwal-a</i> حَاوَلَ	<i>ḥūwil-a</i> حُوِّلَ
Imperf.	<i>yu-ḥāwil-u</i> يُحَاوِلُ	<i>yu-ḥāwal-u</i> يُحَاوِلُ
Participles	<i>mu-ḥāwil-un</i> مُحَاوِلٌ	<i>mu-ḥāwal-un</i> مُحَاوِلٌ

Hollow -y-: *sāyara* سَايَرَ 'to travel with', verbal noun *musāyara* مُسَايَرَة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>sāyar-a</i> سَايَرَ	<i>sūyir-a</i> سُوِّرَ
Imperf.	<i>yu-sāyir-u</i> يُسَايِرُ	<i>yu-sāyar-u</i> يُسَايِرُ
Participles	<i>mu-sāyir-un</i> مُسَايِرٌ	<i>mu-sāyar-un</i> مُسَايِرٌ

Weak 3rd radical: *bārā* بَارَى 'to contest', 'to compete', verbal noun *mubārāh* مُبَارَاة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>bār-ā</i> بَارَى	<i>būray-a</i> بُورِيَ
Imperf.	<i>yu-bār-ī</i> يُبَارِي	<i>yu-bār-ā</i> يُبَارَى
Participles	<i>mu-bār-i-n</i> مُبَارٍ	<i>mu-bārā-n</i> مُبَارَى

General comments: stem III verbs only have two verbal noun patterns, though the principle of selection is not clear and is best left as a lexical item: some verbs use both forms, e.g. *jihād* جهاد, *mujāhada* مجاهدة, from *jāhada* جاهد ‘to struggle against’, often with a difference in meaning, as here, where ‘Jihad’ is a specific cultural and legally defined term, with *mujāhada* denoting the general process of struggling. Similarly *ḥilāf* خلاف ‘being opposed’, ‘disputing’ v. *muḥālafa* مخالفة ‘being against’, ‘disobeying’, from *ḥālafa* خالف ‘to be different’, ‘to be opposed’; *wiṣāl* وصال ‘joining’, ‘having relations’ v. *muwāṣala* مواصلة ‘continuing’, ‘persisting’ from *wāṣala* واصل and so on.

Note that 1st radical *w*- verbs will produce an unusual configuration in the perf. passive, namely, the opening syllable *wū*-, e.g. *wūṣila* وُوصِلَ. The same happens in stem VI, *tuwūṣila* تُوُوصِلُ.

General comments: the remaining stems have only one verbal noun pattern, with the usual variations arising from the phonology of the stem, of which the most striking is that hollow verbs produce fem. verbal nouns, but note also the change from the non-canonical **’iw* to *ī* إي [= *iy*] in the first radical *w*- verbs.

1.10.4 Stem IV

Sound verb: *’aṣlaḥa* أَصْلَحَ ‘to reform’, ‘to repair’, verbal noun *’iṣlāḥ* إِصْلَاح

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>’a-ṣlaḥ-a</i> أَصْلَحَ	<i>’u-ṣliḥ-a</i> أُصْلِحَ
Imperf.	<i>yu-ṣliḥ-u</i> يُصْلِحُ	<i>yu-ṣlaḥ-u</i> يُصْلَحُ
Participles	<i>mu-ṣliḥ-un</i> مُصْلِحٌ	<i>mu-ṣlaḥ-un</i> مُصْلَحٌ

Doubled verb: *’aṣarra* أَصَرَ ‘to persist’, verbal noun *’iṣrār* إِصْرَار

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>’a-ṣarr-a</i> أَصَرَ	<i>’u-ṣirr-a</i> أُصِرَّ
Imperf.	<i>yu-ṣirr-u</i> يُصِرُّ	<i>yu-ṣarr-u</i> يُصَرُّ
Participles	<i>mu-ṣirr-un</i> مُصِرٌّ	<i>mu-ṣarr-un</i> مُصَرٌّ

First radical *w*:- *’awjada* أَوْجَدَ ‘to bring into being’, verbal noun *’ijād* إِيجَاد

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>’a-wjad-a</i> أَوْجَدَ	<i>’u-wjid-a</i> أُوجِدَ
Imperf.	<i>yu-wjid-u</i> يُوجِدُ	<i>yu-wjad-u</i> يُوجَدُ
Participles	<i>mu-wjid-un</i> مُوجِدٌ	<i>mu-wjad-un</i> مُوجَدٌ

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Hollow -w-: 'ajāba أجاب 'to answer', verbal noun 'ijāba إجابة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	'a-jāb-a أَجَابَ	'u-jīb-a أُجِيبَ
Imperf.	yu-jīb-u يُجِيبُ	yu-jāb-u يُجَابُ
Participles	mu-jīb-un مُجِيبٌ	mu-jāb-un مُجَابٌ

Hollow -y-: 'afāda أفاد 'to inform', 'to benefit', verbal noun 'ifāda إفادة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	'a-fād-a أَفَادَ	'u-fīd-a أُفِيدَ
Imperf.	yu-fīd-u يُفِيدُ	yu-fād-u يُفَادُ
Participles	mu-fīd-un مُفِيدٌ	mu-fād-un مُفَادٌ

Weak 3rd radical: 'alqā ألقى 'to throw', 'to deliver', verbal noun 'ilqā إلقاء

	Active	Passive
Perf.	'a-lq-ā أَلْقَى	'u-lq-ā أُلْقِيَ
Imperf.	yu-lq-ī يُلْقِي	yu-lq-ā يُلْقَى
Participles	mu-lqi-n مُلْقٍ	mu-lqa-n مُلْقًى

Doubly weak: 'awfā أوفى 'to fill', verbal noun 'ifā إيفاء

	Active	Passive
Perf.	'a-wf-ā أَوْفَى	'u-wfiy-a أُوفِيَ
Imperf.	yu-wf-ī يُوْفِي	yu-wf-ā يُوْفَى
Participles	mu-wfi-n مُوْفٍ	mu-wfa-n مُوْفًى

1.10.5 Stem V

Sound verb: taqarraba تَقَرَّبَ 'to be brought near', verbal noun taqarrub تَقَرُّبٌ

	Active	Passive
Perf.	ta-qarrab-a تَقَرَّبَ	tu-qurrib-a تُقَرَّبُ
Imperf.	ya-ta-qarrab-u يَتَقَرَّبُ	yu-ta-qarrab-u يُتَقَرَّبُ
Participles	mu-ta-qarrib-un مُتَقَرِّبٌ	mu-ta-qarrab-un مُتَقَرَّبٌ

Doubled verb: taraddada تَرَدَّدَ 'to hesitate', verbal noun taraddud تَرَدُّدٌ

	Active	Passive
Perf.	ta-raddad-a تَرَدَّدَ	tu-ruddid-a تُرَدَّدُ
Imperf.	ya-ta-raddad-u يَتَرَدَّدُ	yu-ta-raddad-u يُتَرَدَّدُ
Participles	mu-ta-raddid-un مُتَرَدِّدٌ	mu-ta-raddad-un مُتَرَدَّدٌ

First radical w-: *tawakkala* تَوَكَّلَ ‘to rely on’, verbal noun *tawakkul* تَوَكُّلٌ

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>ta-wakkal-a</i> تَوَكَّلَ	<i>tu-wukkil-a</i> تَوَكِّلَ
Imperf.	<i>ya-ta-wakkal-u</i> يَتَوَكَّلُ	<i>yu-ta-wakkal-u</i> يُتَوَكَّلُ
Participles	<i>mu-ta-wakkil-un</i> مُتَوَكِّلٌ	<i>mu-ta-wakkal-un</i> مُتَوَكَّلٌ

Hollow -w-: *taṣawwafa* تَصَوَّفَ ‘to be a mystic’, verbal noun *taṣawwuf* تَصَوُّفٌ

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>ta-ṣawwaf-a</i> تَصَوَّفَ	<i>tu-ṣuwwif-a</i> تُصَوَّفُ
Imperf.	<i>ya-ta-ṣawwaf-u</i> يَتَصَوَّفُ	<i>yu-ta-ṣawwaf-u</i> يُتَصَوَّفُ
Participles	<i>mu-ta-ṣawwif-un</i> مُتَصَوِّفٌ	<i>mu-ta-ṣawwaf-un</i> مُتَصَوَّفٌ

Hollow -y-: *tagāyyara* تَغَيَّرَ ‘to be changed’, verbal noun *tagāyyur* تَغْيِيرٌ

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>ta-ḡayyar-a</i> تَغَيَّرَ	<i>tu-ḡuyyir-a</i> تُغَيَّرُ
Imperf.	<i>ya-ta-ḡayyar-u</i> يَتَغَيَّرُ	<i>yu-ta-ḡayyār-u</i> يُتَغَيَّرُ
Participles	<i>mu-ta-ḡayyir-un</i> مُتَغَيِّرٌ	<i>mu-ta-ḡayyar-un</i> مُتَغَيَّرٌ

Weak 3rd radical: *talaqqā* تَلَقَّى ‘to meet’, verbal noun *talaqqin* تَلَقُّ

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>ta-laqq-ā</i> تَلَقَّى	<i>tu-luqqiy-a</i> تُلَقَّى
Imperf.	<i>ya-ta-laqq-ā</i> يَتَلَقَّى	<i>yu-ta-laqq-ā</i> يُتَلَقَّى
Participles	<i>mu-ta-laqqi-n</i> مُتَلَقٍّ	<i>mu-ta-laqq-a-n</i> مُتَلَقًى

Doubly weak: *tawallā* تَوَلَّى ‘to take charge of’, verbal noun *tawallin* تَوَلُّ

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>ta-wall-ā</i> تَوَلَّى	<i>tu-wulliy-a</i> تُوَلَّى
Imperf.	<i>ya-ta-wall-ā</i> يَتَوَلَّى	<i>yu-ta-wall-ā</i> يُتَوَلَّى
Participles	<i>mu-ta-walli-n</i> مُتَوَلٍّ	<i>mu-ta-walla-n</i> مُتَوَلًى

1.10.6 Stem VI

Sound verb: *takātaba* تَكَاتَبَ ‘to write to one another’, verbal noun *takātub* تَكَاتُبٌ

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>ta-kātab-a</i> تَكَاتَبَ	<i>tu-kūtib-a</i> تُكَاتَبُ
Imperf.	<i>ya-ta-kātab-u</i> يَتَكَاتَبُ	<i>yu-ta-kātab-u</i> يُتَكَاتَبُ
Participles	<i>mu-ta-kātib-un</i> مُتَكَاتِبٌ	<i>mu-ta-kātab-un</i> مُتَكَاتَبٌ

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Doubled verb: *taḍādda* تَضَادَّ 'to be mutually opposed', verbal noun *taḍādd* تَضَادُّ

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>ta-ḍādd-a</i> تَضَادَّ	<i>tu-ḍādd-a</i> تَضُدُّ
Imperf.	<i>ya-ta-ḍādd-u</i> يَتَضَادُّ	<i>yu-ta-ḍādd-u</i> يُتَضَادُّ
Participles	<i>mu-ta-ḍādd-un</i> مُتَضَادُّ	<i>mu-ta-ḍādd-un</i> مُتَضَادُّ

First radical *w*:- *tawāfaqa* تَوَافَقَ 'to agree mutually', verbal noun *tawāfiq* تَوَافُقٌ

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>ta-wāfaq-a</i> تَوَافَقَ	<i>tu-wāfiq-a</i> تُوَوِّقُ
Imperf.	<i>ya-ta-wāfaq-u</i> يَتَوَافَقُ	<i>yu-ta-wāfaq-u</i> يُتَوَافَقُ
Participles	<i>mu-ta-wāfiq-un</i> مُتَوَافِقٌ	<i>mu-ta-wāfaq-un</i> مُتَوَافِقٌ

Hollow *w*:- *ta'āwana* تَعَاوَنَ 'to cooperate', verbal noun *ta'āwun* تَعَاوُنٌ

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>ta-'āwan-a</i> تَعَاوَنَ	<i>tu-'ūwin-a</i> تُعَوِّنُ
Imperf.	<i>ya-ta-'āwan-u</i> يَتَعَاوَنُ	<i>yu-ta-'āwan-u</i> يُتَعَاوَنُ
Participles	<i>mu-ta-'āwin-un</i> مُتَعَاوِنٌ	<i>mu-ta-'āwan-un</i> مُتَعَاوِنٌ

Hollow *y*:- *tazāyada* تَزَايَدَ 'to exceed each other', verbal noun *tazāyud* تَزَايُدٌ

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>ta-zāyad-a</i> تَزَايَدَ	<i>tu-zūyid-a</i> تُزَوِّدُ
Imperf.	<i>ya-ta-zāyad-u</i> يَتَزَايَدُ	<i>yu-ta-zāyad-u</i> يُتَزَايَدُ
Participles	<i>mu-ta-zāyid-un</i> مُتَزَايِدٌ	<i>mu-ta-zāyad-un</i> مُتَزَايِدٌ

Weak 3rd radical: *tarāḍa* تَرَاضَى 'to be mutually satisfied', verbal noun *tarāḍin* تَرَاضٍ

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>ta-rāḍ-ā</i> تَرَاضَى	<i>tu-rūḍiy-a</i> تُرَوِّضِي
Imperf.	<i>ya-ta-rāḍ-ā</i> يَتَرَاضَى	<i>yu-ta-rāḍ-ā</i> يُتَرَاضَى
Participles	<i>mu-ta-rāḍi-n</i> مُتَرَاضٍ	<i>mu-ta-rāḍa-n</i> مُتَرَاضٍ

Doubly weak: *tawālā* تَوَالَى 'to follow consecutively', verbal noun *tawālīn* تَوَالٍ

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>ta-wāl-ā</i> تَوَالَى	<i>tu-wūliy-a</i> تُوَوِّلِي
Imperf.	<i>ya-ta-wāl-ā</i> يَتَوَالَى	<i>yu-ta-wāl-ā</i> يُتَوَالَى
Participles	<i>mu-ta-wālī-n</i> مُتَوَالٍ	<i>mu-ta-wāla-n</i> مُتَوَالٍ

1.10.7 Stem VII

Sound verb: *infataḥa* انفتح ‘to come open’, verbal noun *infitāḥ* انفتاح

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>in-fataḥ-a</i> اِنْفَتَحَ	(no passive verbs)
Imperf.	<i>ya-n-fatīḥ-u</i> يَنْفَتِحُ	
Participles	<i>mu-n-fatīḥ-un</i> مُنْفَتِحٌ	<i>mu-n-fataḥ-un</i> مُنْفَتَحٌ

Doubled verb: *inḍamma* انضم ‘to become combined’, verbal noun *inḍimām* انضمام

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>in-ḍamm-a</i> اِنْضَمَّ	(no passive verbs)
Imperf.	<i>ya-n-ḍamm-u</i> يَنْضَمُّ	
Participles	<i>mu-n-ḍamm-un</i> مُنْضَمٌ	<i>mu-n-ḍamm-un</i> مُنْضَمٌ

Hollow -w-: *inqāda* انقاد ‘to be led’, verbal noun *inqayād* انقياد

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>in-qād-a</i> اِنْقَادَ	(no passive verbs)
Imperf.	<i>ya-n-qād-u</i> يَنْقَادُ	
Participles	<i>mu-n-qād-un</i> مُنْقَادٌ	<i>mu-n-qād-un</i> مُنْقَادٌ

Hollow -y-: *insāba* انسب ‘to flow away’, verbal noun *insayāb* انسياب

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>in-sāb-a</i> اِنْسَابَ	(no passive verbs)
Imperf.	<i>ya-n-sāb-u</i> يَنْسَابُ	
Participles	<i>mu-n-sāb-un</i> مُنْسَابٌ	<i>mu-n-sāb-un</i> مُنْسَابٌ

Weak 3rd radical: *insalā* انسلى ‘to be consoled’, verbal noun *insilā* انسلاء

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>in-sal-ā</i> اِنْسَلَى	(no passive verbs)
Imperf.	<i>ya-n-salī</i> يَنْسَلِي	
Participles	<i>mu-n-salī-n</i> مُنْسَلٍ	<i>mu-n-salā-n</i> مُنْسَلٍ

General comments: there are no 1st radical w- or y- verbs in this stem.

Although there are no passive verbs in this stem the pass. part. is still seen as a noun of place (see 1.11.2).

1.10.8 Stem VIII

Sound verb: *iḥtalafa* اِخْتَلَفَ 'to differ', verbal noun *iḥtilāf* اختلاف

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>i-ḥtalaf-a</i> اِخْتَلَفَ	<i>u-ḥtulif-a</i> اُخْتُلِفَ
Imperf.	<i>ya-ḥtalif-u</i> يَخْتَلِفُ	<i>yu-ḥtalaf-u</i> يُخْتَلَفُ
Participles	<i>mu-ḥtalif-un</i> مُخْتَلِفٌ	<i>mu-ḥtalaf-un</i> مُخْتَلَفٌ

Doubled verb: *iḥtakka* اِحتَكَ 'to rub', verbal noun *iḥtikāk* احتكاك

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>i-ḥtak-k-a</i> اِحتَكَ	<i>u-ḥtuk-k-a</i> اُحتِكَ
Imperf.	<i>ya-ḥtak-k-u</i> يَحْتَكُ	<i>yu-ḥtak-k-u</i> يُحْتَكُ
Participles	<i>mu-ḥtak-k-un</i> مُحْتَكٌ	<i>mu-ḥtak-k-un</i> مُحْتَكٌ

First radical w-: *ittahada* اِتَّحَدَ 'to unite', verbal noun *ittiḥād* اتحاد

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>i-ttaḥad-a</i> اِتَّحَدَ	<i>u-ttuḥid-a</i> اُتِّهِدَ
Imperf.	<i>ya-ttaḥid-u</i> يَتَّحِدُ	<i>yu-ttaḥad-u</i> يُتَّهَدُ
Participles	<i>mu-ttaḥid-un</i> مُتَّحِدٌ	<i>mu-ttaḥad-un</i> مُتَّهَدٌ

Hollow -w-: *iḥtāja* اِحتَاجَ 'to need', verbal noun *iḥtiyāj* احتياج

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>i-ḥtāj-a</i> اِحتَاجَ	<i>u-ḥtīj-a</i> اُحتِيجَ
Imperf.	<i>ya-ḥtāj-u</i> يَحْتَاجُ	<i>yu-ḥtāj-u</i> يُحْتَاجُ
Participles	<i>mu-ḥtāj-un</i> مُحْتَاجٌ	<i>mu-ḥtāj-un</i> مُحْتَاجٌ

Hollow -y-: *imtāza* اِمْتَازَ 'to be distinguished', verbal noun *imtiyāz* امتياز

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>i-mtāz-a</i> اِمْتَازَ	<i>u-mtīz-a</i> اُمْتِيزَ
Imperf.	<i>ya-mtāz-u</i> يَمْتَازُ	<i>yu-mtāz-u</i> يُمْتَازُ
Participles	<i>mu-mtāz-un</i> مِمْتَازٌ	<i>mu-mtāz-un</i> مِمْتَازٌ

Weak 3rd radical: *iḥtafā* اِخْتَفَى 'to be hidden', verbal noun *iḥtifā* اختفاء

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>i-ḥtaf-ā</i> اِخْتَفَى	<i>u-ḥtufiy-a</i> اُخْتُفِيَ
Imperf.	<i>ya-ḥtaf-ī</i> يَخْتَفِي	<i>yu-ḥtaf-ā</i> يُخْتَفَى
Participles	<i>mu-ḥtafi-n</i> مُخْتَفٍ	<i>mu-ḥtafa-n</i> مُخْتَفٍ

Doubly weak: none.

General comments: for problems with assimilation of first radical, see 1.9.1.2.

1.10.9 Stem IX

Sound verb: 'iḥmarra إَحْمَرَّ 'to redden', 'to go red', verbal noun iḥmirār إَحْمِرَار

	Active	Passive
Perf.	i-ḥmarr-a إَحْمَرَّ	(no passive)
Imperf.	ya-ḥmarr-u يَحْمِرُ	
Participles	mu-ḥmarr-un مُحْمِرٌ	

Hollow -w-: iswadda اِسْوَدَّ 'to blacken', 'to go black', verbal noun iswidād اِسْوَدَاد

	Active	Passive
Perf.	i-swadd-a اِسْوَدَّ	(no passive)
Imperf.	ya-swadd-u يَسْوَدُّ	
Participles	mu-swadd-un مَسْوُودٌ	

Hollow -y-: ibyadda اِبْيَضَّ 'to whiten', 'to go white', verbal noun ibyidād اِبْيَضَاد

	Active	Passive
Perf.	i-byadd-a اِبْيَضَّ	(no passive)
Imperf.	ya-byadd-u يَبْيِضُ	
Participles	mu-byadd-un مَبْيِضٌ	

Like the doubled verbs these have long and short stems, perf. iḥmarr- and imperf. -ḥmarr- before vowels, perf. iḥmarar- and imperf. -ḥmarir- before consonants. They also follow the doubled verbs in their apocopated form (see 1.9.2). Other stem IX roots are rare, probably only 3rd radical -y occurring, but not seen outside dictionaries.

1.10.10 Stem X

Sound verb: istaḥsana اِسْتَحْسَنَ 'to approve', verbal noun istiḥsān اِسْتِحْسَان

	Active	Passive
Perf.	i-sta-ḥsan-a اِسْتَحْسَنَ	u-stu-ḥsin-a اُسْتُحْسِنَ
Imperf.	ya-sta-ḥsin-u يَسْتَحْسِنُ	yu-sta-ḥsan-u يُسْتَحْسِنُ
Participles	mu-sta-ḥsin-un مُسْتَحْسِنٌ	mu-sta-ḥsan-un مُسْتَحْسَنٌ

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Doubled verb: *istahaqqa* اسْتَحَقَّ ‘to deserve’, verbal noun *istiḥqāq* استحقاق

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>i-sta-ḥaqq-a</i> اسْتَحَقَّ	<i>u-stu-ḥiqq-a</i> اسْتُحِقَّ
Imperf.	<i>ya-sta-ḥiqq-u</i> يَسْتَحِقُّ	<i>yu-sta-ḥaqq-u</i> يُسْتَحَقُّ
Participles	<i>mu-sta-ḥiqq-un</i> مُسْتَحِقٌّ	<i>mu-sta-ḥaqq-un</i> مُسْتَحَقٌّ

First radical *w*:- *istawṭana* اسْتَوطن ‘to settle’, verbal noun *istiṭān* استيطان

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>i-sta-wṭan-a</i> اسْتَوطنَ	<i>u-stu-wṭin-a</i> اسْتُوطِنَ
Imperf.	<i>ya-sta-wṭin-u</i> يَسْتَوطنُ	<i>yu-sta-wṭan-u</i> يُسْتَوطنُ
Participles	<i>mu-sta-wṭin-un</i> مُسْتَوطنٌ	<i>mu-sta-wṭan-un</i> مُسْتَوطنٌ

Hollow -*w*:- *istašara* اسْتَشَار ‘to seek advice’, verbal noun *istišara* استشارة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>i-sta-šār-a</i> اسْتَشَارَ	<i>u-stu-šīr-a</i> اسْتُشِيرَ
Imperf.	<i>ya-sta-šīr-u</i> يَسْتَشِيرُ	<i>yu-sta-šār-u</i> يُسْتَشَارُ
Participles	<i>mu-sta-šīr-un</i> مُسْتَشِيرٌ	<i>mu-sta-šār-un</i> مُسْتَشَارٌ

Hollow -*y*:- *istafāda* اسْتَفَاد ‘to derive benefit’, verbal noun *istifāda* استفادة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>i-sta-fād-a</i> اسْتَفَادَ	<i>u-stu-fīd-a</i> اسْتُفِيدَ
Imperf.	<i>ya-sta-fīd-u</i> يَسْتَفِيدُ	<i>yu-sta-fād-u</i> يُسْتَفَادُ
Participles	<i>mu-sta-fīd-un</i> مُسْتَفِيدٌ	<i>mu-sta-fād-un</i> مُسْتَفَادٌ

Weak 3rd radical: *istaqṣā* اسْتَقْصَى ‘to investigate’, verbal noun *istiḡṣā* استقصاء

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>i-sta-qṣ-ā</i> اسْتَقْصَى	<i>u-stu-qṣiy-a</i> اسْتُقْصِيَ
Imperf.	<i>ya-sta-qṣ-i</i> يَسْتَقْصِي	<i>yu-sta-qṣ-ā</i> يُسْتَقْصَى
Participles	<i>mu-sta-qṣi-n</i> مُسْتَقْصٍ	<i>mu-sta-qṣa-n</i> مُسْتَقْصَى

Doubly weak: *istawlā* اسْتَوْلَى ‘to take control’, verbal noun *istīlā* استيلاء; this class of verbs has exactly the same conjugation as *ramā* رمى in both perf. and imperf. (see 1.9.2).

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>i-sta-wl-ā</i> اسْتَوْلَى	<i>u-stu-wliy-a</i> اسْتُوْلِيَ
Imperf.	<i>ya-sta-wl-i</i> يَسْتَوْلِي	<i>yu-sta-wl-ā</i> يُسْتَوْلَى
Participles	<i>mu-sta-wli-n</i> مُسْتَوْلٍ	<i>mu-sta-wla-n</i> مُسْتَوْلَى

1.10.11 Higher trilateral stems

Higher trilateral stems are rare, only XII being seen at all.

XII: *iḥdawdaba* اِحدَوْدَب 'be hunch-backed', verbal noun *iḥdīdāb* اِحدِيدَاب

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>i-ḥdawdab-a</i> اِحدَوْدَبْ	(no passive)
Imperf.	<i>ya-ḥdawdib-u</i> يَحدَوْدِبْ	
Participle	<i>mu-ḥdawdib-un</i> مُحَدَوْدِبْ	

1.10.12 Quadrilaterals

These seldom have defective or weak radicals, except in second position, e.g. QII *taJaWHaRa* تَجَوَّهَر 'to become substance', where, however, no morphological irregularities arise.

QI (same structure as trilateral stem II): *jamhara* جَمِهَر 'to flock together (trans.)', verbal noun *jamhara* جَمِهَرَة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>jamhar-a</i> جَمِهَرْ	<i>jumhir-a</i> جُمِهَرْ
Imperf.	<i>yu-jamhir-u</i> يَجْمِهَرْ	<i>yu-jamhar-u</i> يُجْمِهَرْ
Participles	<i>mu-jamhir-un</i> مُجْمِهَرْ	<i>mu-jamhar-un</i> مُجْمِهَرْ

QII (same structure as trilateral V): *tajamhara* تَجْمِهَر 'to be massed together', verbal noun *tajamhur* تَجْمِهَر

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>ta-jamhar-a</i> تَجْمِهَرْ	<i>tu-jumhir-a</i> تُجْمِهَرْ
Imperf.	<i>ya-ta-jamhar-u</i> يَتَجْمِهَرْ	<i>yu-ta-jamhar-u</i> يُتَجْمِهَرْ
Participles	<i>mu-ta-jamhir-un</i> مُتَجْمِهَرْ	<i>mu-ta-jamharun</i> مُتَجْمِهَرْ

QIII is rare, and no examples were found in the data: see 1.9.1.7.

QIV is commonly seen: *iḍmaḥalla* اِضْمَحَل 'to fade away' verbal noun *iḍmiḥlāl* اِضْمَحَال

	Active	Passive
Perf.	<i>i-ḍmaḥall-a</i> اِضْمَحَلْ	None
Imperf.	<i>ya-ḍmaḥill-u</i> يَضْمَحِلْ	
Participle	<i>mu-ḍmaḥill-un</i> مُضْمَحِلْ	

Like the doubled verbs (1.9.2), this class has a long and short stem according to context, namely, perf. *iḍmaḥqill*-اضمحَلْ and imperf. *-ḍmaḥill*-ضمَحِلْ before vowels, and perf. *iḍmaḥlil*-اضمحَلْ and imperf. *-ḍmaḥlil*-ضمَحِلْ before consonants. They also follow the doubled verbs in their apocopated form, i.e. it is identical with the dep., e.g. *lam yaḍmaḥilla* لم يَضْمَحِلْ 'it did not fade away' (see 1.9.2).

From the original QIV stem *iṭma'anna* اطمأن 'to be at peace' two simplified stems have evolved, a causative QI *ṭam'ana* طمأن 'to pacify' (variant *ṭa'mana* طَمان) and a pure trilateral stem II *ṭammāna* طَمَّن in the same sense.

1.11 NOUN PATTERNS, DEVERBATIVES

In addition to the basic noun patterns set out in 1.8.1 etc., all stems have a number of regularly derived nouns. Since inflection is not the issue here, pausal forms are given.

1.11.1

Three of them, namely, (1) the verbal noun (*maṣḍar* مصدر, lit. 'source' of the verb); (2) the agent noun (*fā'il* فاعل, lit. 'doer'); (3) the patient noun (*maḥ'l* مفعول, lit. 'thing done') are found with all verbs, the others (see 1.11.2) are restricted largely by semantic considerations.

For stem I the verbal noun pattern is not predictable:

<i>ḍarb</i> ضَرْب	'striking'	from	<i>ḍaraba</i> ضَرَبَ
<i>wuṣūl</i> وُصُول	'arriving'	from	<i>waṣala</i> وَصَلَ
<i>kitāba</i> كِتَابَة	'writing'	from	<i>kataba</i> كَتَبَ
<i>qawl</i> قَوْل	'saying'	from	<i>qāla</i> قَالَ
<i>ṣayd</i> صَيْد	'hunting'	from	<i>ṣāda</i> صَادَ
<i>šifā</i> شِفَاء	'cure'	from	<i>šafā</i> شَفَى
<i>jarayān</i> جَرَيَان	'running'	from	<i>jarā</i> جَرَى
<i>muḍī</i> مُضِيّ	'passing'	from	<i>maḍā</i> مَضَى

Moreover, some verbs have more than one verbal noun pattern, e.g. *liqā* لِقَاء, *luqyān* لُقْيَان, *luqy* لُقِيَ, *luqya* لُقِيَة, *luqan* لُقِيَ, all from *laqiya* لَقِيَ 'to meet' (admittedly a somewhat extreme case).

But the other stems become progressively more predictable as the number rises: stem II has four patterns, stem III has two and verbs from stem IV upwards have only one. Any variations arise for purely phonological reasons. All verbal nouns for the derived stems are included in the paradigms above.

Agent and patient nouns are completely predictable for all stems, and are also included in the paradigms above.

1.11.2 Other deverbals

The other deverbals are not found with every root.

The noun of place (*ism makān* اسم مكان) in stem I has the pattern *maf'al* or *maf'il* with or without fem. affix:

<i>madrasa</i> مدرسة 'school',	lit. 'place of study', from <i>darasa</i> درس 'to study'
<i>maktab</i> مكتب 'office',	lit. 'place of writing', from <i>kataba</i> كتب 'to write'
<i>maktaba</i> مكتبة 'library',	a differentiation of the above
<i>maṭbaḥ</i> مطبخ 'kitchen',	lit. 'place of cooking', from <i>ṭabaḥa</i> طبخ 'to cook'
<i>manzila</i> منزلة 'status',	lit. 'place of stopping', from <i>nazala</i> نزل 'to dismount', 'to dwell'
<i>maq'ad</i> مقعد 'seat',	lit. 'place of sitting', from <i>qa'ada</i> قعد 'to sit'

The higher stems all use the passive participle:

<i>mustašfā</i> مستشفى 'hospital',	lit. 'place of seeking cure' from stem X <i>istašfā</i> <i>istashfī</i> استشفى 'to seek a cure'
<i>muntahā</i> منتهى 'end point'	from stem VIII <i>intahā</i> انتهى 'to reach an end'
<i>multaqā</i> ملتقى 'meeting place',	from stem VIII <i>iltaqā</i> التقى 'to meet'
<i>muntaṣaf</i> منتصف 'mid-point',	from stem VIII <i>intaṣafa</i> انتصف 'to be halved'
<i>munṭalaq</i> منطلق 'point of departure'	from <i>inṭalaqa</i> انطلق 'to depart', stem VII, which has no passive verbs but may still use the passive participle in this sense

The noun of instrument *ism 'āla* اسم آلة has only the pattern *mif'al* مفعّل, with fem. variant *mif'ala* مفعلة and a long form *mif'āl* مفعال (the selection seems to be arbitrary):

<i>miṣ'ad</i> مصعد 'lift', 'elevator'	from <i>ša'ida</i> صعد 'to rise', 'to ascend'
<i>miṭāh</i> مفتاح 'key'	from <i>fataḥa</i> فتح 'to open'
<i>miṭbaḥ</i> مطبخ 'oven',	from <i>ṭabaḥa</i> طبخ 'to cook' (cf. 'kitchen' above)
<i>mibrad</i> مبرد 'file'	from <i>barada</i> برد 'to file'

Note that the pattern *fa'āla* فعالة (see 1.8.1.1) is also used for instruments and tools, e.g. *tallāja* ثلاجة 'refrigerator' from *ṭalj* ثلج 'ice', *ḡassāla* غسالة 'washing machine', from *ḡasala* غسل 'to wash'.

Two other CA patterns are still in use:

- The noun of instance (*ism marra* اسم مرة 'noun of time') has the pattern *fa'la* فعلة (plur. *fa'lāt* فعالات) and indicates the countable occurrences of an action. It does not occur itself with any great frequency, but can be seen in *'uqidat*

jalsatāni, talātu jalsātin ثلاث جلسات ‘two sessions, three sessions were held’ *ḥilāla sab‘i jalsātin* خلال سبع جلسات ‘in seven sessions’, contrasting with the regular verbal noun *julūs* جلوس ‘sitting down [generic type of action]’.

- The noun of manner (*ism al-naw‘* اسم النوع ‘noun of type’) as its name suggests, denotes the manner of an action, and has the pattern *fi‘la* فعلة. Again it is relatively infrequent, e.g. *jilsa* جلسة ‘way of sitting’, *mīta* ميته ‘way of dying’, ‘manner of death’, and may by now have become a purely lexical rather than productive item.

1.12 MORPHOSYNTACTIC CATEGORIES: NUMBER, GENDER, DEFINITENESS, CASE, AGREEMENT

1.12.1 Number

There are three numbers for nouns, pronouns and verbs, singular, dual and plural. In nouns and adjectives the singular is the unmarked form, the other two being marked either by suffixes (dual and ‘sound plural’) or by a change in pattern (‘broken plural’).

1.12.1.1 The dual suffixes (1.5.3) are attached to both masc. and fem. (morpheme boundaries are shown by hyphenation):

rajul-ā-ni ḥasan-ā-ni رجلان حسان ‘two good men’
mu‘allif-at-ā-ni mašhūr-at-ā-ni مؤلفتان مشهورتان
 ‘two famous women writers’

There are signs that the dual is being abandoned in favour of a default plur.: *‘ayyām# 19 wa-20 ‘abrīl* ٢٠ و ١٩ أيام ‘the 19th and 20th April’ instead of *yawmay* يومي ‘on the two days of’.

Contrast a signature with the form: *murāqib-ā l-ḥisābātī* مراقبا الحسابات ‘the two inspectors of accounts’ with the naming of two assistant producers as *musā‘id-ū l-muḥriji* مساعدو المخرج ‘assistants [plur.] to the producer’, followed by the two names of the assistants.

Contrast also the default (but strictly speaking irregular) plur. in *rakkazāt ‘uyūnahā l-wasnānata fi wajhihā l-mudawwari* ركزت عيونها الوسنانة في وجهها المدور ‘she fixed her sleepy eyes [plur.] on her round face’ with the regular CA dual a few lines later in the same text: *tanaddat ‘aynāhā bi-l-dumū‘i* تنددت عيناها بالدموع ‘her [two] eyes moistened with tears’.

Loan words are accommodated into the system as far as possible; if a dual ending cannot be directly suffixed an *-h-* is interposed (see below, sound fem. plur., from which this feature has been transferred to the dual): *li-sinārayū-h-ay-ni* لسناريوهين آخرين ‘for two other scripts’ (‘scenarios’).

1.12.1.2 The plur. is either ‘sound’ (*jam* ‘سالم جمع’ ‘sound plural’), so called because it is marked by suffixation (1.5.3: note that there are masc. and fem. suffixes):

murasil-ū-na muḡādir-ū-na مراسلون مغادرون ‘departing correspondents’

ḥayyāt-āt-un māhir-āt-un خياطات ماهرات ‘skilful seamstresses’

Words ending in long vowels (mostly loan words, though the phenomenon is observable in CA) interpose an *-h-*:

istūdiyū-h-āt-un استوديوهات ‘studios’ (see further in 12.10.1)

or the plural can be ‘broken’ (*jam* ‘مكسر جمع’ ‘broken plural’), so called because it involves a change from the sing. pattern (see 1.4.2):

bilād-un بلاد ‘countries’ (pattern *fi’āl* فِعال), sing. *balad-un* بلد ‘a country’

kutub-un كُتُب ‘books’, sing. *kitāb-un* كِتَاب (pattern also *fi’āl* فِعال) ‘a book’

The example also shows that it is the change in pattern which marks the plural: the pattern itself is not distinctive and may be found, as above, in both sing. and plur. nouns.

CA had some forty patterns, all of which survive in MWA. The commonest are (in addition to the two illustrated immediately above):

fu’ūl-un فُعُول e.g. *bayt-un/buyūt-un* بُيُوت/بَيْت ‘house(s)’

’af’āl-un أَفْعَال e.g. *ṭifl-un/’atfāl-un* طِفْل/أَطْفَال ‘infant(s)’

fu’alā’-u فُعَلَاء e.g. *wazīr-un/wuzarā’-u* وَزِير/أَوْزَرَاء ‘minister(s)’

’af’ilā’-u أَفْعِلَاء e.g. *ṣadiq-un/’aṣdiqā’-u* صَدِيق/أَصْدِقَاء ‘friend(s)’

Some patterns are not fully inflected (see 1.4.3).

The principles of selection of a given pattern cannot be reduced to a set of rules, and it is best to treat the plur. as a lexical feature. The exception is certain of the longer patterns, i.e. either affixed or quadriliterals, which are predictable, e.g.:

maktab-un مَكْتَب ‘office’

plur. *makātib-u* مَكَاتِب ‘offices’ (prefix *ma-* + *k-t-b*)

funduq-un فُنْدُق ‘hotel’

plur. *fanādiq-u* فَنَادِق ‘hotels’ (quadriliteral, *f-n-d-q*)

jumhūr-un جُمْهُور ‘mass’, ‘crowd’

plur. *jamāhīr-u* جَمَاهِير ‘masses’ (quadriliteral, *j-m-h-r* + infix *ū*)

The system is still productive and loan words are fitted into it wherever possible:

fabārik-u فَبَارِك ‘factories’ from *fabrik-atun* فَبْرِيكَة

Arabic has a similar range of collective and mass nouns to those of Western languages, and their default form is singular masc., though in agreement they may be treated as sing. or plur. (cf. 2.1.1.2, 3.1.1; 3.8):

qawm-un قوم ‘people’, *mā-un* ماء ‘water’, *baqar-un* بقر ‘cattle’

Their plurals mean ‘different kinds of’, e.g. *‘aqwām-un* أقوام ‘peoples’.

Countables have a triple contrast between an unmarked generic, a sing. (marked fem.) and a plur., cf.:

samak-un سمك ‘fish [in general]’

samak-at-un سمكة ‘one/a fish’

‘asmāk-un أسماك ‘[some] fish[es]’

Note the unique suppletive plur. *nisā-un* نساء ‘women’, sing. *imra-at-un* امرأة ‘woman’.

1.12.1.3 Pronouns

Number is a feature of pronouns, see tables in 1.7.1. Note that there is no 1st person dual in Arabic.

1.12.1.4 Verbs

Verbs incorporate their agents as pronouns, which carry number and gender features (see tables in 1.5.2.2; 1.5). These properties are an important element of agreement rules at sentence level: briefly, verbs which precede their overt agents are marked for gender but not for number, while those which follow their overt agents must agree in both number and gender. See 3.8 for details.

1.12.2 Gender

There are two genders, masc. and fem., both of which are agreement features in nouns/adjectives, pronouns and verbs.

1.12.2.1 Nouns and adjectives

Gender is either marked or unmarked, and for agreement purposes the formal and grammatical gender may differ (see 2.1.1, 3.1.1).

Masc. is normally unmarked and fem. is marked with the suffix *-at-* ة (followed by case inflections) and its allomorphs (see 1.5.2.1), e.g. *ṭālib-un* طالب ‘male student’, *ṭālib-at-un* طالبة ‘female student’, *ṭālib-āt-un* طالبات ‘female students’.

However, one class of fem. nouns is regularly used for males, namely, the emphatic pattern (see 1.8.1.1) *fa-‘āla* فعالة (pausal form henceforth used in transliteration, see 1.5.2), as in *‘allāma* علامة ‘a very learned man’, *raḥḥala* رحالة ‘a great traveller’. The fem. noun *ḥalīfa* خليفة ‘caliph’ is an old abstract which now denotes males, and there are several fem. proper names for men, e.g. *ṭalḥa* طلحة. The plur. pattern *‘afā-ila* أفاعلة (cf. 1.8.1) is used both for common nouns, e.g. *‘asātiḍa* أساتذة ‘professors’, and for ethnic and other groups, e.g. *‘afāriqa* أفارقة ‘Africans’, and grammatically these also remain masc.

Unmarked fem.: a number of common words, among them *ḥamr* خمر ‘wine’, *šams* شمس ‘sun’, *dār* دار ‘house’, *ḥarb* حرب ‘war’, *nār* نار ‘fire’, *sūq* سوق ‘market’; a few have both genders, e.g. *ḥāl* حال ‘state’, ‘situation’, *ṭarīq* طريق ‘way’, but these are best left as a lexical feature.

Also in this group is a small number of adjs referring only to female properties, e.g. *ḥāmil* حامل ‘pregnant’ (but note fem. *ḥāmila* حاملة ‘carrying’ when used in the literal sense), *‘āqir* عاقر ‘barren’, *murḍi* مريض ‘nursing’ (also found in fem. *murḍi‘a* مريضة).

Names of towns and countries are almost all fem., regardless of spelling, probably taking their gender from the fem. words *madīna* مدينة ‘town’ or *dawla* دولة ‘state’, thus in the context of Kuwait ‘its inhabitants’ is *sukkānuhā* سكانها with fem. suffix *hā* ـها.

The CA rule that parts of the body which occur in pairs are fem. is largely retained. However, *‘anf* أنف ‘nose’ is now feminine, probably by attraction to the set of paired body parts:

al-‘anfu llatī takādu tulāmisu l-ḍaqana

الأنف التي تكاد تلمس الذقن

‘[her] nose, which **almost touched** [fem.] her chin’

The sound fem. plur. is regularly used for abstract notions (a CA usage), e.g. *iqtiṣādiyyāt* اقتصاديات ‘economics’, lit. ‘economical [things]’, cf. 12.4.1.

There seems to be a tendency for words like *mustaṣfā* مستشفى ‘hospital’ to become fem., presumably by association with the fem. *-ā* suffix found on other words.

Loan words in *-ā* L are treated as feminine, as the fem. adjs in the following examples show: *drāmā ramziyyatun* دراما رمزية ‘a **symbolic/ist** drama’, *‘aḥḍaṭu teknolojiyyā mutāḥaṭin* أحدث تكنولوجيا متاحة ‘the most modern technology **possible**’, *bānūrāmā naqdiyyatun* بانوراما نقدية ‘a **critical** panorama’, likewise the pron. here: *al-sinamā lahā* السينما لها ‘the cinema for **it**’ (i.e. ‘the cinema **has** ...’).

Note the rule that non-human plurals are grammatically fem. sing., see 2.1.1.

1.12.2.2 Pronouns

Gender is a feature of pronouns, see tables in 1.7.1. It is particularly relevant in anaphora to non-human plurals, which are grammatically fem. sing. (cf. 2.1.1).

The feminine may be used as a default gender for vague notions, e.g. *lā ‘aḳūluhā mujāmalatan* لا أقولها مجاملة ‘I am not saying **it** [fem.] out of flattery’, though such cases can always be explained as implying a fem. such as *kalīmāt* كلمات ‘words’, similarly in *rubbamā najidu jawābahā* ربما نجد جوابها ‘perhaps we shall find the answer **to that** [fem.]’, namely, those questions.

1.12.2.3 Verbs

Gender in verbs is coded in the agent affixes (see 1.5.2.2; 1.5.3). Note that there are no gender distinctions in the 1st person, nor in the 2nd person dual. Gender is an important agreement feature in verbal sentences (see 3.8).

1.12.3 Definiteness

Definiteness (▷C2:5) is a property of nouns (and hence adjectives, see 2.1.1) and is either formal (marked) or semantic (unmarked). Indefiniteness is now the unmarked state, since the original marker (*tanwīn*, see 1.5.1) is not realized in pausal reading or spelling.

Definiteness (or the equivalent) is a required feature of topics (see 3.1).

1.12.3.1 Formal definiteness is effected in three ways:

1 Prefixing of the definite article *al-* (▷C2:10, and see 1.5.1), contrast *kitāb-u-n* 'a book' with *al-kitāb-u* 'the book'; note that *al-* and *tanwīn* are in complementary distribution.

The definite article confers two types of definiteness:

- (a) as illustrated above, it particularizes an entity known to both speaker and listener
- (b) it denotes a generic meaning (▷C2:13), e.g. *mā'idatun min-a l-nuḥāsi l-mahfūri* مائدة من النحاس المحفور 'a table of **engraved brass**' (note that the adj. is also def., see 2.1.1), which could as well be rendered 'an engraved brass table', contrasting with other possible materials.

Indef. phrases also occur in a similar sense, e.g. *awāriḍu ḡalīẓatun min ḥašabin* عوارض غليظة من خشب 'rough joists **of wood**', but here the intention is not generic but rather 'made of some kind of wood' with no particular contrast with any other possible material.

Generic articles occur idiomatically in a number of contexts:

- (a) Time expressions (see 2.14.6), e.g. *niṣfu l-sā'ati* نصف الساعة 'half **an** hour'
- (b) Parts of the body, e.g. *ṭariba l-qalbu* طرب القلب '**the** heart rejoiced'
- (c) With quantity adjs. in an idiomatic partitive construction: *al-kaḥīru min-a ma'lūmāti* الكثير من المعلومات '**a great deal** of information', *al-'adīdu min-a l-'injāzāti* العديد من الإنجازات '**numerous** accomplishments' (see 2.6.12 and 2.1.5.1).

2 Annexation to an already def. noun of any category, e.g. *kitābu l-ṭālibi* كتاب الطالب '**the student's** book', *kitābu-hu* كتابه '**his** book'; note again that *tanwīn* is in complementary distribution with the second element of annexation.

Note that not all annexation units are def., see *kull* كل 'all' (2.9.1) and the superlative adj. (2.11 and 5.1.1).

Annexation units may therefore have either particular or generic sense according to the type of def. art.: *kūbu l-šāyi* كُوب الشاي can mean ‘a [generic] cup of tea’, ‘the cup of [particular] tea’ or ‘a [generic] teacup’ or ‘the [particular] teacup’, cf. *finjānu l-qahwati llaḍi štahara fihi l-‘irāqu* فنجان القهوة الذي اشتهر فيه العراق ‘the [generic] cup of the coffee for which Iraq is famous’, *luqmatu l-‘iši* لقمة العيش ‘a/the [generic] morsel of bread’ (see further 2.3.2).

3 A formally indef. noun becomes def. enough to function as a topic (see 3.1) if it is further qualified, usually adjectivally or by a rel. clause, e.g. *kutubun kaṭīratun* كتُبٌ كثيرة ‘many books’. The status of such noun phrases is termed ‘specification’ (*taḥṣīṣ*) rather than ‘definiteness’ in the Arab grammatical tradition.

1.12.3.2 Semantic definiteness is a property of three categories of words:

1 Pronouns, demonstratives, relatives, e.g. *huwa ṭālibun* هو طالب ‘he is a student’, *hādā ṣa‘bun* هذا صعب ‘this is difficult’, *māta llaḍi sāfartu ma‘ahu* مات الذي سافرت معه ‘the one with whom I travelled has died’ (see 5.3).

2 Proper names, of people, e.g. *‘aḥmadu* أحمد ‘Aḥmad’, *muḥammadun* محمد ‘Muḥammad’, or places, e.g. *makkatu* مكة ‘Mecca’, *‘adanu* عدن ‘Aden’; note that the *tanwīn* is not originally a mere indefiniteness marker and is thus also found on personal names (though very rarely with place names, and even here the tendency is for them to lose the *tanwīn*).

There is and always has been considerable variation in the presence of the def. art. with proper names: many doublets occur, e.g. *al-iskandariyya* الاسكندرية v. *iskandariyya* اسكندرية ‘Alexandria’, *al-suways* السويس v. *suways* سويس ‘Suez’, *al-malik al-ḥusayn* الملك الحسين ‘King [al-]Hussein’ v. *ṣaddām ḥusayn* صدام حسين ‘Saddam Hussein’.

A special case is *nāṣir* ناصر for [Gamal Abdel] Nasser without an article, a calque on Western usage.

There are variations in the inflection of proper names: the MWA trend is not to inflect them at all, but the CA system and hybrids of the two are often found (see 1.8.5).

The dummy name *fulān* فلان ‘Mr So-and-so’ is grammatically def., and its fem. *fulānātu* فلانة is partially inflected (see 1.4.3).

For the indef. instances of proper names, see 1.12.4.

3 Words used in the metalanguage are treated as proper names: *kataba hādā* كتب هذا ‘this [instance of the word] kataba’ with demonstr. following, see 2.2.5.2.

1.12.4 Indefiniteness

Indefiniteness (▷C2:21) was originally marked by the absence of def. art. or of positional definiteness (see previous section), in which *tanwīn* (see 1.5.1) became a default ending. It was not the original primary function of *tanwīn* to mark indefiniteness, but it is now so interpreted, even though in most cases it is no longer pronounced, e.g. *kitāb-u-n* كِتَابُ 'a book [indep.]', usually read as *kitāb* (see 1.2.8; 1.2.9 on pausal forms and inflections).

It can correspond to English 'one', e.g. in 'akṭaru min makān-i-n أَكْثَرُ مِنْ مَكَانٍ 'more than **one** place', and also to instances where no article is used in English:

širtu ra'īs-a-n li-lajnat-i l-ṭaqāfati

صرت رئيساً للجنة الثقافة

'I became **head** of the Culture Committee'

'araftuhu mudīr-a-n li-maṣlaḥati l-funūni

عرفته مديراً لمصلحة الفنون

'I recognized [or knew him] him as **director** of the Arts Department'

In annexation the definiteness of the second element determines that of the first (▷C2:95, and see 2.3.2), hence the following annexation unit is indefinite:

ra'īsu ḥukūmat-i-n lubnānāyyat-i-n

رئيس حكومة لبنانية

'a [or the] head of **a** Lebanese government', i.e. 'a Lebanese government head'

Some annexed items are formally def. but may be syntactically indef., especially the superlative adj. (see 2.11) and nouns with the generic article may also function as indef. (see rel. clauses, 5.2.4).

Proper names can become formally indefinite, usually for rhetorical purposes:

min 'ajli miṣr-i-n 'ṭaqāfayyatin' 'akṭara zdihāran wa-riyādatan

من أجل مصر 'ثقافية' أكثر ازدهاراً وريادة

'for the sake of **a** more flourishing and avant-garde 'cultural' **Egypt**',

in contrast to the normal, partially inflected form (see 1.4.3) *min 'ajli miṣr-a* مِنْ أَجْلِ مِصْرَ 'for the sake of **Egypt**'.

1.12.4.1 Periphrastic indefiniteness

Periphrastic indefiniteness is effected in a variety of ways:

- The 'mā of vagueness' ما الإبهام *mā al-'ibhām* (cf 5.6.3) placed after (but never suffixed to) an indef. noun, where the resulting juncture between *tanwīn* and *mā* usually results in assimilation of the *-n* to the *m-*:

fī makān-i-n mā

في مكان ما

‘in **some** place’ read as *fī makānim-mā*

al-wuṣūlu ‘ilā taswīyat-i-n mā

الوصول إلى تسوية ما

‘reaching **some sort of** settlement’ (read *taswīyatim-mā*)

‘indamā yabda’u ‘amal-a-n mā

عندما يبدأ عملاً ما

‘when he begins **some job or other**’ (read *‘amalam-mā*)

- The preposition *min* من ‘from’, ‘of’ (see 2.6.12) is used in several constructions which convey indefiniteness.

Partitive *min* من:

majmū‘atun min-a l-muttaḥamīna

مجموعة من المتهمين

‘a group **of** suspects’

Cf. 4.1.1 for partitive *min* من after negatives.

- Paronomastically, together with a partitive *min* من (cf. 2.3.2):

al-jāru ḍarbun min ḍurūbi l-qarābati

الجار ضرب من ضرب القرابة

‘a neighbour is **a kind of** relation’, lit. ‘the [generic] neighbour is a kind from the kinds of the [generic] relation’

‘arsala ... wazīran min wuzarā’ihi

أرسل ... وزيراً من وزرائه

‘he sent ... **one of his** ministers’

lawnan ‘aw ‘āḥara min ‘alwāni l-muṭāradata

لَوْناً أَوْ آخَرَ من المطاردة

‘**one kind or another** [dep.] of persecution’ (here reinforced with *‘āḥara* آخر ‘other’)

- The quantifier *ba’d* بعض ‘some of’ (cf. 2.9.4) frequently expresses an indeterminate number or quantity, often paronomastically (cf. 3.9.4):

rubbamā yu‘alliqu ba‘ḍu l-mu‘alliqīna

ربّما يعلّق بعضُ المعلّقين

‘perhaps **someone** may comment’, lit. ‘perhaps someone of those who comment may comment’

- The quantifier/interrogative *'ayyu* أَيّ 'which, any' (▷C1:151, and see 2.9.5.2) is very commonly annexed to nouns in order to make them explicitly indefinite:

'ayy 'alone':

fi 'ayyi zamānin wa-'alā 'ayyi 'arḍin

في أيّ زمان وعلى أيّ أرض

'at **any** time and in **any** land'

Note that on the second occasion *'ayy* أَيّ does not agree in gender with fem. *'arḍ* أرض, which is a common occurrence (see 2.9.5.2 and the next example).

ka-'ayyi 'ajūzin šamṭā'a

كأيّ عجوز شمطاء

'like **any** grey-haired old woman'

'ayy أَيّ + partitive *min* من (cf. above):

li-l-ištirāki fi 'ayyin min-a l-ḥidmatayni

للاشتراك في أيّ من الخدمتين

'to subscribe to **any** of the two services'

- It is frequently expanded with the paronomastic *min* من structure (see above):

'ayyu bābin min 'abwābi l-'amali

أيّ باب من أبواب العمل

'**any** sort of work at all', lit. 'any sort from among the sorts of work'

li-'ayyi sabab min al-'asbābi

لأيّ سبب من الأسباب

'for **any** reason at all', lit. 'for any reason from among the reasons'

bi-'ayyati ḥālin min al-'aḥwāli

بأيّة حال من الأحوال

'under **any** circumstances at all'

Note fem. agreement in *'ayyati* أيّة, which is now optional, see 2.9.5.2.

For the idiom *'ayyan kāna* أيّا كان 'who/whatever he/it may be' see 3.16.4 (▷C1:155).

- For the idiom ‘an x of mine’ the possessive preposition *li-* لـ (2.6.9) is used:

kāna zamīlan lanā

كان زميلا لنا

‘he was a colleague **of ours**’, lit. ‘a colleague [belonging] to us’

1.12.4.2 Although the generic article (see 1.12.3.1) is predominantly used for referring to categories, the indef. is common in prepositional phrases with verbal nouns (*maṣḍars*) and similar abstracts:

bi-mušāṛakat-i-n min al-saḡīri

بمشاركة من السفير

‘with **participation** from the ambassador’

bi-fā’iliyyat-i-n

بفاعلية

‘effectively’, lit. ‘with **effectivity**’

bi-ṣarāḡat-i-n wa-wuḍūḡ-i-n

بصراحة ووضوح

‘with **candour** and **clarity**’

bi-stimrār-i-n

باستمرار

‘continuously’, lit. ‘with **continuation**’

bi-basāṭat-i-n

ببساطة

‘simply’, lit. ‘with **simplicity**’

bi-lā tanāsuq-i-n

بلا تناسق

‘with no **coordination**’ (see Chapter 4 on negation of nouns)

1.12.4.3 Indef. verbal agents are sometime expressed paronomastically (see 3.9.4):

’idā badarat bādiratun min al-’a’dā’i

إذا بدرت بادرة من الأعداء

‘when **some initiative appeared** from the enemies’, lit. ‘when some emerging thing emerged’

1.12.5 Syntactic functions

The syntactic functions of the cases are summarized here to complete the morphological outline, but they are dealt with in detail in their respective sections.

The independent case is the basic marker of nouns in the function of subject/topic, pred. and agent (**Chapter 3**). The independent mood of the verb (formally identical with the indep. case in nouns) is also the default state, namely, in predicates (**Chapter 3**) until subordinated by one of the operators (**Chapters 7, 8, 9**).

The oblique case is specific to nominals and is the basic marker of nominal subordination, namely, of noun by noun in annexation, and after prepositions and prepositionals (**Chapter 2**).

The dependent case is the basic marker of subordination of nouns to verbs, namely, dir. object and all other noun complements, including those of existential verbs (**Chapter 3**) and adverbials (**Chapter 2**). It also marks subordination to the sentence modifiers *inna* etc. (**Chapter 3**). In contrast with the indep. case, the dep. may be thought of as a kind of disagreement feature, marking elements which are not in the same constituent, where membership is marked by agreement.

The dependent mood in verbs (formally identical with the dep. case in nouns) likewise marks their subordination to other verbs, usually through an operator such as a subordinating conj. (**Chapter 7**).

The apocopated mood is specific to verbs and is the marker of non-occurring events, either because they are imperatives (**Chapter 3**), negated (**Chapter 4**) or conditional (**Chapter 8**).

1.12.6 Agreement

These topics are dealt with in detail in their syntactical contexts, and are merely summarized here.

Nouns and adjectives (**Chapter 2**): attributive adjectives agree in all four features of number, gender, case and definiteness; predicative adjectives agree only in number and gender. Formal and grammatical number and gender may be different (see **1.12.2.1** for further references). Pronouns likewise agree with grammatical gender.

With verbs (**Chapter 3**), agreement depends on word order: if the verb precedes its agent it remains sing. though agreeing in gender (**3.7**), while if it follows its agent the verb shows complete number and gender agreement in its bound agent pronoun (see **3.7.2.1**).

2 NOUN PHRASE STRUCTURE

2.0 NOUN PHRASE, GENERAL CHARACTERIZATION

The common property of all elements in this chapter is that they do not form complete sentences. This chapter sets out the following structural units: the noun phrase, consisting of noun and modifier (adjectival **2.1**, appositional **2.2**), the annexation unit (**2.3**), dependent noun phrases of all types (**2.4**), together with the remaining phrase structures, which usually share one or more of the features of these categories (**2.5–2.18**). Coordination at phrase level is also dealt with (**2.19**, see **Chapter 6** for clause level).

Finally, token examples are given of items which, though phrases of one kind or another, are more fully dealt with at the syntactical level, namely rel. clause (**2.20.1**), complementized clause (**2.20.2**) and verb phrase (**2.20.3**). Except where the environment is essential for understanding, all examples will be quoted as phrases only, in whatever form (case, gender etc.) they originally had. Many examples will, of course, be in the default indep. form. In inflectional terms the structures described below may be grouped as follows.

- Agreement or concord structures, namely, adjectival modifiers and appositionals, all of which agree at least in case with their antecedents or heads (this includes relative structures, on which see **2.20.1** and **Chapter 5**).
- Subordinating or annexation structures, in which the head word is a noun, adj., adverbial or preposition(al), and the subordinated element is in the obl. case.
- Dependent structures, in which the nouns have dep. case and are mostly operated on by verbs as comps. They share the feature of non-agreement or discord with their antecedents, i.e. the dependent case typically marks non-identity or structural redundancy.
- Some types of noun phrase involve more than one of the above cases and are thus treated as separate items, and most of the functions associated with adverb(ial)s and preposition(al)s, quantifiers and emphasizees, comparative/superlative adjs, the numerals, the vocative, exclamations and oaths, the categorical negative and coordination. It will also be the case that some items, such as adjs, involve other structures (e.g. annexation) out of sequence, but there is no way to avoid inconsistency in the arrangement of topics.

The examples here will show full inflection in every word so that the concord is clearly visible, except in certain cases where the complete classical vocalization cannot be used, marked *, with # indicating an uncertain vocalization.

2.1 ADJECTIVAL QUALIFICATION

(See 1.8.6, Arabic *ṣifa* صفة or *na't* نعت 'descriptive element, epithet'.)

This is realized through various structures:

qiṣṣatun ṭawīlatun

قصة طويلة

'a **long** story' (noun + adj. qual.)

qiṣṣatun sayyi'atu l-ḥitāmi

قصة سيئة الختام

'a story **with a bad ending**' (expanded adj. qual., see 2.1.3.2)

qiṣṣatun yaṭūlu šarḥuhā

قصة يطول شرحها

'a story with a long explanation' lit. 'a story **whose explanation is long**' (adj. clause, see Chapter 5)

qiṣṣatun 'abṭāluhā ma'rūfūna

قصة أبطالها معروفون

'a story with well-known heroes' lit. 'a story whose heroes are well known' (adj. clause, see Chapter 5)

qiṣṣatun min 'alf layla wa-layla

قصة من ألف ليلة وليلة

'a story **from One Thousand and One Nights**' (prepositional phrase in adj. position, see 2.6)

Only the first two examples and their expansions are dealt with in this section as agreement phenomena, namely, members of the formal class of adjs (which includes participles, see 1.9.1 and 1.10 for forms).

Agreement varies according to whether the adj. is attributive (2.1.1) or predicative (2.1.1.10, 3.1.1).

2.1.1 Attributive adjectives

Attributive adjs follow their head noun and inherit all the features of definiteness (1.12.3, 1.12.4; ▷C2:48), gender (1.12.2; ▷C2:53), number (1.12.1; ▷C2:53) and case (1.12.5). Non-human broken plurals are with few exceptions treated as

grammatically fem. sing. (see 1.12.2.1), and there are some variations in agreement with collectives (2.1.1.2):

Indep. case:

- ḥabarun qadīmun* خبر قديم ‘an **old** story, **old** news’
mathaḥfun dā’imun متحف دائم ‘a **permanent** museum’
ḥarbun ṭawīlatun حرب طويلة ‘a long war’ (*ḥarb* حرب is unmarked fem., 1.12.2.1)
al-hizzatu l-‘anīfatu الهزّة العنيفة ‘the **violent** tremor’
bawādiru mušajji‘atun بوادر مشجّعة ‘**encouraging** signs’
al-wikālātu l-ṣiḥḥiyyatu الوكالات الصحيّة ‘the **health** agencies’

Obl. case:

- fi l-‘usbū‘ayni l-māḍiyyani* في الأسبوعين الماضيين ‘in the last two weeks’
bi-l-muškilatayni l-sābiqatayni
 بالمشكلتين السابقتين
 ‘with the two **previous** problems’

Dep. case:

- ḥadaman muṭī‘īna* خدما مطيعين ‘**obedient** servants’
‘ayyinātin ‘ašwā’iyyatan عيّنات عشوائية ‘**random** samples’

Sound fem. plur. nouns (see 1.8.2 for forms):

Sound fem. plur. for female human beings and some broken plur. nouns take two different adj. forms, especially when they refer specifically to females (see also 2.1.1.1):

- al-zawjātu l-hindiyyātu* الزوجات الهنديات ‘**Indian** wives’

(see *nisba* 2.1.6)

- al-ḍaḥāyā l-dā’imātu* الضحايا الدائمات ‘**permanent** victims’

Fem. sing. for most non-human nouns (but see also 2.1.1.1).

- ḥisābātin maḡlūtatan* حسابات مغلوطة ‘**falsified** accounts’ [dep. case]

Proper nouns, being def. (1.12.3.2) require def. adj.:

- ‘abrīla l-māḍiya* أبريل الماضي ‘**last** April’

Active participle:

- [bi-taftīṣi] manzilihi l-kā’ini* bi-ṣāri‘i H.M.
 [بتفتيش] منزله الكائن بشارع ح م.
 ‘[by searching] his house, [being] in H. M. Street’

Colour and defect adjs (see 1.8.6.1):

al-baḥru l-'aḥmaru البحر الأحمر 'the **Red** Sea'

al-dāru l-bayḍā'u الدار البيضاء 'Casablanca' (*dār* دار 'house' being fem., 1.12.2.1)

manāṭiqu ḥaḍrā'u مناطق خضراء 'green areas'

2.1.1.1 Although the fem. sing. form is commonly found after broken plur. nouns (1.12.1.2), a broken plur. adj. is often used to qualify a human being plur. noun (normally referring to males):

al-'asāṭidatu l-'ajillā'u الأساتذة الأجلاء 'the **revered** professors'

li-l-mustaṭmirīna l-'ajānib للمستثمرين الأجانب 'for **foreign** investors'

rijālun 'ašiddā'u رجال أشداء 'strong men'

ba'ḍu l-luḡawīyīna l-quḍāmā

بعض اللغويين القدامى

'some of the **ancient** language specialists'

al-miṣriyyūna l-'awā'ilu المصريون الأوائل 'the **earliest** Egyptians'

[*ta'yīnu*] *muwazzāfīna jududin*

[تعيين] موظفين جدد

'[the appointment of] **new** officials'

rijālun kitārun رجال كثار 'many men'

However, broken plur. adjs may also qualify non-human nouns:

kalimātun qalā'ilu كلمات قلائل 'few words'

(although sound fem. plur. *qalīlātun* قليلات is also used)

2.1.1.2 With certain collective nouns the agreement varies:

nās ناس 'people':

nāsun muḥtalifātun/muḥtalifūna fi l-'alsuni wa-l-'alwāni

ناس مختلفة \ مختلفون في الألسن والألوان

'communities of people **differing** [fem. sing. / sound masc. plur.] in tongues and colours',

šu'ūb شعوب 'people':

šu'ūbun miskīnatun tu'ānī / masākīna yu'ānūna min-a l-faqrī wa-l-jahli wa-l-maraḍi

شعوب مسكينة تعاني \ مساكين يعانون من الفقر والجهل والمرض

'**wretched people** [fem.sing / broken.plur.] **suffering** [fem.sing / masc. plur.] from poverty, ignorance and disease'

However, with other collectives there is normally only one possibility, e.g., with *qawm* قوم ‘people’ only sound masc. plur. is found:

wa-yataṣāyahu l-qawmu mutaḥaddiṭīna ma‘an

ويتصايح القوم متحدثين معا

‘and the people call out loudly to one other, talking at the same time’ (see circ. quals 7.3)

This kind of agreement is also seen in verbs which have these nouns as their agents, see 3.8.2.

2.1.1.3 Attraction of number or gender is not uncommon, especially with predicative adjs (cf. 3.1.1):

ba‘du l-maṭā‘imi lubnāniyyatun

بعض المطاعم لبنانية

‘some of the restaurants are Lebanese’

2.1.1.4 With numbers the adj. generally agrees with the grammatical form of the noun, not its logical number (see numbers and adjs in 2.12.5, 2.12.9, 2.12.13 and 2.12.15).

88 jalsatan ‘āmmatan

٨٨ جلسة عامة

‘88 general [fem. sing.] meetings [fem. sing.]’

72 nā‘iban ṣāmitan

٧٢ نائبا صامتا

‘72 silent [masc. sing.] members of parliament [masc. sing.]’

2.1.1.5 With food items in menus gender agreement is found:

kibbatun mawṣiliyyatun كبة موصلية ‘Mosul kibba’

‘asmākun maqliyyatun wa-mašwiyyatun أسماك مقلية و مشوية ‘fried and grilled fish’

But it is often ignored:

* *kuftatun baḡdādiyyun* كفتة بغدادية ‘kufta in Baghdad style’,

* *qahwatun turkiyyun* قهوة تركية ‘Turkish [style] coffee’,

* *ḥalawīyyātun ṣiyāmiyyun* حلويات صيامي ‘fasting style sweets’
[i.e., lawful during Christian orthodox fasts]

* *jibnatun rūmiyyun* جبنة رومي ‘Greek cheese’,

‘asmākun maqliyyun wa-mašwiyyun أسماك مقلي و مشوي ‘fried and grilled fish [broken plur.]’

Gender agreement is also ignored in fashion terms:

malābisu jāhizatu rijāliyyun wa-ḥarīmīyyun

ملابس جاهزة رجالي وحريمي

‘ready-made **men’s and women’s** garments’

(see further in sporting vocabulary 2.1.3.6)

and also in the following:

fi l-qahwati l-baladiyyi

في القهوة البلدي

‘in a **traditional style** cafe’

(see 1.12.3.1 for generic art.)

and also loan words such as:

al-fatātu l-modern الفتاة المودرن ‘the **modern** girl’

2.1.1.6 Some adjs do not use a fem. form. This applies specifically to adjs that can only qualify female nouns: *zawjatuhu l-ḥāmil* زوجته الحامل ‘his **pregnant** wife’ (with sense of ‘pregnant’ only, otherwise the adj. agrees); *imra’atun ‘ānisun* امرأة عانس ‘a spinster’ but there are other examples:

al-‘aqabatu al-ka’ūdu العقبة الكؤود ‘the **insurmountable** obstacle’

al-‘insānatu l-ḥanūnu الإنسانة الحنون ‘the **tender** person [fem.]’

ḥā’inatun la-‘ūbun خائنة لعوب ‘a **treacherous** flirt’

2.1.1.7 Adjective sequences

2.1.1.7.1 Asyndetic sequences of adjs occur when the two (or more) adjs are inseparable qualities of the noun, or when the meanings of the adjs are very similar. In such sequences the determinative element appears to precede the qualitative one which only describes the noun (cf. ▷C2:50, 52, 56, 490).

With asyndetic sequences the translation order tends to be the opposite, meaning that the English equivalent maintains the proximity of the adj. to the noun, so Arabic noun + adj. (1) + adj. (2) will be translated as English adj. (2) + adj. (1) + noun as in:

al-niṣāmu l-iqtisādīyyu (1) l-‘ālamīyyu (2) l-jadīdu (3)

النظام الاقتصادي العالمي الجديد

‘the new (3) global (2) economic (1) system’

Other examples:

faqratun mumti‘atun dāḥikatun mubhijātun musalliyatun

فقرة ممتعة ضاحكة مبهجة مسلية

‘an **enjoyable, merry, cheerful, entertaining** paragraph’

'ustāḍun jāmi'īyyun sābiqun

أستاذ جامعي سابق

'a **former university professor**'

However, in longer sequences an alternative translation order might be preferable:

hādā l-rajulu l-faqīru l-madīnu l-bā'isu l-ṭayyibu l-ḡalbānu

هذا الرجل الفقير المدين البائس الطيب الغلبان

'this **poor wretched indebted miserable nice hopeless** man'

Note that in sequences containing postpositioned quantifiers (see 2.9.1) such as *wāḥid* واحد 'one', the translation rule does not apply:

su'ālun wāḥidun 'āmmun سؤال واحد عام 'one general question'

Compound adjs are always linked asyndetically:

al-'alāqātu l-'inklīziyyatu l-faransiyyatu

العلاقات الإنكليزية الفرنسية

'**Anglo-French** relations'

(Note that two or more adjs as verbal attributes are always linked asyndetically, see circ. quals 7.3.1.)

2.1.1.7.2 Syndetic adj. sequences are where more than one adj. is coordinated with *wa-* و 'and', or any other coordinator (▷C2:490, 492, 496). This occurs when the meanings of the adjs are in contrast to each other (also ▷C2:50):

li-'asbābin tā'rīḥiyyatin wa-nafsiyyatin

لأسباب تاريخية ونفسية

'for **historical** and **psychological** reasons'

al-ta'āwunu l-iqtisādiyyu wa-l-tijāriyyu

التعاون الاقتصادي والتجاري

'**economic** and **commercial** cooperation'

al-ṣinā'ātu l-ṣaḡīratu wa-l-mutawassīṭatu

الصناعات الصغيرة والمتوسطة

'**small** and **medium** (sized) crafts'

2.1.1.7.3 When the two entities of a dual noun are each qualified by an adj. the latter takes the sing. form:

fi l-qīṭa 'ayni l-'āmmi wa-l-ḥāṣṣi

في القطاعين العام والخاص

'in the **public** or **private** sectors'

'alā l-ṣa'īdayni *l-iqlīmiyyi wa-l-duwaliyyi*

على الصعيدين الإقليمي والدولي

'on the **regional and international** levels'

'ilā l-jīlayni *l-tānī wa-l-tālīti*

إلى الجيلين الثاني والثالث

'to the **second and third** generations'

2.1.1.8 Sequences of two or more nouns are qualified by only one adj., with the normal agreement rules of gender, number, case and definition applying, e.g.:

Dual:

al-'adabu wa-l-fannu *l-jayyidāni*

الأدب والفن الجيدان

'**good** literature and art'

tarāju 'un wa-ḥawfun *kabīrāni*

تراجع وخوف كبيران

'**major** drawing back and fear'

'aqṣaru masāfatin wa-waqtin *mumkinayni*

أقصر مسافة ووقت ممكنين

'the shortest **possible** distance and time' (see **2.1.1.9** for agreement rule, and **2.11.5** for superlatives)

Plural:

wa-yataḥawwalūna 'ilā du'ātin wa-mufakkirīna *'islāmiyyīna*

ويتحولون إلى دعاة ومفكرين إسلاميين

'and they are converted into **Islamic** preachers and thinkers'

'alā l-raḡmi min ma'ārifihī wa-'aṣḥābihi *l-kaṭīrīna*

على الرغم من معارفه وأصحابه الكثيرين

'in spite of his **many** acquaintances and friends'

2.1.1.9 When two head words of different gender are qualified by the same adj. the default gender is masc. (see **3.1.1**):

lam ya'ḥudhā siwā *bnihi wa-bnatihi l-ḥabībayni*

لم يأخذها سوى ابنه وابنته الحبيبتين

'only **his beloved son and daughter** took it' (see **9.5.2**)

2.1.1.10 Predicative adjs agree only in number and gender: as predicates they are nearly always indef. and in indep. case unless affected by *kāna* كان ‘to be’ and its related verbs (see 3.16). A token example only here, for details see 3.1.1:

wa-l-laḥzatu mašḥūnatun bi-l-du‘ri wa-l-taraqqubi
 اللحظة مشحونة بالذعر والترقب
 ‘and the moment **is loaded** with terror and expectation’

2.1.1.11 Compounds

In compounds using *qabl* قبل ‘before’ and *ba‘d* بعد ‘after’ with the rel. particle *mā* ما ‘that which’ (cf. 5.4) with the sense of pre- and post- respectively (see 12.7.1), the whole structure, including *mā* ما, is treated as the adj. With def. heads there seems to be an option to put *al-* ال at the head of the compound adj., but the inflection of the adj. itself is indeterminate:

allatī ttajahat naḥwa tajāwuzi l-bunā l-mā-qabla l-ra’smāliyyat#
 التي اتجهت نحو تجاوز البنى الما قبل الرأسمالية
 ‘which are headed towards transcending the **pre-capitalist** institutions’
al-mujtama‘u mā-ba‘da l-šinā‘iyy#
 المجتمع ما بعد الصناعي
 ‘**post-industrialist** society’

2.1.2

When qualifying annexation and appositional units the adj. follows the completed unit and agrees with whichever noun it qualifies (▷C2:101 and see further in annexation: 2.3 and apposition 2.2).

2.1.2.1 Qualifying annexation units

furaṣu ‘amalin ḥaqīqiyyatun
 فرص عمل حقيقية
 ‘**real** job opportunities’
dūru kutubin miṣriyyatun
 دور كتب مصرية
 ‘**Egyptian** libraries’ (see 2.3.1)
banātu l-ḥayyi l-ṣaḡīrātu
 بنات الحي الصغيرات
 ‘the **young** girls of the quarter’

Ambiguity is always possible, especially where the case inflections are not visible (see 2.3.5 for alternative way of expressing such constructions):

ṣāḥibu qānūni l-ʿaḡalliyyāti l-dīniyyati l-ṣahīru/i

صاحب قانون الأقليات الدينية الشهير

‘the famous [indep. therefore qual. *ṣāḥibu*] author of the law of religious minorities’ or ‘author of the famous [obl. therefore qual. *qānūni*] law of religious minorities’

mašrūʿu qānūni l-ḥidmati l-madaniyyati l-jadīdi

مشروع قانون الخدمة المدنية الجديد

‘the new project for the law of community service’ or less likely, ‘the project for the new law of community service’

but often gender differences make it clear which element the adj. qualifies:

hiwārātu l-ʿibdāʾi l-ḡāʾibatu ʿan-i l-sāḥati

حوارات الإبداع الغائبة عن الساحة

‘the dialogues of creativity absent [fem.] from the scene’

irtifāʿu darajati l-ḥarārati l-mutawaqqāʿu

ارتفاع درجة الحرارة المتوقع

‘the expected rise [masc.] in temperature’

majlisu wuzarāʾi ḥukūmati rūsiyā l-ittiḥādiyyati l-ʿusbūʿiyyu

مجلس وزراء حكومة روسيا الاتحادية الأسبوعي

‘the weekly assembly of the government ministers of Federal Russia’, not ‘the assembly of the weekly ministers’, etc.

or contextual knowledge will enable disambiguation:

minṭaḡatu raʾsi l-ḥaymati l-taʿlīmiyyatu

منطقة رأس الخيمة التعليمية

‘the educational area of Ras al-Khayma’, where Ras al-Khayma is known to be a place name

kullīyyatu l-ʿamīri sulṭāna l-ʾaḥliyyatu

كلية الأمير سلطان الأهلية

‘Prince Sultan Private College,

lit. ‘the College of the Prince Sultan, the private one’

2.1.3 Complex agreement and expanded adjectival phrases

2.1.3.1 Adjs are occasionally annexed to the noun they qualify for emphasis. These phrases are rather stylized and restricted:

'amīqu htimāmikum عميق اهتمامكم 'your **deep** concern'

kibāru l-'asātiḍati كبار الأساتذة 'the **senior** professors'

(contrast *'asātiḍatunā l-kibāru* أساتذتنا كبار 'our **great** teachers')

jazīlu l-šukri جزيل الشكر '**abundant** thanks'

bi-kāmili l-ṭāqati بكامل الطاقة 'with **full** capability'

In this category belongs the common participial pattern with *muḥtalif* مختلف 'varying, various':

fī muḥtalifi marāḥili 'uṣūrihā

في مختلف مراحل عصورها

'in the **various** stages of its [historical] periods'

'alā muḥtalifi l-'aṣ'idati على مختلف الأصعدة 'on **various** levels'

2.1.3.2 An adj. may have its scope specified by annexation (▷C2:107; **2.3**). This structure is known as 'unreal annexation' (*'iḍāfa ḡayr ḥaqīqiyya* إضافة غير حقيقية) because adjs do not properly occur as the first element of an annexation construction, hence this is not a true possessive relationship:

marhūbu l-jānibi

مرهوب الجانب

'of awesome presence', lit. 'feared of aspect']

'azīzu l-kalimati عزيز الكلمة 'mighty of word'

ḡarību l-'aṭwāri غريب الأطوار 'eccentric', lit. 'strange of modes'

ḥasanu l-ra'yi fī حسن الرأي في 'having a good opinion (of)'

'azhariyyu l-juḍūri wa-l-tarbiyati

أزهري الجذور و التربية

'of Azhari roots and education'

In context, when qualifying indef. nouns the adj. agrees in case, gender and def., but without *tanwīn* since it is annexed to the following noun. The adj. occurs either attributively:

mas'alatun bālīḡatu l-dalālati

مسألة بالغة الدلالة

'an **extremely significant** question'

muḥāwalatun 'adīmatu l-jadwā

محاولة عديمة الجدوى

'a **fruitless** attempt' (see 12.6)

'*adwiyatun ḡāliyatun l-tamani*

أدوية غالية الثمن

'**high-priced** medicines'

[*ya'ħuḍu*] *šaklan ramādiyya l-maḡhari*

[يأخذ] شكلا رمادي المظهر

'[it takes on] an **ash-grey** form'

quwwātun muta'addidatu l-jinsiyyāti

قوات متعددة الجنسيات

'**multinational** forces'

Or predicatively (with preds normally being indef., see 3.1.1):

[*qad takūnu l-mar'atu*] *kāmilata l-'unūṭati*

[قد تكون المرأة] كاملة الأنوثة

'[a woman may well be] **completely feminine**'

(see 1.12.3.1 for generic art., 3.10.5 for *qad* قد with indep. imperf. verb and 3.16.2 for syntax of *kāna* كان 'be')

[*wa-ka-'annahā muḥaṭṭaṭun*] *jayyidu l-tanṣīmi wa-l-'i'dādi wa-l-tanfīdi*

[وكأنها مخطط] جيد التنظيم والإعداد والتنفيذ

'as though it were a well-organized, well-prepared and well-executed plan', lit. 'a plan **good of organization, preparation and execution**' (see 5.9.9.4 for *ka-'anna* كأن 'be')

[*'inna niṣāmahā*] *tunā'iyu l-luḡati*

[إن نظامها] ثنائي اللغة

'[its system] is **bilingual**'

When qualifying def. nouns the adj., unlike the head of a true annexation unit (see 2.3), can take the def. art.:

li-'injāzātihim-i l-bāliḡati l-'aḥammīyyati l-'ilmiyyati wa-l-māddīyyati

لإنجازاتهم البالغة الأهمية العلمية والمادية

'for their achievements of **outstanding scientific and material importance**'

al-dawā'u l-mustawradu l-bāḥiḡu l-takālīfi

الدواء المستورد الباهظ التكاليف

'[the] **outrageously expensive** imported medicine'

but in MWA the def. art. is frequently omitted (note that the examples are not equational sentences):

al-ḥuṭaṭu ba'īdatu l-madā

الخطط بعيدة المدى

'**long-term** plans'

kammiyyatun kabīratun min-a l-malābisi l-jāhizati 'ajnabiyyati
l-ṣun'i

كمية كبيرة من الملابس الجاهزة أجنبية الصنع
 'large quantities of ready-made clothes of foreign manufacture'

ismu l-lā'ibi ṣagīri l-sinni

اسم اللاعب صغير السن
 'the name of the young [lit. "young of age"] player'

al-'aḡdiyyatu qalīlatu l-su'rāti

الأغذية قليلة السعرات
 'low-calorie foods'

al-duwalu mutawassiṭatu l-daḥli

الدول متوسطة الدخل
 'middle-income states'

[bi-l-nisbati 'ilā] l-maḥālili 'ālīyati l-tarkīzi

[بالنسبة إلى] المحاليل عالية التركيز
 '[with regard to] highly concentrated solvents'

Note use of pron. for repeated phrase (coordination of agents, 3.8 and cf. also 6.2.2):

qarība l-dāri 'aw ba'īdahā

قريب الدار أو بعيدها
 'near of abode or far [of it]' (C.2:106)

Nominalized type (see also 2.1.5):

hāḍihi l-zumratu min muḥtallī l-'aqli muḥtariqī l-qalbi

هذه الزمرة من مختلي العقل محترقي القلب
 'this mob of [people] with feeble minds and burnt-out hearts'

2.1.3.3 Another type of expanded adj. phrase contains the participle (normally pass.) of an indirectly transitive verb, i.e., one that requires a preposition (see 3.11.4, and note that the same elements may also function as circumstantial qualifiers, see 2.4.6).

The part. remains invariable for number and gender (i.e., is masc. default) but agrees in case and def. with the head noun, to which it is linked by a pron. on the preposition associated with the verb. The structure involves no annexation, but is closer to an (adj.) rel., and is often best translated as such, especially as the agreement of the underlying passive verb is often expressed:

Passive part:

'amrun *mutanāza'un* 'alayhi

أمر متنازع عليه

'a **disputed** matter', lit. 'a matter, there having been disputed over it'

ḥamāsun *mubālaḡun fihi*

حماس مبالغ فيه

'**exaggerated** enthusiasm', lit. 'enthusiasm, gone too far in it'

al-jihatu *l-manūṭu bihā* ḥtiyāru l-musāfirīna

الجهة المنوط بها اختيار المسافرين

'the agency **with which** the choice of travellers **has been entrusted**',
lit. 'the agency, been entrusted with it the choice of travellers'

muḥālifatun li-l-qawā'id *l-ma'mūli bihā*

مخالفة للقواعد المعمول بها

'contrary to the principles **operated on**'

iḥtimālātu l-faṣali *l-masmūḥu bihā*

احتمالات الفشل المسموح بها

'the **permitted** possibilities of failure'

al-duyūnu *l-maškūku fī taḥṣīlihā*

الديون المشكوك في تحصيلها

'debts that it is **doubtful will be recovered**'

al-fi'ātu *l-manṣūṣu 'alayhā*

الفئات المنصوص عليها

'the **specified** categories'

al-'ijrā'ātu l-'akādīmiyyatu *l-mu'tarafu bihā*

الإجراءات الأكاديمية المعترف بها

'the **acknowledged** academic procedures'

2.1.3.4 na't sababī نعت سببي (C.3:160)

Attraction occurs where the adj. (again normally a part.) structurally qualifies the preceding noun but logically qualifies a following noun. Its agreement features are shared between the two, agreeing in def. and case with the antecedent, i.e., the head noun, and in number and gender with the following noun. The latter is invariably the agent of the preceding part. and thus always has indep. case. Because it qualifies only indirectly it is called in the Arabic tradition the *na't sababī* نعت سببي 'semantically linked qualifier', referring to the pron. which always links the second noun to the first.

Both the presence of an obligatory linking pronoun and the agreement of the part. with the number and gender of its following noun, as if it were a verb, make this construction very similar to rel. clauses, see 5.1, 5.2, cf. *al-mar'atu l-jālisu zawjuhā* المرأة الجالس زوجها, lit. 'the woman the-sitting-down [masc. sing.] her husband' and *al-mar'atu llatī yajlisu zawjuhā* المرأة التي يجلس زوجها, lit. 'the woman, **that one is sitting down** [masc. sing.] **her husband**', with the def. art. and the rel. noun respectively marking the definiteness of the entire unit. In practice they translate best as relative clauses.

Def.:

min-a l-malābisi ... l-mahzūri sūrāduhā

من الملابس ... المحذور استيرادها

'of clothing ... **whose import is prohibited**', lit. 'the prohibited their import'

jamī 'u l-tajhizāti l-maṭlūbi tawaffuruhā

جميع التجهيزات المطلوب توفرها

'all the equipment **required to be available**'

al-minṭaqatu l-mahzūru ṭayarānuhu fihā

المنطقة المحذور طيرانه فيها

'the area in which **it** [the enemy] **is prohibited to fly**'

bi-ḡurūfi ma 'rakati 'ummatihi l-tahrīriyyati l-muḥtadimi 'uwāruhā

بظروف معركة أمته التحريرية المحتدم أوارها

'in the circumstances of his nation's **fiercely blazing** liberation struggle', lit. 'the fiercely blazing [masc.] its [fem.] flame'

'adadan min-a l-mašārī 'i l-jārī tanfīduhā

عددا من المشاريع الجاري تنفيذها

'a number of plans **in current execution**'

(see particip. adj. 2.10.2)

muḥāḍarātuhi l-sābiqū ḡikruhā

محاضراته السابق ذكرها

'his **mentioned lectures**'

'aṣbaḥnā ša 'ban min-a l-mušarradīna wa-l-jīyā 'i wa-l-maqtū 'ati binā l-subulu

أصبحنا شعبا من المشردين والجياع والمقطوعة بنا السبل

'we have become a race of outcasts, hungry, with our ways [of escape] cut off', lit. '**cut off** [def. sing. fem. obl.] **from us the ways**'

Indef.:

niṣfu jumjumatin muḥṭaraqatin ‘aynuhā

نصف جمجمة محترقة عينها

‘half a skull **with a burnt-out eye**’

fī nab ‘in jāffin mā’uhu

في نبع جاف ماؤه

‘in a spring **whose water is dry**’

mahmā balaḡtu diyāran muḡāyiran tawqūṭuhā

مهما بلغت ديارا مغايرا توقيتها

‘no matter which places I arrived in **with different times**’ (see 8.5.1)

2.1.3.5 Compound adjs of place names

Compound adjs of place names are not uncommon. Since they are compounds only the adj. element takes gender concord, although the whole compound agrees with the head noun in def. The inflection of the noun element in the compound is difficult to specify. Therefore, # will be inserted in place of the inflection in many cases:

li-duwalin šarq# ‘awsaṭiyyatin

لدول شرق أوسطية

‘for **Middle Eastern** nations’

al-ṣahyūniyyatu l-šarq# al-‘awsaṭiyyatu

الصهيونية الشرق الأوسطية

‘**Middle East** Zionism’

al-nādī l-miṣriyyu l-būr# sa‘īdiyyu

النادي المصري البور سعيدي

‘the Egyptian **Port Said** Club’

firqatu l-qanṭarati šarq#

فرقة القنطرة شرق

‘the Qantara **East** team’

2.1.3.6 Miscellaneous and difficult combinations, largely sporting terms, bearing influence of foreign languages. In many of these examples inflection is also difficult to specify (cf. numbers 2.12 and cardinal points, 2.1.4) since the annexation is to a compound unit.:

wazn# ‘ḥafīf# al-rīša# وزن خفيف الريشة ‘featherweight’

buṭūlat# ‘al-fardī# بطولة الفردي ‘singles championship’

and note invariable masc. adj.:

buṭūlatu ‘fardī# li-l-sayyidāti’

بطولة فردي للسيدات

‘**women’s singles** championship’

buṭūlatu ‘zawjī# li-l-sayyidāti’

بطولة زوجي للسيدات

‘**women’s doubles** championship’

buṭūlatu ‘l-‘ālamī li-l-šabābī fī kuratī l-mā’i’

بطولة العالم لشباب في كرة الماء

‘“**world junior water-polo**” championship’

buṭūlatu ‘ka’si l-‘ālamī li-kuratī l-mā’i li-l-šabābī’

بطولة كأس العالم لكرة الماء للشباب

‘“**world cup junior water-polo**” championship’

ka’su ‘l-‘ālamī taḥta 17 sanatin’

كأس العالم تحت 17 سنة

‘“**under-17s world**” cup’

MWA has accommodated compound constructions of the type described in 12.7.1 such as *fawqa l-banaḥsajī* فوق البنفسجي ‘ultra-violet’ with relative ease. Conflicts of agreement such as definiteness, however, have not been fully resolved.

mubārātu nihā’iyyi l-ka’si

مبارات نهائي الكأس

‘**the cup final** (match)’

This seems to be a failed attempt.

2.1.4 Cardinal points and directions

In theory inflection in many of the following examples is easier to predict since the 1st element of annexation is generally an adv. of place (in the dep. case), and the 2nd element is in the obl. case. However, it is worth noting that the inflections are often omitted when such examples are read aloud, e.g., in news broadcasts:

‘alā masāfatī 20 km janūba šarqī baḡdāda

على مسافة 20 ك.م. جنوب شرق بغداد

‘20 kilometres **south-east of** Baghdad’

fī ttijāhi janūbiyyi šarqī ‘āsiyā

في اتجاه جنوبي شرق آسيا

‘in the direction of **south-east** Asia’

al-šamālu l-šarqīyyu li-sūryā

الشمال الشرقي لسوريا

‘north-east Syria’

šarqīyya l-būsna

شرقي البوسنة

‘east of Bosnia’

fi madīnati l-bilaydati janūbi ġarbi l-‘āšimati l-jazā’irīyyati

في مدينة البلدية جنوب غرب العاصمة الجزائرية

‘in the town of Bilaida south-west of the Algerian capital’

mawāqī‘u ḥukūmiyyatun šarqīyya l-madīnati

مواقع حكومية شرقي المدينة

‘government positions east of the town’

istiqlālu janūbiyyi šarqīyi turkiyyā

استقلال جنوبي شرقي تركيا

‘the independence of south-east Turkey’

al-murtafa‘ātu l-muḥīṭatu bi-janūbiyyi kābula

المرتفعات المحيطة بجنوبي كابل

‘the hills surrounding southern Kabul’

fi ġarbi kīnyā في غرب كينيا ‘in west Kenya’

makātibu taḥdumu šamāla wa-waṣṭa wa-janūba l-qāhirati

مكاتب تخدم شمال ووسط و جنوب القاهرة

‘offices serving north, central and south Cairo’ (or ‘the north, centre and south of ...’) (see 2.3.7)

2.1.5 Nominalized adjectives (C.2:17,61)

Any adj., including participles (2.10.2) can function as a noun, referring to either a previously mentioned or implied noun:

hāḍihi l-ḡamīlatu l-ḡaniyyatu l-‘anīqatu

هذه الجميلة الغنية الأنيقة

‘this charming, rich and beautiful [girl]’

kaṭīrūna min ‘uḡamā’i l-fikri wa-l-ṭaqāfati

كثيرون من عظماء الفكر والثقافة

‘many great figures of thought and culture’

nadwatun 'an jadīdi tibbi l-'atfāli

ندوة عن جديد طب الأطفال

'seminar on **what is new** in pediatrics', lit. 'the new of the medicine of children'

kaṭrātun yudrikna

كثيرات يدركن

'**many [women]** realize'

[bayna] *ḥasnāwātī l-qaṣri*

[بين] حسناوات القصر

'[among] **the beautiful [ladies]** in the palace'

al-maḍbūṭātu

المضبوطات

'the confiscated [goods]'

nādiran mā najidu minhā l-ṭabī'īyyata

نادراً ما نجد منها الطبيعية

'rarely do we find any of them that are **natural**'

(cf. 5.8.5 on *nādiran mā* نادراً 'rarely')

'abṭālu l-dawriyyi

أبطال الدوري

'**league** champions'

qismu stibdāli l-fawāriḡi

قسم استبدال الفوارغ

'department for exchanging **the empties [bottles]**'

al-'ajānibu الأجانب 'foreigners'

ṣiḡārūnā صغارنا 'our **young ones**'

al-fāriqu 'anna ... الفارق أن ... 'the difference is that ...'

Adjs also occur as nouns as a result of ellipsis:

waznu l-fāriḡati

وزن الفارغة

'weight of the **empty [vehicle]**'

bayna laḥẓatin wa-'uḥrā

بين لحظة وأخرى

'between one moment and **another [moment]**'

wazīru l-ḥārījīyyati

وزير الخارجية

‘the minister of **external** [affairs]’

wizāratu l-mālīyyati

وزارة المالية

‘the Ministry of **Finance** [matters]’

Participles with nominal function (see also 2.1, 2.10.2, 2.10.3)

min-a l-muḥtamali ‘an yajidū ‘anfusahum ṭarafan fī l-nizā‘i

من المحتمل أن يجدوا أنفسهم طرفاً في النزاع

‘it is possible [lit. “it is part of the possible”] that they could find themselves a party in the dispute’ (see 3.1.4)

al-wāqī‘u ‘anna hunāka farqan kabīran

الواقع أن هناك فرقاً كبيراً

‘the reality is that there is a big difference’

al-qā‘imūna bi-l-dirāsati

القائمون بالدراسة

‘those carrying out the study’

al-maḥkūmu ‘alayhi bi-l-‘i dāmi

المحكوم عليه بالإعدام

‘the condemned person’, lit. ‘the one over whom judgment of execution has been passed’

sa-na ‘duru l-muta’ahḥirīna

سنعذر المتأخرين

‘we shall excuse the late-comers’

sibāqun li-l-mu‘āqīna

سباق للمعاقين

‘a race for the handicapped’

2.1.5.1 ‘many’ (see quantifiers 2.9.1) (cf ▷C2:19)

Some adjs, such as *al-kaṭīru* الكثير and *al-‘adīdu* العديد ‘many’, ‘numerous’, occur in idiomatic phrases with the preposition *min* من (see 2.6.12). The adj. is normally def.:

ladayhi l-kaṭīru min-a l-humūmi

لديه الكثير من الهموم

‘he has a lot of worries’

al-kaṭīru min-a l-ma'lūmāti

الكثير من المعلومات

'a lot of information'

al-kaṭīru min-a l-ṣafaqāti

الكثير من الصفقات

'many deals'

al-'adīdu min-a l-murāqibīna

العديد من المراقبين

'many observers'

al-'adīdu min-a l-'a'dā'i

العديد من الأعضاء

'many members'

'idhālu l-'adīdi min-a l-ḥadamāti

إدخال العديد من الخدمات

'the introduction of many services'

but it may also be indef.:

kaṭīrun min-a l-sayyidāti كثير من السيدات 'many women'

kaṭīrūna min 'uḏamā'i l-fikri كثيرون من عظماء الفكر 'many great thinkers'

Attraction with *kaṭīrun min* كثير من: preds following this construction normally agree with the noun, not with the adj. construction (see 3.1.1, 3.8.2):

'inna kaṭīran min 'abyāti l-dīwāni tataṣābahu ma'a l-'āyāti l-qur'āniyyati

إن كثيرا من أبيات الديوان تتشابه مع الآيات القرآنية

'many of the lines in the collection of poetry resemble the Qur'ānic verses'

kaṭīrun min-a l-sayyidāti yu'ānīna l-'amarrayni

كثير من السيدات يعانين الأمرين

'many women suffer [fem. plur.] a great deal',

lit. 'suffer the two most bitter things'

'More' (see quantifiers 2.9.1):

Idiomatic phrase with pass. part. in either def. or indef. form with prep. *min* من:

al-mazīdu min-a l-da'mi li-l-ṭaqāfati

المزيد من الدعم للثقافة

'more support for culture'

al-mazīdu min-a l-šubbāni wa-l-šibyāni

المزيد من الشبان والصبيان

‘more young men and boys’

As with the *kaṭīrun min* كثير من ‘many of’ construction the agreement of the pred. tends to be with the noun, not with the adj. construction (see 3.1.1, 3.8.2):

al-mazīdu min ‘aṭibbā’i l-’asnāni yaṣṣaḥūna bi-sti’māli

المزيد من أطباء الأسنان ينصحون باستعمال

‘increasingly more dentists advise the use of’

Indef. paraphrase variant:

yutālībuhu bi-mazādin min-a l-ṣabri

يطالبه بمزيد من الصبر

‘they demand from him more patience’, lit. ‘an increase of patience’

2.1.6 Nisba نسبة category

(Morphology 1.8.6.3, 12.2, and see 12.4 for abstract nouns in *-iyya* يَّة-) (cf. 2.2.5)

Adjectives of the *nisba* نسبة type ending in *-iyy(a)*. The *nisba* نسبة adj. denotes a relationship of belonging, originally of kinship, but already in CA it could denote any kind of relationship. (There are occasions when a broken plur. adj. is used in preference to the *nisba* نسبة, see 2.2.5.)

Names of nationalities and peoples (see 2.2):

mas’ulūna miṣriyyūna

مسؤولون مصريون

‘Egyptian officials’

al-‘alāqātu l-miṣriyyatu l-sūdāniyyatu

العلاقات المصرية السودانية

‘Egyptian–Sudanese relations’

al-ša‘bu l-lubnāniyyu الشعب اللبناني ‘the Lebanese people’

Association with a style, trend or organization:

al-‘aklu ‘alā l-ṭarīqati l-kilintūniyyati

الأكل على الطريقة الكلنتونية

‘food the Clinton way’

hay’atu l-tadrīsi l-jāmi‘iyyatu

هيئة التدريس الجامعية

‘the university staff’, lit. ‘teaching body’

2.2 APPPOSITION (see also 2.20.5)

There are at least three easily identifiable types of apposition of noun to noun (2.2.1). In addition to those listed here see also emphasizers (2.8), quantifiers (2.9.1), ‘self’ (2.8.1.2) and ‘like’ (2.9.2.1). In apposition, which can only be of non-adjectival elements, there is agreement in case since the second element, i.e., the one in apposition, can stand by itself in the function of the first element.

2.2.1 Nouns to nouns

2.2.1.1 Nouns in apposition or simple annexation for material substances

In CA material substances were rendered either by apposition to the noun or by simple annexation (2.3.1). MWA preserves both structures:

Apposition:

al-sikkatu l-ḥadīdu السكّة الحديد ‘the **railway**’, lit. ‘the iron road’
(and cf. annexation)

al-ʿaqlāmu l-raṣāṣu الأقلام الرصاص ‘pencils’, lit. ‘**lead** pens’

Annexation:

dūlābu ḥašābin دولاب خشب ‘a **wooden** cupboard’

With weights and measures, however, MWA dispenses with inflections (see also 2.14.9.3):

kīlū sukkar# كيلو سكر ‘a **kilo of sugar**’

faddān qamḥ# فدان قمح ‘a **feddan of wheat**’

litru banzīn# لتر بنزين ‘a **litre of gas**’

Hence it is no longer clear whether these are a development from the regular CA spec. comp. or whether they have fallen together with the kind of annexation constructions set out in 2.3.1.

2.2.1.2 Noun + noun where the apposition conveys an explanatory sense (see *kull* كل ‘all’, *jamī* جميع ‘all’, *baʿd* بعض ‘some’ (all 2.9.1), *nafs* نفس ‘self’ (2.8.1), *miṭl* مثل ‘like’ (2.9.2.1) as restrictive appositions) (▷C2:67,72):

juḍūru l-ʿinsāni – ʿayyi ʿinsānin

جذور الإنسان – أي إنسان

‘the roots of man – [of] **any man**’

dahana l-ingilīzu l-nuqūṣa bi-l-lawni l-abyaḍi l-lawni l-taqlīdiyyi

لـلـإنجليز النقوش باللون الأبيض اللون التقليدي للمستشفيات

دهن الإنجليز النقوش باللون الأبيض اللون التقليدي للمستشفيات

‘the English painted the wall carvings white, **the traditional colour** for hospitals’

ba 'du l-masājidi dāti l-šuhrati

بعض المساجد ذات الشهرة

'certain **famous** mosques' (see *dū* ذو / *dāt* ذات 2.8.3)

jamī 'u l-duwali l-'a 'dā'i

جميع الدول الأعضاء

'all the **member** states'

bi-waḥdāniyyati llāhi ḥāliqi kulli šay'in

بوحداية الله خالق كل شيء

'[calling] for the oneness of God, **Creator of everything**'

zāhiratāni jtimā 'iyyatāni l-faqr wa-l-intihāru

ظاهرتان اجتماعيتان الفقر والانتحار

'two social phenomena, **poverty and suicide**'

li-l-fikri l-'insāniyyi marātibihī wa-ṣunūfihī

للفكر الإنساني مراتبه وصنوفه

'for human thought, **its levels and categories**'

min zamīlihī-i l-nā'ibi l-duktūri ...

من زميلهم النائب الدكتور...

'from their colleague the **MP Dr** ...'

Appositional elements need not, however, agree in definiteness:

ša'artu bi-l-dif'i yasrī fī 'awṣālī, dif'in lam 'aš'ur bihi munḍu ḥalaltu bi-landan

شعرت بالدفء يسري في أوصالي، دفء لم أشعر به منذ حللت بلندن

'I felt **warmth** [generic art.] running through my joints, **a warmth** which I had not felt since I had come to live in London'

wa-rāḥat fī duwwāmatin min-a l-bukā'i l-ḥārri ... bukā'in 'ālamani

وراحت في دوامة من البكاء الحار... بكاء آلمني

'she went into a paroxysm of heated **crying** [generic article] ... **crying** [indef.] which hurt me'

al-ṣiḥḥatu li-l-jamī 'i muwāṭinīna wa-muqīmīna

الصحة للجميع مواطنين ومقيمين

'health is for all, **citizens and residents**'

2.2.2 Proper names

Proper names also occur frequently in apposition:

rajulu qabīlatin min qabā'ili l-'abāšiyi l-hunūdi l-ḥumri

رجل قبيلة من قبائل الأباشي الهنود الحمر

'a tribesman of a **Red Indian Apache tribe**'

(see 1.12.4.1 on periphrastic indef.)

istad'ā nadīmahu l-ẓarīfa l-šā'ira 'abā nuwāsīn

استدعى نديمه الظريف الشاعر أبا نواس

'he summoned his witty drinking companion, **the poet Abū Nuwās**'

(see 1.8.5 for inflection of proper names)

But proper names are often uninflected:

'anjabat waladahā maḥmūd

أنجبت ولدها محمود

'she gave birth to her son **Maḥmūd**'

The convention that names within a genealogical sequence do not take *tanwīn* (thus *muḥammadu bnu ḥasanī bni 'aliyyin* محمد بن حسن بن علي 'Muhammad son of Hasan son of 'Alī') is preserved even with the dummy name *fulānun* فلان 'so-and-so' (1.12.3.2):

kāna min ḥadīṭi l-qaryati 'anna l-šābba fulāna bna fulānin ḥaṭaba fulānata

كان من حديث القرية أن الشاب فلان ابن فلان خطب فلانة

'the talk in the village was that young **Mr. So-and-so** had proposed to Miss So-and-so', lit. 'So-and-so son of So-and-so'

with dep. *fulāna*, not *fulānan*; فلانا; the fem. *fulānata* فلانة is semi-declinable and therefore lacks *tanwīn* anyway. (The spelling of *bna* 'son of' as ابن here is post-classical and should be simply بن.)

2.2.3 Titles

Title + name:

d. Ḥ. 'U. al-'ustāḍu bi-l-jāmi 'ati l-'urdunniyyati

د. ح. أ. الأستاذ بالجامعة الأردنية

'Dr H. U., [the] professor at the University of Jordan'

d. 'A. F. ḥabīru jtimā'in bi-l-markazi l-qawmiyyi li-l-buḥūṭi l-ijtimā'īyyati

د. أ. ف. خبير اجتماع بالمركز القومي للبحوث الاجتماعية

'Dr A. F., **an expert in sociology** at the National Sociological Research Centre'

d. Hāla S. 'ustāḍatun musā'idatun bi-kulliyyati l-iqtiṣādī

د. هالة س. أستاذة مساعدة بكلية الاقتصاد

'Dr Hala S., **assistant professor** in the faculty of economics'

al-sayyid kilintūn ra'īsu l-wilāyātī l-muttaḥidati

السيد كلنتون رئيس الولايات المتحدة

'Mr Clinton, **the President of the United States**'

Titles are not necessarily def., even if formally so:

M. 'A. ... 'uḍwu l-lajnati l-tanfīdiyyati

م. أ. عضو اللجنة التنفيذية

'M. A. ..., **a member of the Executive Committee**'

al-duktūratu 'A. K. ra'īsu qismi l-tarbiyati l-fannīyyati

الدكتورة أ. ك. رئيس قسم التربية الفنية

'Dr [fem.] A. K., **chairman of the fine arts education department**'

(cf. the periphrastic *al-'uḍwu fī l-lajnati* 'العضو في اللجنة' 'the member of [lit. "in"] the Committee', where the choice of def. noun makes annexation impossible)

However, to ensure indefiniteness partitive *min* من may be used (see 1.12.4.1 and 2.6.12):

M. B. B. ... min 'a'dā'i l-majma'i l-'ilmiyyi l-'arabiyyi

م. ب. ب. ... من أعضاء المجمع العلمي العربي

'M. B. B. ..., **a member** of the Arab Academy', lit. 'from [among] the members'

Title + name or noun:

al-ṣayḥu zāyid

الشيخ زايد

'Sheikh **Zayed**' (in CA *za'id* زائد, cf. 1.2.1.2)

nā'ibu l-ra'īsi gūr

نائب الرئيس جور

'Vice-President **Gore**'

al-sayyidu l-wazīru l-liwā'u l-duktūru l-muḥāfiẓu 'aḥmadu

السيد الوزير اللواء الدكتور المحافظ أحمد

'the Minister, General, Governor, Dr Mr **Ahmad**'

2.2.4 Ethnic names (contrast *nisba* نسبة above 2.1.6)

In their masc. plur. forms a restricted group of ethnic names takes a broken plur., not the *nisba* نسبة form:

al-muslimūna l-hunūdu

المسلمون الهنود

‘**Indian** Muslims’, lit. ‘the Muslims the Indians’

2.2.5 Demonstratives (▷C2:29, 43, 46; see 1.7.2 for forms)

The Arabic demonstratives are nouns (and thus may function independently, see 2.2.5.3). They follow the agreement rules for non-human plur. set out in 2.1.1.

The demonstratives precede their nouns, the latter being in apposition to them, agreeing in all features (number, gender, case, def.), thus *hādā l-rajulu* هذا الرجل ‘this [person, the] man’. Since the noun inevitably bears the def. art. (see 2.2.5.2 for the exception) the preposed demonstrative can be seen as an extension of that, creating a cluster of quasi-prefixed deictic elements:

dālika l-yawmu ذلك اليوم ‘**that** day’

hātayni l-da‘watayni هاتين الدعوتين ‘**these two** invitations’ [dep./obl. case]

hādīhi l-mulāḥazātu هذه الملاحظات ‘**these** remarks’

The noun may be further qualified by adjs:

hādā l-wāqi‘u l-mutaḡayyiru هذا الواقع المتغير ‘this **changing** reality’

dālika l-ḥawfu l-ḡāmīdu ذلك الخوف الغامض ‘that **obscure** fear’

2.2.5.1 When demonstratives qualify annexation units (▷C2:51, 102) the demonstrative noun must follow the completed annexation structure in apposition to it:

ḥattā yawminā hādā

حتى يومنا هذا

‘until today’, lit. ‘until our day, **this one**’, (see 2.14.5 on personalized time expressions)

ḥadīṭuhu dālika

حديثه ذلك

‘**that** statement of his’, lit. ‘the statement of him, that one’

kitābunā hādā

كتابنا هذا

‘**this** book of ours’, or ‘**this** our book’

naẓariyyatu l-taṭawwuri tilka

نظرية التطور تلك

‘that theory of evolution’

‘ināyatunā hādīhi

عنايتنا هذه

‘this concern of ours’

sīratuhu l-muta’alliqatu hādīhi

سيرته المتألقة هذه

‘this brilliant career of his’, lit. ‘his career the brilliant [adj.], this one’

šī ‘ārātu l-marḥalati tilka

شعارات المرحلة تلك

‘those slogans of the phase’

When the annexation is not strictly possessive, partitive *min* من ‘of’, ‘from’ (see 2.6.12) is used:

hādīhi l-wijhatu min-a l-naẓar هذه الوجهة من النظر ‘this point of view’

hādī l-naw‘u min-a l-šī‘ri هذا النوع من الشعر ‘this type of poetry’

2.2.5.2 With proper names the dem. generally follows (C.2:45):

sam‘ānu hādī سمعان هذا ‘this Sam‘an’

bayrūtu hādīhi بيروت هذه ‘this Beirut’

(fem. as name of town, cf. 1.12.2.1)

But note that it may precede the noun for emphasis or to denote disdain:

māḍā yazunnu nafsahu hādī sam‘ānu?

ماذا يظن نفسه هذا سمعان؟

‘what does this Sam‘an think he is?’

Words quoted in the metalanguage also have the status of proper names:

gada‘ hādīhi جدع هذه ‘this [word]’ “gada‘ ”

From this perhaps arises the construction in which the dem. follows an adjectival unit, almost as if capitalized:

al-ḥadāṭatu l-‘urūbbiyyatu hādīhi

الحدّاثَة الأوروبيّة هذه

‘this European Modernism’

(treating European Modernism as a category, not as a simple noun + adj. group)

jamīlatu l-ismi hādīhi جميلة الاسم هذه ‘this [girl] with the beautiful name’

al-‘uyūnu l-murhiqatu tilka العيون المرهقة تلك ‘those heavily burdened eyes’

2.2.5.3 Nominalized and with rels. As nouns, the demonstratives may stand alone and have any nominal function:

Subj. (3.1.2.2):

hāḍā mā rafaḍathu wizāratu l-ṭaqāfati

هذا ما رفضته وزارة الثقافة

‘**this** is what the Ministry of Cultural [Affairs] rejected’

Obj. of verbs:

’annī ’aqūlu hāḍā wa-ḍāka

أني أقول هذا وذاك

‘that I was saying **this** and **that**’

Obj. of prep.:

wa-l-narjī ‘fī ḍālika ’ilā ... ولنرجع في ذلك إلى ... ‘let us refer **on that** to ...’

2nd element in annexation:

’iyādatu hāḍā عيادة هذا ‘the clinic of **this** [person]’

which may in turn be expanded by apposition, as in 2.2.6:

’iyādatu hāḍā l-ṭabībī

عيادة هذا الطبيب

‘the clinic of **this doctor**’ = ‘**this doctor**’s clinic’, lit ‘the clinic of this one, the doctor’

(contrast *’iyādatu l-ṭabībī hāḍihi* عيادة الطبيب هذه ‘**this clinic** of the doctor’)

ḥasāsīyatu tilka l-sayyidati حساسية تلك السيدة ‘the sensitivity of **that lady**’

Heads of rel. structures:

min tilka llatī yatamatta ’u bihā l-wardu

من تلك التي يتمتع بها الورد

‘than **that** [fem. sing.] which the rose enjoys’

The MWA range of dems. is fairly limited (see 1.7.2) but certain archaic forms are still used for effect:

ṭilkum šūratun rā’i ’atun ’uḥrā

تلكم صورة رائعة أخرى

‘**that** [fem. plur.] is another glorious image [for you]’

ḍālikum kāna – wa lā-yazālu – ṭamana l-ḥurriyyati

ذلكم كان – ولا يزال – ثمن الحرية

‘**that**, [O readers] [masc. plur.], was – and still is, the price of freedom’

2.2.6 Pronouns (see 1.7; ▷C2:77; 2:431)

Personal prons. may occur in apposition to a noun or bound pron. for emphasis. They are therefore different in function from the resumptive pronouns in 3.5.2:

yušīru 'ilā muškilatin 'uḥrā ya'tabiruhā hiya l-'aḥṭara

يشير إلى مشكلة أخرى يعتبرها هي الأخطر

'he refers to another problem which he considers [it] to be the more serious'

fa-mā ḥālunā naḥnu fī l-'ālamī l-tālīṭi

فما حالنا نحن في العالم الثالث

'and what is **our** situation in the Third World?'

2.2.7 Lack of agreement in case or def. (▷C2:76)

Nouns may occur as indef. as a type of *taḥṣīṣ* 'particularization' (see 2.3.5) after a def. plur. or collective noun (see vocative 2.15). In such cases the indef. noun is in the dep. case:

lā ba'sa 'an yasta'īna l-muslimūna – ḥukkāman wa-ra'īyyatan – bi-ḡayri l-muslimīna

لا بأس أن يستعين المسلمون – حكاماً و رعية – بغير المسلمين

'there is nothing wrong with Muslims – **rulers and subjects** – seeking help from non-Muslims'

2.3 ANNEXATION

Annexation (Arabic *'idāfa*, إضافة, lit. 'making a thing very close to another', 'sub-joining'), often referred to as *status constructus* and the genitive construction, is the collocation of two elements, usually both nouns, in a fixed and inseparable unit, broadly conveying the sense of possession and its metaphorical extensions, e.g. noun + noun: *wizāratu l-'adli* وزارة العدل 'the Ministry of Justice', noun + pron.: *lawnuhu* لونه 'its colour', or noun + sentence: *ṣarīṭata 'an 'akūna fī makāni 'abī* شريطة أن أكون في مكان أبي 'on the condition that I shall be in the place of my father' (see 7.5.1.11).

Annexation of nouns to clauses: nouns of time are frequently annexed directly to clauses (see, for instance, 7.2.1, 7.5.2.6):

yawma tujrā l-intiḥābātu

يوم تجرى الانتخابات

'[on] **the day** the elections **are conducted**'

In this category the noun *hīna* حين 'time' functions as a very common temporal conjunction 'when', lit. 'at the time of' (see 7.6.6).

For annexation of adjs to nouns see 2.1.3.

The inseparability of the two elements of annexation has been weakened (see 2.3.7) but is still manifested in pron. annexation, where it will already have been noted that the pron. is physically suffixed, hence *lawnuhu* لونه 'its colour', is actually 'the colour of it' (see further 1.7.1.1).

The 1st element of the annexation structure is called *al-muḍāf* 'the thing annexed' and the 2nd element *al-muḍāf 'ilayhi* 'the thing it is annexed to' (note the polarity of the construction in the Arabic theory: the first element is annexed to the second). A string of annexation components may incorporate several elements with each element acting as a *muḍāf* to the following one, and as a *muḍāf 'ilayhi* to the preceding component, e.g.:

dā'iratu šu'ūni l-muwazzafīna

دائرة شؤون الموظفين

'employees' affairs department', lit. '[the] department of [the] affairs of the employees'

(see 2.3.2 for even longer strings)

Annexation is the most dynamic method in Arabic of linking structural units to a head noun and virtually the only way for nouns to subordinate other elements.

Features of annexed elements are as follows:

1st element:

- (i) If a noun, it has no definiteness (*al-* ال) or indefiniteness markers *tanwīn* (see 1.5.1 on these); if an adj. it may take def. art. only, see 2.1.3.2.
- (ii) Bears the case which marks the function of the complete annexation unit.

2nd element:

- (i) It may take def. or indef. markers or, if itself annexed, follows rule (i) for the 1st element in having no definition markers.
- (ii) If a noun, it always takes obl. case (and see 1.7.1.1 for the unique case differentiation in 1st pers. sing. pron.).

The annexed forms of nouns are set out in 1.5.2.1 and in the paradigms in 1.8.2: note that dual or sound masc. plur. nouns as the 1st element of annexation lose their final *-ni* نِ or *-na* نَ respectively.

2.3.1 Standard annexation

Definiteness is inherited from the 2nd element, so when annexed to a def. noun the 1st element acquires complete definiteness (irrespective of generic or individual definiteness):

saḥḥu l-manzili

سطح المنزل

‘the roof of the house’

sayyārātu l-fatayāti

سيارات الفتيات

‘the young womens’ cars’, lit. ‘the cars of the young women’

jawwu l-šitā’i جو الشتاء ‘the winter weather’, lit. ‘the weather of the winter’

‘azmatu l-ḥalīji أزمة الخليج ‘the Gulf crisis’, lit. ‘the crisis of the Gulf’

ḥiwāru l-turšāni حوار الطرشان ‘the dialogue of the deaf’

ḥaṭṭu l-‘intāji خط الإنتاج ‘the production line’

Annexation to pronouns:

‘aḥī أخي ‘my brother’

(see 1.7.1.1 on the special case of suffix *-ī* ‘my’)

‘aḥūka أخوك ‘your brother’

(see 1.8.2 on inflection of *‘aḥ* ‘brother’, etc.)

ḥimāruhu حماره ‘his donkey’

maḥāwifuhum مخاوفهم ‘their [masc.] fears’

‘aṭṭāluḥunna أطفالهن ‘their [fem.] children’

Sound masc. plur.:

muhājirū l-sittīniyyāti مهاجرو الستينيات ‘the emigrants [indep.] of the sixties’

li-mušāhidī l-tilifīzyūn لمشاهدي التلفزيون ‘for television viewers [obl.]’

Duals:

safīrā birīṭāniyā wa-l-‘irāqi

سفيرا بريطانيا والعراق

‘the two ambassadors [indep.] of Britain and Iraq’ [indep.]

(see 2.3.3 on annexation to proper names)

'i 'dādu ḥaflatay-i l-iftitāḥi wa-l-ḥitāmi

إعداد حفلي الافتتاح والختام

'the preparation of the opening and closing [two] ceremonies' [obl.]

Indef. annexation:

barqīyyatu tahni'atin برقبة تهنئة 'a telegram of congratulation'

al-tawaṣṣulu li-ttifāqi salāmin التوصل لاتفاق سلام 'reaching a peace agreement'

jirāḥatu tajmīlin جراحة تجميل 'cosmetic surgery', lit. 'surgery of beautifying'

2.3.2 'Idāfa strings, or extended annexation

In theory there is no maximum limit to the number of components that may be used in an annexation construction (see ▷C2:98 where a 4-term 'idāfa is noted). Media Arabic in particular seems to produce long annexation strings, and sequences of four, five and even six elements are not uncommon (the translations are more literal than elegant):

rafḍa manḥi 'ijāzati l-'amali

رفض منح إجازة العمل

'refusal to grant a leave of absence', lit. '[the] refusing of the granting of the leave of the [generic] working'

natījatu rtiḥā'i 'as 'ārī qitā'i l-maṣārifi

نتيجة ارتفاع أسعار قطاع المصارف

'the result of the rise of prices in [lit. "of"] the sector of banking'

nā'ibu ra'isi majlisi 'idārati ġurfati l-šinā'ati l-nasījiyyati

نائب رئيس مجلس إدارة غرفة الصناعة النسيجية

'the deputy of the chairman of the committee of the administration of the chamber of the textile [adj.] industry'

Annexation in book and play titles (see 1.8.5). In titles of plays, books, television programmes, etc. the title itself as a 2nd element functions as a separate unit and does not take case endings:

taḥta 'unwāni 'zama' al-baḥr

تحت عنوان 'ظماً البحر

'under the title of *Thirst of the Sea*'

barnāmaju 'man-i l-mas'ul?

برنامج من المسؤول؟

‘the programme *Who is responsible?*’

The same applies to such idiomatic constructions as the following:

‘*alā ṭarīqati* ‘**ḥuḍ al-nuqūda wa-hrub**’

على طريقة خذ النقود واهرب

‘in the method of “**take the money and run**” ’

2.3.3 Annexation and proper names

Proper names quite regularly appear as the 1st element:

yamanu l-ḥamsīniyyāti اليمن الخمسينيات ‘the Yemen of the fifties’

miṣru l-sādāt مصر السادات ‘Sadat’s Egypt’

qāhiratu l-mu‘izzi القاهرة المعز ‘al-Mu‘izz’s Cairo’

(note that, with the first and last examples, the def. arts. of *al-yaman* اليمن ‘Yemen’, and *al-qāhiratu* القاهرة ‘Cairo’, are removed in accordance with the annexation rules)

As 2nd elements, they automatically confer definiteness on the whole unit, whether or not they bear a def. art. themselves (▷C2:115; 1.12.3.1, 1.12.3.2):

madīnatu bayrūta مدينة بيروت ‘the city of Beirut’

maqḥā ‘īzīs مقهى إيزيس ‘the Isis coffee shop’,
lit. ‘[the] coffee-shop of Isis’

(it is unlikely that the name *‘īzīs* would be inflected, cf. 1.8.5)

2.3.4 Meanings of annexation

As well as indicating possession annexation may be used to indicate substance or material (cf. 2.2.1.1):

kursiyyu ḥayzurānin كرسي خيزران ‘a wicker chair’

It also functions as a means of reproducing compound nouns and collocations from other languages (see invariable compound nouns 1.8.10) (▷C2:96):

rajulu ‘a‘mālin رجل أعمال ‘a business man’

plur. *rijālu ‘a‘mālin* رجال أعمال (see 12.5.1)

mujrimu ḥarbin مجرم حرب ‘a war criminal’

ṣāḥibatu ‘arḍin صاحبة أرض ‘a land-owner [fem.]’

ḡaḍā‘u ‘amālin غداء عمل ‘a working lunch’

Definiteness is conferred by the second element, contrast:

ġurfatu nawmin غرفة نوم 'a bedroom' / *ġurfatu l-nawmi* غرفة النوم 'the bedroom',

‘ālimu nafsīn عالم نفس 'a psychologist' / *‘ālimu l-nafsī* عالم النفس 'the psychologist'

2.3.5 Questions of definiteness

(See numbers *al-ṭalātatu kutubin* الثلاثة كتب 'the three books' type (2.12.3), unreal annexation (2.1.3.2) and *ġayr* غير 2.9.2.3.2) for examples of where the traditional rules of def. in annexation structures have been overridden.)

As seen above (2.3.1) the 1st element of annexation inherits definiteness from the 2nd, contrast *nuqṭatu l-ḍa‘fī* نقطة الضعف 'the weak spot', with *nuqṭatu ḍa‘fin* نقطة ضعف 'a weak spot'; this can serve to distinguish between such pairs as *finjānu šāyin* فنجان شاي 'a cup of tea', and *finjānu l-šāyi* فنجان الشاي 'the tea-cup', though the latter, according to context, can also mean 'the cup of tea' (see further 1.12.3.1).

It follows that annexation to pronouns results in def. units: *wajhuhā* وجهها 'her face', lit 'the face of her', which will show in adj. agreement, *wajhuhā l-jamīlu* وجهها الجميل 'her beautiful [def.] face'.

Indef. annexation units have intermediate status with regards to definiteness (termed *taḥṣiṣ* 'particularization'). As long as they are qualified by adjs they are considered def. enough to function as subj. of an equational sentence (see 3.1):

rijālu ‘a‘mālin ‘allāhu waḥdahu ‘a‘lamu bihim

رجال أعمال الله وحده أعلم بهم

'business men **God only knows what they are!**

When an unambiguously indef. annexation is required it can be created by using partitive *min* من 'from' (2.6.12) (▷C2:99, 274, and cf. 1.12.4.1):

‘arsalat ‘iḥdā l-jāmi‘āti kaḫḫatan min ‘asāṭidatiḥā wa-ṭalabatiḥā

أرسلت إحدى الجامعات كتيبة من أساتذتها و طلبتها

'one of the universities sent **a large group** [indef.] **of its professors and students**'

The other principal mechanism for unambiguously indef. annexation is the paraphrase with *li-* لـ 'to', 'for' denoting general possession (▷C2:285; 2.6.10); contrast *ṣaḍīquhu* صديقه 'his friend', lit. 'the friend of him' with *ṣaḍīqun lahu* صديق له 'a friend of his':

fī stiṭlā‘in li-l-ra‘yi

في استطلاع للرأي

'in **an opinion poll**'

wajhun ḥazīnun li-mra'atin

وجه حزين لامرأة

'the sad face **of a woman**' [lit. 'a sad face belonging to']

The following example is ambiguous owing to the idiomatic use of *li-* لـ, although the context should determine which of the two meanings is intended:

kitābun li-l-'adibi muḥammad 'abd al-wāḥid al-ḥijāzī

كتاب للأديب محمد عبد الواحد الحجازي

'**a book by** the literary figure 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Hijāzī' [or, '**a book belonging to**']

li- لـ is used in def. annexation constructions for two kinds of reasons:

where the structure prevents annexation, e.g. because the 1st element must remain indef. (as in purposive obj., for example, see 2.4.5), or because there are two 1st elements; or in order to avoid using an ambiguous (though correct) or clumsy construction (although such combinations do occur, see 2.1.2.1 for examples):

ma'raḍu l-šāriqati l-duwaliyyu li-l-kitābi

معرض الشارقة الدولي للكتاب

'the Sharjah International Book Fair [lit. "**for** the book"]'

mustašāru l-ittihādi l-swīsriyyi li-l-šu'uni l-iqtisādiyyati l-ḥārijīyyati

مستشار الاتحاد السويسري للشؤون الاقتصادية الخارجية

'the Swiss Union adviser of [**for**] Foreign Economic Affairs'

al-qā'idu l-'a'lā li-l-quwwāti l-musallaḥati

القائد الأعلى للقوات المسلحة

'the supreme commander **of** the armed forces'

The same construction is used whenever a deverbative has to retain its indef. marker and cannot therefore be annexed to its dep. comp. (see 2.10):

hal tusammī ḥāḍiḥi l-masraḥiyyata taḥṣīṣan li-l-šuqaqi li-man

yastaḥiqquhā?

هل تسمي هذه المسرحية تخصيصا للشقق لمن يستحقها

'do you call this charade **designating** flats to those who deserve them?'

For indef. of 'af'al annexation see 2.11.5, also *kull* كل, 2.9.1.1 (▷C3:150).

2.3.6 Multiple annexation

Although in CA only one element normally occupied the first position, MWA is extending the possibilities (see 2.3.7).

2.3.6.1 In annexations of one 1st element to two 2nd elements the latter are coordinated mostly with *wa-* و ‘and’ (see 2.3.7), but other coordinating conjunctions may be used:

nādī l-muhandisīna ‘aw-i l-ḡubbāṭi

نادي المهندسين أو الضباط

‘the engineers’ **or** officers’ club’

However, repetition of the 1st element is also possible for emphasis or stylistic reasons (see 11.7.1 for obligatory repetition of noun for structural reasons):

huwa ‘unwānu l-karami wa-‘unwānu l-sharafi

هو عنوان الكرم وعنوان الشرف

‘it is **the sign of** generosity and [**the sign of**] honour’

2.3.6.2 For the annexation of two different 1st elements to the same 2nd noun (▷C2:105), see phrasal coordination 2.19.1. CA, with rare exceptions, repeated the phrase, replacing the 2nd noun with an attached pron., and this is still common in MWA:

‘iskātu l-ḡaḡabi wa-kabtuhu

إسكات الغضب وكبته

‘**the silencing and suppression** of anger’, lit. ‘the silencing of anger and the suppression **of it**’

tawjīhātu ‘ulamā’i l-dīni wa-taḥaffuḡātuhum

توجيهات علماء الدين وتحفظاتهم

‘**the instructions and reservations** of the religious scholars’, lit. ‘the instructions of the religious scholars and the reservations **of them**’

taḥfīfu l-‘uqūbāti ‘aw ta‘līquhā

تخفيف العقوبات أو تعليقها

‘**the reduction or suspension** of penalties’, lit. ‘the reduction of penalties or the suspension **of them**’

dāḥila mabānī l-wizārāti wa-ḥārijahā

داخل مباني الوزارات و خارجها

‘**inside and outside** the ministry buildings’, lit. ‘inside the ministry buildings and **outside them**’

Note that the definiteness of the 2nd element is not relevant, as pronouns may refer to indef. antecedents:

ri‘āyatu sulṭatin siyāsīyyatin wa-ḥimāyatuhā

رعاية سلطة سياسية وحمايتها

‘**the preservation and protection** of an economic authority’,

lit. ‘the preservation of **an** economic authority and the protection **of it**’

2.3.7 Binomial/polynomial annexation

MWA is increasingly making use of binomial (or indeed now polynomial) annexation, in which two or more 1st elements are coordinated (by any of the coordinators) before annexation to the 2nd element (▷C2:107). The fact that the first member of the pair lacks def. markers (cf. 2.3), particularly *tanwīn*, has ceased to be of importance, probably because neither the *tanwīn* nor the case endings are used in ordinary reading of MWA (see 1.2.9). The CA system (2.3.6.2) is still fully active, but there seem to be few restrictions now on the use of the MWA variant (though the meanings of the annexed nouns are always closely related), and qualified approval has been given by the Academies:

‘aqlu wa-ḍamīru l-’umma

عقل وضمير الأمة

‘the mind and conscience of the nation’

salbu wa-naḥbu ’amwālī l-banki

سلب ونهب أموال البنك

‘the robbing and plundering of bank funds’

faḥsu wa-jardu l-maḍbūṭāti

فحص وجرد المضبوطات

‘the inspection and inventorying of the confiscated goods’

mawqifu wa-dawru l-kanā’isi

موقف ودور الكنائس

‘the position and role of the churches’

Units containing three 1st elements are now very frequent:

fī taḥdīṭi wa-tajdīdi wa-taṭwīri furū’ihā

في تحديث وتجديد وتطوير فروعها

‘in the updating, renewal and development of its branches’

šū’ūra wa-’iḥsāsa wa-nfi’ālāti hā’ulā’i l-’atfāli

شعور وإحساس وانفعالات هؤلاء الأطفال

‘the feeling, perception and emotions of these children’

barāmiju wa-’anṣiṭatu wa-mašārī’u l-maktabi

برامج وأنشطة ومشاريع المكتب

‘the programmes, activities and projects of the office’

Extended binomial annexation occurs where the first element itself consists of an annexation unit coordinated to another noun (the internal units are shown with < > in the paraphrases):

ġurfatu tijārati wa-šinā‘ati dubayy

غرفة تجارة وصناعة دبي

‘the Dubai **chamber of commerce and industry**’, lit. ‘the <chamber of commerce and of industry> **of** Dubai’

mašrū‘u taṭwīri wa-taḥdīṭi masraḥi l-bālūn

مشروع تطوير وتحديث مسرح البالون

‘**the project to develop and modernize the Balloon theatre**’,
lit. ‘the <project of development and of modernization> **of** the Theatre of the Balloon’ (the last element being a regular annexation, 2.3.1)

Variant with two or more prepositionals (see 2.6 for prefixing of more than one preposition). Two or more prepositionals (2.7) may also be coordinated as the 1st element:

qabla wa-ba‘da l-‘islāmi

قبل وبعد الإسلام

‘**before and after** Islam’

instead of CA:

qabla l-‘islāmi wa-ba‘dahu

قبل الأسلام وبعده

qabla wa-‘aṭnā‘a wa-ba‘da l-ziyārati

قبل وأثناء وبعد الزيارة

‘**before, during and after** the visit’

It is now common to see compound ranks and titles, consisting of an uninflected (or at least anomalously inflected) noun + adj., themselves further annexed:

mudūr# ‘āmm# dā‘irati l-ṣiḥḥāti

مدير عام دائرة الصحة

‘**the director general** of the health department’,
lit. ‘the <general director> of’

wakīl# ‘awwal# wizārati l-ḥārijīyyati

وكيل أول وزارة الخارجية

‘**first undersecretary** of the Foreign Ministry’

2.3.8 Idiomatic annexation phrases

dū ذو [masc.] and *dāt* ذات [fem.] ‘possessor of’ are used both literally for ownership and idiomatically for the possession of qualities (▷C2:119; see 1.7.2 for paradigms). The noun following *dū* ذو must agree with the noun preceding it

in definiteness (or indefiniteness). These phrases form annexation units which function attributively (in apposition, see 2.2) or predicatively.

- Masc. sing. *ḍū* ذو [indep.]:

ḍū l-ḥajmi l-'aṣḡari

ذو الحجم الأصغر

‘the smallest **sized one**’, lit. ‘**possessor of** the smallest size’

lā yaḥḍuṭu šay'un ḍū bālin

لا يحدث شيء ذو بال

‘nothing **of importance** happens’ (see 4.2 on neg.).

- *ḍā* ذا [dep.]:

hādā l-ihtimāmu ḡalla ḍā ṭābi'in ḥāṣṣin

هذا الاهتمام ظل ذا طابع خاص

‘this concern remained **of a** special **nature**’

(see 3.17.14 on *ḡalla* ظل ‘to remain’ with dep. pred.)

- *ḍī* ذي [obl.]:

iḥtiyāru nizāmin suwaydiyyin ḍī ṣuḥratin 'ālamīyyatin

اختيار نظام سويدي ذي شهرة عالمية

‘the choice **of a** world-famous Swedish system’

fī wajhihā l-mudawwari ḍī l-wajnatayni l-bārizatayni

في وجهها المدور ذي الوجنتين البارزتين

‘in her round face **with the** prominent **cheeks**’

- Masc. plur.:

- *dawū* ذوو [indep.]:

rijālun dawū nufūḍin

رجال ذوو نفوذ

‘**influential** men’, lit. ‘men **possessors of** influence’

- *dawī* ذوي [dep. and obl.]:

istiḡālatu l-'adidi min dawī l-ḥibrati

استقالة العديد من ذوي الخبرة

‘the resignation of many **experienced people**’,

lit. ‘the **possessors of** experience’

raddu l-ḥuqūqi 'ilā dawīhā

رد الحقوق إلى ذويها

‘the restoration of rights to **those who own them**’

- Fem. sing.: *dātu* ذات [indep.]:

wa-hiya qaḍiyyatun dātu ṭābi'in šadīdi l-ḡarābati

وهي قضية ذات طابع شديد الغرابة

‘and this is a case **with an** extremely strange **character**’,
lit. ‘**possessor of a character** extreme of strangeness’

(see 2.1.3.2 on extended adj.)

al-manāṭiqu dātu l-nufūḍi l-firansiyyi

المناطق ذات النفوذ الفرنسي

‘areas **with** French **influence**’

šahādātu l-iddihari dātu l-‘ā’idi l-mutaḡayyiri

شهادات الإدخار ذات العائد المتغير

‘savings certificates **with** variable **interest**’

sayyārātu l-hātšbāk dātu l-‘abwābi l-ḡamsati

سيارات الهاتشباك ذات الأبواب الخمسة

‘five-door hatch-back cars’, lit. ‘hatch-back cars **possessors of** five **doors**’

(see 1.2.6.1 on transliteration of foreign words)

- *dāta* ذات [dep.]:

kānat dāta šaklin ‘ādiyyin

كانت ذات شكل عادي

‘it had a normal form’, lit. ‘it was **possessor of** a normal **form**’

- *dāti* ذات [obl.]:

li-mumattilatin dāti šuhratin

لممثلة ذات شهرة

‘of a famous actress’, lit. ‘an actress **possessor of** fame’

- Fem. plur.: *dawātu* ذوات [indep.]:

al-sayyidātu dawātu l-mas’ūliyyati

السيدات ذوات المسؤولية

‘women **with** responsibility’

- *dawāti* ذوات [dep./obl.]:

min mudarrisātin dawāti mu’ahhilātin munāsibatin

من مدرّسات ذوات مؤهلات مناسبة

‘from appropriately qualified teachers’, lit. ‘from teachers **possessors of** appropriate **qualifications**’

The fem. sing. form *dāta* ذات also occurs in the dep. case followed by a time expression (cf. adverbials in 2.5.2):

dāta ṣabāḥin ذات صباح ‘[on] one morning’,

dāta yawmin ذات يوم ‘[on] one day’,

dāta marratin ذات مرة ‘one time’, ‘[on] one occasion’

or a place expression (cf. 2.5.3):

dāta l-yamīni wa-dāta l-yaṣāri

ذات اليمين وذات اليسار

‘[on the] **right** and [on the] **left**’

dāt ذات after duals is default sing.:

bi-fikratayni muzdawijatayni dāti ḥibratayni

بفكرتين مزدوجتين ذات خبرتين

‘with two binary concepts **based on** experience’

- *ṣāḥib* صاحب plur. *’aṣḥāb* أصحاب lit. ‘companion’, ‘owner’, is used idiomatically in the same sense as *dū* ذو ‘possessor of’ (▷C2:119), but functions only as a noun-phrase:

ṣāḥibu l-riḥlati

صاحب الرحلة

‘the one who made the journey’, lit. ‘**the owner of** the journey’

ṣāḥibu l-naṣṣi

صاحب النصّ

‘**the author of** the text’

’aṣḥābuhā

أصحابها

‘**the ones who made** them [namely, the journeys]’

ṣāḥibu ra’yin ṣadīdin

صاحب رأي سديد

‘**a man of** correct judgement’

or commonly for titles:

ṣāḥibu l-jalālati صاحب الجلالة ‘His Majesty’, lit. ‘**possessor of** majesty’

ṣāḥibatu l-ṣumūwi صاحبة السموّ ‘Her Highness’, lit. ‘**possessor of** eminence’

ṣāhibu l-niyāfati

صاحب النيافة

‘His Reverence’, lit. ‘**possessor of** sublimity’ (title for higher ranks in the Orthodox Church)

ṣāhibu l-faḍīlāti

صاحب الفضيلة

lit. ‘**possessor of** virtue’ (title for a graduate of the Azhar)

- *‘ahl* أهل ‘family’, ‘kinfolk’, ‘people generally’ occurs in a plur. sense (▷C2:120), and functions only as a noun-phrase, unlike *ḍū* ذو ‘possessor of’ (2.3.8):

‘ahlu l-’iṣṣāfi wa-l-’adli

أهل الإنصاف والعدل

‘fair and just **people**’, lit. ‘people of fairness and justice’

‘ahlu l-fikri

أهل الفكر

‘learned people’, lit. ‘**people of** thought’

min ‘ahli l-tiqati

من أهل الثقة

‘from trustworthy people’, lit. ‘from **people of** reliability’

‘ahlu ḥibratin wa-baṣarin

أهل خبرة و بصر

‘**people of** experience and insight’

- Kinship terms are also used to express the possession of qualities or membership of groups (▷C2:123), and they can function attributively:

mā zālat ḥayātunā ḥayāta ‘abnā’i l-qurā

ما زالت حياتنا حياة أبناء القرى

‘our life is still like that **of the villagers**’, lit. ‘sons of the villages’

(see 11.7, 3.21.4 on *mā zāla* ما زال ‘not to cease’)

‘ummu l-ma’āriki

أمّ المعارك

‘the biggest battle of all’, lit. ‘**the mother** of battles’

rajulun ‘aḥū tiqatin

رجل أخو ثقة

‘a man **who can be trusted**’, lit. ‘brother of trustworthiness’,

2.4 DEPENDENT ELEMENTS (▷C2:161–3)

These are dealt with here at the phrase level only, i.e. without their full context (unless indispensable): for examples of dep. elements in their context see dir. objs (3.11), verbal complements (3.29) and the other items mentioned below.

Dependent (traditionally referred to as ‘accusative’) nouns are predominantly complements of verbs, e.g. the dir. obj. (2.4.1) and the various adverbial complements (2.4.2–2.4.7). However, dep. cases also occur in topic position after the sentence modifiers *inna* إِنَّ ‘indeed’, etc. (3.2) and pred. position with *kāna* كَانَ ‘to be’ (3.16.2) and its related verbs (3.17, etc.). For dep. verbs see 7.5.

An important distinction must be made between three kinds of dep. comps. now used in MWA: (1) the traditional CA comps described below in 2.4.1–2.4.7, which are all nouns or noun phrases, (2) a number of free dep. nouns and adjs, nearly all indef., many of which may historically be the remnants of elliptical dep. comp. constructions but can no longer be reliably analysed as such, discussed in 2.4.8, and (3) the dep. indef. *nisba* نسبة adjs (on this form see 1.8.6.3, 2.1.6) with adverbial function, an innovation of MWA which is dealt with in 2.5.

There is no theoretical limit to the number of dep. comps a verb may take, though the maximum of seven is only reached artificially by pre-modern grammarians. However, it is not unusual to find three or four such comps in the same sentence:

wa-taraktu waṭanī hāriban min-a l-dikrayāti baḥṭan ‘an-i l-’amali
وتركت وطني هاربا من الذكريات بحثا عن الأمل
‘and I left **my home country** [dir. obj.] **escaping** [circ. qual. 2.4.6] from
[my] memories, **searching** [purposive obj. 2.4.5] for hope’

2.4.1 Direct object

Direct obj., Arabic *mafʿūl bihi* به مفعول ‘thing to which [the action] is done’ (▷C2:163; 3.29.1). The directly transitive verb (3.11) takes dir. objs. in dep. case:

našara naṣṣa riḥlatihi
نشر نصَّ رحلته
‘he published **the text** of his journey’
ʾinnanā naḍkuru mahraǰāna baʾalbaka
إنَّنا نذكر مهرجان بعلبك
‘we (may) mention the Baalbek **festival**’
baʾda ʾan ʾaḍāʾat-i l-šarikatu l-milyārāti ʾalā l-musāhimīna
بعد أن أضاعت الشركة المليارات على المساهمين
‘after the company lost **billions** for the shareholders’

laqiyyat najāḥan masraḥiyyan bāhīran

لقيت نجاحا مسرحيا باهرا

‘it experienced amazing theatrical **success**’

Some verbs may take two dir. *objs* (▷C2:166; 3.11.2, 3.29.2):

wa-‘tabartu hādā l-liqā’a šaklan min ‘aškālī l-tahdīdi

واعتبرت هذا اللقاء شكلا من أشكال التهديد

‘and I considered **this meeting** [1st obj.] **a kind** [2nd obj.] of threat’

(see 1.12.4.1 on periphrastic indef.)

2.4.1.1 Detached obj. pron. ‘iyyā إِيَّا (▷C2:168; 3.11.1)

For detached pronominalized single dir. obj. with ‘iyyā إِيَّا see 3.11.1. For ‘iyyā إِيَّا after verbal nouns and active participles see 2.10.1.6.

When both *objs* of a doubly transitive verb are pronouns they may be suffixed, as long as the order 1st > 2nd > 3rd person is observed, thus ‘a‘*ṭaytukahu* أعطيتكه ‘I gave you it’ but not *‘a‘*ṭaytuhuka* أعطيتكهك ‘I gave it you’. This structure was not uncommon in CA, although MWA tends to favour the alternative structure, i.e., to detach the 2nd obj. and suffix it to the dummy element ‘iyyā إِيَّا, to create, for example, ‘a‘*ṭaytuka ‘iyyāhu* أعطيتك إِيَّاه ‘I gave you it’ and ‘a‘*ṭaytuhu ‘iyyāka* أعطيته إِيَّاك ‘I gave it [to] you’.

2.4.2 Absolute obj.

Absolute obj., Arabic *maf’ūl mutlaq* مفعول مطلق ‘unqualified thing done’ (▷C2:170; see 3.29.3). Both trans. and intrans. verbs, active or passive, take abs. *objs*. This complement is mostly a verbal noun, usually cognate with its operating verb, in principle always indef., and serving to emphasize the fact of the verb’s occurrence. It can also denote the number of times an act has been carried out, or the type of action and, when expanded by adj. qualification (2.4.2.2) or annexation (2.4.2.3), the additional content gives the sense of an English adverb of manner. A literal translation is seldom possible.

2.4.2.1 The abs. obj. may be a single, unqualified verbal noun:

kāna l-damu yaṣṣabbu min ḍirā’ihi nṣībāban dūna ‘an yabdū ‘alayhi ‘ayyu ‘iḥsāsīn bi-l-‘alami

كان الدم ينصب من ذراعه انصبابا دون أن يبدو عليه أي إحساس بالألم

‘the blood was **pouring** from his arm [**a pouring**] without his appearing to feel any pain’, lit. ‘without there appearing upon him any feeling of pain’

It may also be the verbal noun of a different root from the operator, either a different stem:

wa-qabbalahā qublata l-widā'

وقبّلها قبلة الوداع

'and he kissed her goodbye', lit. 'kissed [Stem II] her a goodbye kiss' [Stem I]

yata'ttaru ta'tturan wāḍiḥan

يتأثر تأثرا واضحا

'is clearly affected', lit. 'is affected [Stem V] an affecting' [Stem II]

or a synonym:

wa-qahqaha ḍaḥkan bi-ṣawtin 'ālin

وقهقهه ضحكا بصوت عال

'and he chuckled laughing loudly' [lit. 'chuckled a laugh']

2.4.2.2 The abs. obj. can be expanded by adjectival qualification (2.1):

yaṣifu waṣfan daqīqan

يصف وصفا دقيقا

'he describes accurately', lit. 'an accurate describing',

istaslamat-i stislāman muṭīran li-l-dahṣati

استسلمت استسلاما مثيرا للدهشة

'she surrendered in a surprising way', lit. 'a surrendering inciting surprise'

ibtasamat lahu btisāmatan kabīratan

ابتسمت له ابتسامة كبيرة

'she gave him a big smile', lit. 'she smiled at him a big smiling'

tadullu dalālatan qāṭi'atan 'alā 'anna ...

تدلّ دلالة قاطعة على أن ...

'[they] prove decisively that ...'

also by an adjectival clause:

qaḍat 'alā l-'irhābi ... qaḍā'an yakādu 'an yakūna nihā'iyyan

قضت على الإرهاب ... قضاء يكاد أن يكون نهائيا

'has put an end to terrorism ... in a way that may almost be final'

(see 3.21.3 on *kāda* كاد 'to almost be')

fariḥtu faraḥan lā mazīda 'alayhi

فرحت فرحا لا مزيد عليه

'I could not have been happier', lit. 'I rejoiced with a rejoicing which had no increase'

The noun may also take the generic article which is quasi-indef.:

wa-htazzat-i l-ṣūratu l-ihtizāzata l-'aḥīrata

واهتزت الصورة الاهتزازة الأخيرة

'the figure shook with one last shake', lit. 'the last shake'

2.4.2.3 The abs. obj. can also be displaced by the annexation (2.3) of a qualifier or quantifier to it:

yastağillūna 'aṣḥāba l-maṣānī 'i 'aswa'a stiğlālīn

يستغلّون أصحاب المصانع أسوأ استغلال

'they are exploiting the factory owners **in the worst way**', lit. 'the worst of exploitation'

yaftarisūnahu ṣarra ftīrāsīn

يفترسونه شرّ افتراس

'they are tearing him apart **in the most evil way**', lit. 'the most evil of tearing apart'

tanza 'iju 'ummī li-dālika ḡāyata l-inzi 'āji

تنزع أمي لذلك غاية الانزعاج

'my mother becomes **extremely upset** because of that', lit. 'the extreme of being upset'

To express the idea of 'totally' or 'partially' the verbal noun is combined with *kull* 'all' (see 2.9.1.1) or *ba'd* 'some' (see 2.9.1.3):

fa-bada'at taṭīqu bihi ba'da l-tiḡati wa-lākin nahu lam yakun 'ahlan lahā

فبدأت تثق به بعض الثقة ولكنّه لم يكن أهلاً لها

'so she began to trust in him to a certain extent but he was not deserving of it', lit. '**to trust in him a certain trusting**'

Extensions of quantifiers:

wa-bi-l-tālī talja 'u 'aktara fa-'aktara l-ṣarikātu l-muṣanni 'atu li-l-nuḡumi l-lā-silkiyyati wa-l-rādārīyyati 'ilā

وبالتالي تلجأ أكثر فأكثر الشركات المصنّعة للنظم اللاسلكية و الرادارية إلى

'and subsequently the companies that manufacture wireless and radar systems are resorting **more and more** to'

(contrast with asyndetically reduplicated circ. quals. below, 2.4.6.3)

tansaḥibu l-'atamatu qatīlan qatīlan

تنسحب العتمة قليلاً قليلاً

'the darkness withdraws **little by little**'

2.4.2.4 The abs. obj. may be replaced by an explanatory term, and the abs. obj. is elided:

wa-l-naḍkur jamī'an 'annahu fī l-māḍī kāna 'idā ḡaḍība l-'iqtā'īyyu 'alā l-fallāḥi ḡarabahu sawṭan 'aw ṣallūtan

ولنذكر جميعاً أنّه في الماضي كان إذا غضب الإقطاعي على الفلاح ضربه سوطاً أو شلّواتاً

‘let us all remember that in the past when the feudalist became angry with a peasant he would hit him **with a whip** [*ḍarba sawṭin* ضرب سوط ‘with the hitting of a whip’] or a **kick** [*ḍarba šallūtin* ضرب شلوت ‘with the striking of a kick’]’

(see 3.4 for the pron. on ‘*annahu* أنه ‘that [the fact] is’ (*ḍamīr al-ša’n*), and 8.3 for conditional ‘*idā* إذا ‘if’, ‘when’)

2.4.2.5 The abs. obj. also occurs in verbless (equational) sentences (3.1):

al-ḥulmu taqīlun tiqala l-’aḥlāmi

الحلم ثقيل ثقل الأحلام

‘the dream was **heavy as dreams are**’, lit. ‘was heavy [with] the being heavy of dreams’

or qualifying a previous noun, adj. or part. (or rather, the verbal notion implicit in these words):

al-muškilatu l-tālīṭatu l-murtabiṭatu rribāṭan waḥīqan bi-l-muškilatayni l-sābiqatayni

المشكلة الثالثة المرتبطة ارتباطا وثيقا بالمشكلتين السابقتين

‘the third problem, **closely connected** with the first two’,
lit. ‘connected a close being-connected’

kāna radduhu ġarīban kulla l-ġarābati

كان ردّه غريبا كلّ الغرابية

‘his reply was **totally strange**’, lit. ‘strange, all the being strange’

(cf. 2.4.2.3 for expansion with *kull* كلّ ‘all’)

li-’annahā lāṣiqatun bihi ‘aẓīma l-iltiṣāqi

لأنّها لاصقة به عظيم الالتصاق

‘because it **sticks** to it **mightily**’

ḍāḥikan ḍāḥkatahu l-ḥāṣṣata

ضاحكا ضحكته الخاصة

‘**laughing** his special laugh’

(see circ. qual. 2.4.6)

wa-kāna sāṭi’an suṭū’an ‘ajabiyyan fī tilka l-laylati

وكان ساطعا سطوعا عجبيا في تلك الليلة

‘and it was **shining amazingly** on that night’, lit. ‘shining an amazing shining’

2.4.2.6 Objects may be cognate without being abs. obj.:

sa’altuhu su’ālan ṣa’ban

سألته سؤالاً صعباً

‘I asked him a difficult question’

wa-kallamathu kalimatayni fi 'uḍnihi

وكلمته كلمتين في أذنه

‘and she spoke two words to him in his ear’

(see 3.29.3)

2.4.2.7 Abs. obj. occurs also as a coordinated variant for the gradualness of an action:

šay'an fa-šay'an wajadtunī 'uḥibbu samā'a hāḍā l-kalāmi minhu

شيئاً فشيئاً وجدتني أحبّ سماع هذا الكلام منه

‘little by little I found myself liking to hear this kind of talk from him’

2.4.3 Locative objs

Locative objs, Arabic *maḥ'āl fihi* مفعول فيه ‘thing in which [the action] is done’, also *ẓarf* ظرف ‘container’, ‘vessel’. These are nouns of time or place functioning as complements in dep. case (3.29.4) qualifying the verb.

In MWA this category overlaps considerably with the locative/temporal adverbials and prepositionals in 2.5.2, 2.5.5. A working distinction is that loc./temporal objs. are always full nouns which can also have all other nominal designations (e.g. ‘day’, ‘night’, *yawmu l-ḥamīsi yawmun jamīlun* يوم الخميس جميل ‘Thursday is a lovely day’) while the adverbials and prepositionals (see 2.6 and 2.7 for these terms) in particular tend to be words which, though originally nominals, have generally become restricted to a prepositional function (e.g. ‘before’, ‘under’, ‘during’).

As for adverb(ial)s (see 2.5 for this term), they comprise a mixed class of dep. nouns and adjs, usually indef. and always invariable. The difference can be seen by contrasting a true loc. obj. such as the dep. noun *šahran* شهر [for] a month’, with an invariable dep. adj. in adverbial function, *šahriyyan* شهرياً ‘monthly’.

2.4.3.1 Time

(▷C2:173; 3.29.4) (see periods of time, 2.14.5, dates, 2.14.7)

As loc. of time these may be def. or indef.

dawman دوما ‘always’

al-'āna الآن ‘now’, lit. ‘at the time’

fajran فجر ‘at dawn’

laylan ليلاً ‘at night’

al-laylata الليلة ‘tonight’, lit. ‘[on] the night’

yawman يوما 'one day'

al-yawma اليوم 'today'

nahāran نهارا 'by day'

ṣabāḥan صباحا 'in the morning'

masā'an مساء 'in the evening'

laylan wa-nahāran ليلا ونهارا 'day and night'

(these last two also occur separately as 'by day' and 'by night'; and cf. the variant:

layla nahāra ليل نهار 'night and day' with invariability of comp. word, **1.8.10**)

ḡadan غدا 'tomorrow'

ḥīnan حيناً 'for a time'

'aḥyānan أحيانا 'sometimes' (see *ḥīna* حين **7.6.6**)

'abadan أبدا '[n]ever'

marratan مرة 'one time'

mirāran مرارا '[several] times'

For a number of adjs and parts. (already current in CA) see **2.4.8**.

Examples in context:

hāḍihi l-sanata هذه السنة '[in] this year'

al-sabta l-māḍiya السبت الماضي 'last Saturday'

hāḍā l-mawsima هذا الموسم '[in] this season'

laḥzata mufāraqatī l-bayta

لحظة مفارقتي البيت

'[at] the moment I left the house'

(see annexation to sentence **7.5.1.11** and dir. obj. after verbal noun, **2.10.1.3**)

'aḥīran taḥīnu laḥzatu l-ḥurūji

أخيرا تحين لحظة الخروج

'at last the moment of departure comes'

'anā l-'āna jāmidu l-qalbi

أنا الآن جامد القلب

'I am now firm in heart'

(note flexible word order in both, see **3.7.4**, and see unreal annexation, **2.1.3.2**)

hāḏā l-tamarrudu l-kāminu l-qā'imu 'abadan

هذا التمرد الكامن القائم أبدا

'this **ever** present hidden recalcitrance'

(see 4.2.7 for use of 'abadan أبدا 'never' in neg. sentences)

Note that 'ān آن 'time' also occurs as a normal indef. noun:

fi 'ānin wāḥidin في آن واحد 'at one and the same **time**'

waṣalā fi 'ānin وصلا في آن 'they both arrived at **the same time**'

Paired times:

tāratān ... tāratān تارة ... تارة *tāratān...tāratān 'uḥrā* تارة أخرى
'sometimes ... at other times' (*tāratān* تارة is rarely used alone);

ḥīnan ... ḥīnan 'āḥara حيناً ... حيناً آخر *marratan ... marratan 'uḥrā*
مرة ... مرة أخرى 'one time ... another time'

marratan ... wa-marrātin مرة و مرات 'one time ... other times'

ya'ti mubakkiran tāratān wa-muta'ahḥiran tāratān 'uḥrā

يأتي مبكراً تارة و متأخراً تارة أخرى

'he sometimes comes early and sometimes late'

tabnī 'āmālan lahum ḥīnan wa-tuhaddimuhā ḥīnan 'āḥara

تبني آمالاً لهم حيناً وتهدمها حيناً آخر

'it builds up hopes for them **sometimes** and **other times** destroys them'

Time expressions are often personalized or annexed (see dates 2.14.7):

laḥẓatahā

لحظتها

'at that moment', lit. 'at the moment of it'

(see also 2.14.5)

The function of the time noun *ḥīna* حين is virtually restricted to adv. (2.4.8), prepositional (2.7), or conjunction (7.6.6 and 7.8):

ḥīna l-darūratī حين الضرورة 'in [the] **time** of need'

2.4.3.2 Place (▷ C2:180; 3.29.4)

Even in CA loc. objs. denoting a place were uncommon. Unlike points of time, which may be specific or vague, loc. objs of place are vague and effectively restricted to directions and relationships:

šarqan شرقاً '[to the] east'

ġarban غرباً '[to the] west'

janūban جنوبا '[to the] south'

šimālan شمالا '[to the] north', '[to the] left'

yamīnan يميناً '[to the] right'

(See 2.6 for fuller discussion of expressions of space)

Examples in context (cf. 2.1.4):

šarqan wa-ġarban شرقاً وغرباً 'to the east and to the west'

šimāla bayrūta شمال بيروت 'north of Beirut'

Note the idiom where a loc. obj. is used metaphorically:

yaqīfu l-yawma mawqifa l- 'ājizi

يقف اليوم موقف العاجز

'he is today as good as incompetent', lit. 'stands today in **the standing place** of the incompetent one'

(cf. 11.7 and 3.29.4)

All other spatial positions are expressed with the prepositions *fī* 'in' or *bi-* 'in', 'by' (see phrasal adverbs 2.6):

bi-l-qāhirati بالقاهرة 'in Cairo'

fī l-mathāfi في المتحف 'in the museum'

fī l-sīnamā في السينما 'at the cinema'

2.4.4 Specifying complement

Specifying complement, Arabic *tamyīz* تمييز 'distinguishing [element]' (▷C2: 184; 3.29.5): a dep. noun which particularizes an otherwise general feature of its antecedent, roughly equivalent to English 'in terms of'. The spec. comp. is always an indef. dep. noun (often a verbal noun), and it may qualify nouns, adjs or verbs.

It is also used with weights and measures, although there are some signs that the system is breaking down:

bi-l-'idāfati 'ilā 150 junayhan ta'mīn#

بالإضافة إلى ١٥٠ جنيها تأمين

'in addition to £150 insurance'

2.4.4.1 Spec. comp. in general use

Qualifying verbs:

fa-l-ṭabī'atu qad tufrizu qaḥṭan wa-min ba'diḥi tatadaffaḡu ḥuṣūbatan

فالتبيلة قد تغرز قحطا و من بعده تتدفق خصوبة

'nature can produce a drought and afterwards be bursting **with fertility**'

(see 3.10.5 on *qad* قد with indep. imperf.)

wa-l ḥaqqu 'anna l-ḥadīṭa yaṭūlu 'an šarīf 'abāza 'insānan wa-fannānan

والحق أن الحديث يطول عن شريف أبازة إنسانا وفنانا

'in fact the discussion goes on at length about Sherif Abaza **as a human being and artist**'

Note the spec. comp. with verbs of increasing and decreasing (see 3.23.3):

muzawwadan bi-ru'yatin tazdādu 'umqan

مزود برؤية تزداد عمقا

'provided with a vision of increasing depth', lit. '**which increases as to depth**'

(see 5.1 on adj. rel. clause)

'More ... than' or 'the most ...' or 'less ... than' or 'the least ...' can only be expressed by a spec. comp.:

huwa 'aktaru l-'ulūmi ḥtiwā'an 'alā l-ṣawāhiri l-salbiyyati

هو أكثر العلوم احتواء على الظواهر السلبية

'it is the science embracing the most negative phenomena', lit. '**the most of the sciences in terms of embracing**'

wa-lā šakka 'anna l-rayya bi-l-tanqīṭi 'aqallu stihlākan li-l-miyāhi min-a l-ṭuruqi l-taqlīdiyyati

ولا شك أن الري بالتنقيط أقل استهلاكاً للمياه من الطرق التقليدية

'and there is no doubt that irrigation by dripping consumes less water than traditional methods', lit. '**is less in terms of consumption of water**'

Note how the verbal noun in the position of spec. comp. must remain indef. and therefore can not be annexed to its dir. obj. In these circumstances it can only be linked to its dir. obj. by the prep. *li-* ل (cf. 2.10.1.7 and 2.4.5)

Qualifying nouns:

fī ruqiyi l-muwāṭinīna fikran wa-wijdānan wa-sulūkan

في رقي المواطنين فكرا ووجدانا وسلوكا

'in the progress of citizens **in thought, feeling and behaviour**'

With the numbers from 11 to 99 (▷C2:183; see 2.12.4, 2.12.5 for details):

ḥamsūna dirhaman خمسون درهما 'fifty dirhams'

Qualifying elative/superl. adj. (1.8.6.2; 2.11.8):

al-muntajātu l-'uḥrā l-'aḡallu jawdatan

المنتجات الأخرى الأقل جودة

'the other, **lower quality** products', lit. 'the lower as to quality'

'aḡdamu l-ṣu'ūbi rukūban li-l-baḥri

أقدم الشعوب ركوبا للبحر

'**the most ancient** people in sailing the sea'

(see obj. of verbal nouns with *li-* لـ 2.10.1.7)

min 'awsa' i l-kuttābi šuhratan fī zamānihi

من أوسع الكتاب شهرة في زمانه

'one of the most famous writers of his time', lit. 'one of **the widest** of writers in terms of fame'

Periphrastic use with colours:

taṣawwara 'anna l-baḥra fī ṣiqilliyata 'aḡtaru zurqatan

تصور أن البحر في صقلية أكثر زرقة

'he imagined that the sea in Sicily is bluer' lit. '**more in terms of blueness**'

(from 'azraq أزرق 'blue', see colours 1.8.6.1)

The spec. comp. is also used with certain fixed adverbial expressions (2.5.8.2):

bi-ṣifati ra'īsān li-

بصفتي رئيساً لـ

'in my capacity **as chairman** of'

An example of MWA innovation can be seen in a limited number of cases where an adj. is further qualified by a comparative such as ' *aḡtaru* أكثر 'more', in preference to the use of a spec. comp.:

mašḡūlun 'aḡtara minhā مشغول أكثر منها 'is **more busy than** her'

2.4.5 Purposive obj.

Purposive obj., Arabic *maf'ūl lahu* له مفعول (or *li-'ajlihi* له لأجله), all 'thing for [the sake of] which [the action] is done' (▷C2:172; 3.29.6): a dep. comp. always in the form of a dep. verbal noun indicating the reason for, or cause of, an action, usually indef. and usually alone. It normally has the underlying sense of 'because of' or 'out of':

lā 'aqūluhā mujāmalatan

لا أقولها مجاملة

'I am not saying it **to be nice**'

ibta'adat ḥawfan

ابتعدت خوفا

'she stayed away **out of fear**'

Indirectly transitive verbs (3.11.4) retain their prep.:

ḥāwala 'an yuḥfiya qalaqahu ḥawfan min 'an yaẓhara 'annahu ḍa'ifun

حاول أن يُخفي قلقه خوفا من أن يظهر أنه ضعيف

'he tried to conceal his anxiety **from fear of** appearing to be weak',

lit. 'from fear of that may appear'

'ihtijājan 'alā tilka l-mu'āmalati l-ẓālimati

احتجاجا على تلك المعاملة الظالمة

'**in protest against** that unfair treatment'

Transitive verbs

Since as a rule the purposive comp. must retain its indef. status, it cannot be annexed to a dir. obj., and therefore the periphrastic alternative with *li-* ل (see 2.10.1.7 and 2.4.4.1) is used:

talbiyatan li-l-ḥājāti l-'insāniyyati

تلبية للحاجة الإنسانية

'**in response to** human needs'

takrīman li l-ḍayfi l-kabīri

تكريما للضيف الكبير

'**out of honour for** the distinguished guest'

The purposive comp. can be expanded by annexation, either to another verbal noun, with generic sense:

yurīdu l-ta'arrufa 'ilā 'ālamīn 'āḥara buḡyata kašfi 'asrārihi

يريد التعرف إلى عالم آخر بغية كشف أسرار

'he wants to get to know another world **in the desire to uncover its secrets**',

lit. 'in the desire of the uncovering of its secrets'

or to a clause:

ḥašyata 'an tuttahama bi-l-ḍa'fi

خشية أن تتهم بالضعف

'**out of fear** that she would be suspected of weakness'

(see 7.5.1.3 on annexation of clauses)

2.4.6 Circumstantial qualifier

Circumstantial qualifier, Arabic *ḥāl* حال ‘situation, circumstance’ (▷C2:186; 3.29.7): normally a part. (less often an adj.) indicating the circumstances of an event, always dep. and nearly always indef., agreeing only in number and gender with the antecedent. In this section only noun phrases will be noted; for the subordinated sentence as a circ. qual., see 7.3.

2.4.6.1 Classes that may function as circ. qual. (▷C2:193)

Active part.:

ḡādara l-qāhirata 'amsi mutawajjihan 'ilā jībūtī

غادر القاهرة أمس متوجّها إلى جيبوتي

‘he left Cairo yesterday **heading** for Djibouti’

mašaytu mutamahhilan

مشيت متمهّلاً

‘I walked **slowly**’, lit. ‘proceeding slowly’,

qābalānī ḥārijayni fī mahammatin 'ājilatin

قابلاني خارجين في مهمّة عاجلة

‘they (dual) met me **whilst they were going out** on an important errand’

wa-waqa 'at-i l-ḡaḥāyā natījatan li-hubūṭi l-'aṭfali mutadāfi'ina 'alā sullami l-madrasati

ووقعت الضحايا نتيجة لهبوط الأطفال متدافعين على سلم المدرسة

‘most of the casualties occurred as a result of the children falling, **pushing one another** against the school stairs’

Passive part.:

tafawwāqa l-'insānu l-miṣriyyu l-qadīmu ḥākīman wa-maḥkūman

تفوّق الإنسان المصري القديم حاكماً ومحكوماً

‘the Ancient Egyptian was superior both as ruler and **ruled**’

wa-tahādā l-na 'šu maḥmūlan 'alā l-'a'nāqi

وتهاذى النعش محمولا على الأعناق

‘the bier slowly moved off **carried** on shoulders’

tumma ['an] yaqa 'ū maḡṣiyyan 'alayhim

ثم [أن] يقعوا مغشياً عليهم

‘then they fall **unconscious**’, lit. ‘it having been covered over for them’

(cf. passive participial adjs, 2.10.3)

Nouns:

Act. part.

taḥarraja l-waladu dābīṭan fī l-baḥriyyati

تخرّج الولد ضابطاً في البحرية

‘the boy graduated **as an officer** in the navy’

Verbal

li-yaḥḍurū l-‘arḍa ṭiwāla sā‘atin wa-niṣfi l-sā‘ati wuqūfan

بينما يتسلل العديد من طلبة الأدب الإنكليزي ليحضروا العرض طوال ساعة و نصف الساعة وقوفاً

‘to attend the performance for an hour and a half **standing up**’

(see clock times 2.14.6)

For the now autonomous dep. indef. nouns and adjs with adverbial function see 2.4.8.

2.4.6.2 Sequences

Sequences of circ. quals. occur both syndetically and asyndetically (▷C2:190; 490; **Chapter 6** for coordination, 7.3.1 for sequences of circ. qual. clauses).

Syndetic:

ladā l-muṣtaḡilīna bi-ṣinā‘ati l-kalimati, masmū‘atan wa-maqrū‘atan wa-mar‘iyyatan

لدى المشتغلين بصناعة الكلمة، مسموعة ومقروّة ومرئية

‘among those occupied with the craft of words, **heard, read and seen**’

wa-btasama sam‘ānu mu‘ānisan wa-muṣajji‘an

وابتسم سمعان مؤانسا ومشجعاً

‘and Sam‘ān smiled **in a friendly and encouraging way**’

Asyndetic:

yantaqilu bayna l-mawā‘idi muraḥḥiban dāḥikan mudā‘iban mu‘ānisan

ينتقل بين الموائد مرحباً ضاحكاً مداعباً مؤانسا

‘he moves between the tables **laughing, welcoming, joking and entertaining**’

al-wa‘du llaḍī qaṭa‘ahu ‘alā nafsīhi muḥliṣan ṣādiqan

الوعد الذي قطعه على نفسه مخلصاً صادقاً

‘the promise he made to himself **sincerely and honestly**’

2.4.6.3 For the meaning ‘x by x’, pairs of circ. quals. are used, mostly asyndetically (▷C2:492–3, and see **11.7**):

taqšuruḥā ṭabaqatan ṭabaqatan

تَقْشُرُهَا طَبَقَةً طَبَقَةً

‘she peels it off **layer by layer**’

ru’yatu taḥarruki l-ḡarrati wāḥidatan wāḥidatan

رُؤْيَةُ تَحَرَّكَ الذَّرَّةِ وَاحِدَةً وَاحِدَةً

‘seeing the movement of atoms **one by one**’

ḡakkarahā bi-ḡiṭārin ḡaytu l-maḡā’idu ṭnayni ṭnayni

ذَكَرَهَا بِقَطَارٍ حَيْثُ الْمَقَاعِدُ اثْنَيْنِ اثْنَيْنِ

‘it reminded her of a train in which the seats were **two by two**’

Contrast these with the abs. obj. *ṣay’an fa-ṣay’an* فُشِيئًا فُشِيئًا ‘little by little’ in **2.4.2** in which the latter qualify the kind of action being performed, not the state of the noun.

2.4.6.4 Although the circ. qual. is normally indef., it can be annexed to a following noun (▷C2:191):

fa-jalastu ḡayyiqā l-ṣadri

فَجَلَسْتُ ضَيْقَ الصَّدْرِ

‘so I sat down **with a heavy feeling about me**’, lit. ‘heavy of chest’

(cf. annex. adj. in **2.1.3.2** and circ. quals. in subordinate clauses **7.3.1**)

jaraytu ma’ahā ḡāfiyā l-qadamayni

جَرَيْتُ مَعَهَا حَافِيَةَ الْقَدَمَيْنِ

‘I ran with her **bare-footed**’ [fem. sing.]

The expression *waḡda*-وَحْدَ ‘as one of’, always annexed to pronouns in the sense of ‘alone, by ... self’, is an exception to the rule that circ. quals. should always be indef.:

duwalu l-ṣamāli waḡdahā

دُولُ الشَّمَالِ وَحْدَهَا

‘the northern states **alone**’

waḡafū waḡdahum

وَقَفُوا وَحْدَهُمْ

‘they stood **alone**’

lā ’ataḡaddātu hunā ’an ṭaḡāfati l-’ummiyyīna waḡdahum

لَا أَتَحَدَّثُ هُنَا عَنْ ثِقَافَةِ الْأُمِّيِّينَ وَحْدَهُمْ

‘I am not speaking here about the culture of the illiterate people **alone**’

laysa l-najāḥu ḥukran ‘alaynā waḥdanā

ليس النجاح حكرا علينا وحدنا

‘success is not our monopoly **alone**’

2.4.7 Accompanying obj.

Accompanying obj., Arabic *maf’ūl ma’ahu* مفعول معه ‘thing with which [the action is] done’; always introduced by *wa-* و ‘and’, called *wāw ma’iyya* ‘the “and” denoting withness’, to distinguish it from the coordinating *wa-* و ‘and’ at 6.2 (▷C2:213; 2.19.1; 3.29.8). The construction is now rather limited, mainly with verbs denoting agreement or conformity (cf. 3.11.4).

In unvowelled texts the assumption of a dep. case is not certain, e.g.:

mā yattaḥḥiqqu wa-ṭabī‘ata l-muḥṭawayāti

ما يتفق وطبيعة المحتويات

‘what agrees **with the nature** of the contents’

bi-ṭarīqatin tatanāsabu wa-qawā‘ida l-naḥwi l-‘arabiyyi

بطريقة تتناسب وقواعد النحو العربي

‘in a way which conforms **with the rules** of Arabic grammar’

allatī tatazāmanu wa-ṣaḥra ramaḍāna l-mubāraka

التي تتزامن وشهر رمضان المبارك

‘which coincides **with the blessed month** of Ramadan’

but the following example shows an unambiguously marked dep./obl. case:

wa-hum fī taklīfihim bi-l-ḥarāji wa-l-ḍarā‘ibi sawā’un wa-l-muslimīna

وهم في تكليفهم بالخراج والضرائب سواء والمسلمين

‘they being as regards their obligation to pay the land tax and income taxes equal **with the Muslims**’

It is also found with rel. clauses:

‘inna l-‘islāma yatrūkuhum wa-mā yadīnūna

إن الإسلام يتركهم وما يدينون

‘Islam leaves them to do what they believe in’, lit. ‘**with what they believe in**’

See also *ma’a* مع ‘with’ with stem VI and other verbs, 3.11.4, and 2.6.11 for adverbial *ma’an* معا ‘together’. Cf. also the idioms *mā laka wa-* و ما لك and *mā ša’nuka wa-* و ما شأنك ‘how about ...?’, ‘what have you to do with ...?’ in 10.13.3.1.

2.4.8 Intermediate forms

Here are consolidated the various dep. indef. nouns and adjs functioning autonomously as adverbs. In CA they were usually interpreted as quals or synonyms of an elided noun comp., but that analysis is no longer reliable for MWA. Thus for present users it is not relevant that *jalastu ṭawīlan* جلست طويلا, 'I sat long', i.e. 'for a long time', can be parsed as having either an elided abs. obj., (2.4.2) namely, *jalastu [julūsan] ṭawīlan* جلست [جلوسا] طويلا, lit. 'I sat a long [sitting]', or an elided loc. obj.of time (2.4.3.1), namely, *jalastu [waqtan] ṭawīlan* جلست [وقتا] طويلا 'I sat for a long [time]'.

In practice these dep. elements have purely adverbial function and thus lie structurally between the pure noun comps. (2.4.2–2.4.7) and the dep. indef. *nisba* نسبة (2.5). Since they always remain dep. nouns and adjs, they cannot strictly be termed 'adverbs', and so they will be referred to as 'adverbials', which also distinguishes them from the few genuine adverbs in Arabic, such as *faqat* فقط 'only' (see 1.6.11, 2.5.1). The same distinction is made between true prepositions and nouns with prepositional function, hence termed 'prepositionals' (see 1.6.12, 2.6, 2.7).

By grouping them here the historical aspects are set aside. Moreover by avoiding semantic subclassifications (which in any case have no specific corresponding structural manifestation) the problem of assigning them to one or another of the comps listed above is also bypassed.

The adverbial status of these items is confirmed by the fact that many of them have synonymous equivalent prepositional phrases, e.g. *ṣudfatan* صدفة 'coincidentally', with the alternant *bi-l-ṣudfati* بالصدفة 'by coincidence' (see 2.5.6.1).

Dep. nouns:

<i>jiddan</i> جدًا 'very'	<i>'ayḍan</i> أيضا 'also'
<i>fi 'lan</i> فعلا 'indeed'	<i>ṣudfatan</i> صدفة 'by chance'
<i>'asāsan</i> أساسا 'fundamentally'	<i>'aṣlan</i> أصلا 'basically'
<i>ḥaqqan</i> حقًا 'truly'	<i>faj'atan</i> فجأة 'suddenly'
<i>mubāṣaratan</i> مباشرة 'directly'	<i>maṭalan</i> مثلا 'for example'
<i>'abaṭan</i> عبثا 'in vain'	<i>majjānan</i> مجاناً 'gratis'
<i>ḥatman</i> حتما 'definitively'	<i>taqrīban</i> تقريبا 'approximately'
<i>jumlatan</i> جملة 'totally'	<i>kāffatan</i> كافة 'altogether'
<i>ḥuṣūṣan</i> خصوصا 'especially'	<i>tibā'an</i> تباعا 'consecutively'
<i>'umūman</i> عموما 'generally'	
<i>al-battata</i> البتّة 'altogether'	

Dep. adj.:

<i>bāṭilan</i> باطلا 'in vain'	<i>maḥḍan</i> محضا 'purely' (cf. 2.8.6, emphasizer annexed)
<i>jayyidan</i> جيّدا 'well'	<i>sarī'an</i> سريعا 'quickly'
<i>qalīlan</i> قليلا 'little'	<i>katīran</i> كثيرا 'much'
<i>ḡāliban</i> غالبا 'mostly'	<i>jamī'an</i> جميعا 'all'
<i>tamāman</i> تماما 'completely'	<i>muṭlaqan</i> مطلقا 'absolutely'
<i>dā'iman</i> دائما 'always'	<i>'aḥīran</i> أخيرا 'finally'
<i>ṭawīlan</i> طويلا 'long'	<i>qadīman</i> قديما 'of old'
<i>ḥadīṭan</i> حديثا 'recently'	<i>dāḥilan</i> داخلا 'inside'
<i>ḥārijan</i> خارجا 'outside'	

The part. types *mu'aḥḥaran* مؤخرا 'late', *muqaddaman* مقدما 'early', *mustaqbalan* مستقبلا 'in future', are invariable and therefore can not be seen as circ. quals. etc.:

'uktušifat mu'aḥḥaran اكتشفت مؤخرا 'it [fem.] has been discovered **lately** [masc.]'

The same applies to the following:

lanā jamī'an لنا جميعا 'to us **all** [masc.]'
lam tanjaḥ ḥādīhi l-'aškālu jamī'an fi waqfi l-ẓāhirati
 لم تنجح هذه الأشكال جميعا في وقف الظاهرة

'none of these forms succeeded in stopping the phenomenon' (see 4.2.1), lit. 'did not succeed these forms **all of them** [masc.] in stopping the phenomenon'

2.5 ADVERBS AND ADVERBIALS

This is a class in which MWA shows considerable divergence from the CA norms. CA had a very limited range of true adverbs, that is, invariable words used to qualify any element of a sentence, e.g. *faqat* فقط 'only': the class was virtually closed and is listed in 1.6.11. A somewhat larger set, but still very restricted, consists of dep. indef. nouns or adjs, formally once comps of verbs (e.g. as circ. qual. or loc. obj.) but now autonomous, i.e. they are now invariable, see in 2.4.8. All other adverbial qualification in CA was expressed either by the formal comps. described in 2.4.2 to 2.4.7, or periphrastically, through phrases (2.5.8), or by verbs (2.5.9), all of which are still used in MWA.

But MWA has greatly extended the dep. indef. *nisba* نسبة adj. (see 2.1.6), seemingly as a calque of Western adverbs, by a process which can usefully be compared with the very productive American English device of suffixing '-wise' to any noun or adj. to create an adverb, e.g. 'policy-wise'. They are now often

unanalysable, but theoretically they could be regarded as an elliptical extension of one or another of the CA dep. comps such as the abs. obj. (2.4.2). For example, *al-ihimāmu bihim taqāfiyyan wa-ṣiḥḥiyyan wa-jtimā'iyyan wa-riyāḍiyyan* 'concern for them **culturally, medically, socially and athletically**' may be parsed as elliptical, e.g., *al-ihimāmu bihim-i htimāman taqāfiyyan* etc. 'being concerned for them with a cultural **being concerned**, etc.'

However, since they are invariable, they cannot always be considered as simply alternative forms of the comps, thus in *taḥsaru l-ḥarba siyāsiyyan* 'will lose the war **politically**', the invariable masc. *siyāsiyyan* 'politically' could perhaps have as its underlying form an abs. obj., but in this case the verbal noun is fem. *ḥasāra* 'loss', so that the abs. obj. construction would be *ḥasāratān siyāsiyyatan* 'a political losing [fem.]', which would not fully account for the invariable *siyāsiyyan* 'politically'

This leaves MWA with three types of adv. qual. (a) the inherited set of CA dep. noun comps. already described; (b) a quantity of indef. dep. adjs and nouns set out in 2.4.8, which may or may not be the residue of elliptical or variant comps; and (c) an enormous number of *nisba* 'نسبة' adjs, which are not always analysable as comps but function in the same way (though more flexibly) as the English adv., for which see 2.5.1, 2.5.2 and 2.5.5. These may be considered a form of new free adv.

All three sets are open, but not necessary commutable: it is unlikely that the sentence '*aḥrajaḥā tilifiziyyūniyyan* أخرجها تلفزيونيا' 'he produced it **through the medium of television**', lit. 'he produced it television-wise' would ever be expressed in the form of an explicit abs. obj., namely, *'*aḥrajaḥā 'iḥrājan tilifiziyyūniyyan* أخرجها إخراجا تلفزيونيا', lit. 'he produced it [with] a **television-type** [now an adj.] **producing**', or circ. qual. *'*aḥrajaḥā mutalfiẓan* أخرجها متلفزا', lit. 'he produced it [**as one**] **televising**', although there are no structural or lexical objections.

The semantic classification below is purely arbitrary and doubtless in many cases disputable: it certainly makes no claims that any of the adverbials are direct paraphrases of the CA dep. comps.

For completeness, demonstratives and the underived and non-nominal adverbs are also listed in each category. In the following sections the adverbial phrases are then listed, divided into indef. adverbials with dependent nouns (2.5.7) and prepositional phrases (2.5.8). For verbs expressing the manner of an action see 2.5.9, and for interrog. adverbs see 2.5.6 and 10.7–10.10.

2.5.1 Adverbials of manner, quantity and degree

(See 2.5.6 for adverbial phrases, and also 2.4.2)

'iqtiṣādiyyan اقتصاديا 'economically'

luḡawiyyan لغويا 'linguistically'

‘irāqīyyan عراقيا ‘as an Iraqi’, ‘from an Iraqi point of view’

šaḥṣīyyan شخصيا ‘personally’

‘aṣwā’iyyan عشوائيا ‘at random’

šafawīyyan شفويا ‘orally’

siyāsiyyan سياسيا ‘politically’

fi’liyyan فعليا ‘actually’ (cf. *fi’lan* فعلا ‘indeed’ above)

rasmiyyan رسميا ‘officially’

‘aqliyyan عقليا ‘rationally’

nisbiyyan نسبيا ‘relatively’

kulliyan كلياً ‘totally’

A few examples in context:

ḍarūratu l-ta’āwuni duwaliyyan

ضرورة التعاون دوليا

‘the necessity for cooperation **internationally**’

talqīnuhum madḥabiyyan

تلقينهم مذهبيا

‘their **sectarian** indoctrination’, lit. ‘the indoctrination of them **sectarianly**’

ṭabata ‘ilmiyyan

ثبت علميا

‘it has been **scientifically** proven’

2.5.2 Adverbials of time

(cf. 2.4. for loc. obj.; see 2.5.7 for phrases)

Again these examples are given with an implied syntactic function:

ḥāliyyan حاليا ‘currently’

sanawīyyan سنويا ‘annually’

yawmiyyan يوميا ‘daily’

šahriyyan شهريا ‘monthly’

‘usbū’iyyan أسبوعيا ‘weekly’

2.5.3 Adverbials of time annexed to deictics and demonstratives

Adverbials of time can be annexed to the deictics and demonstratives *‘id* إِنْ ‘this [here]’, or *ḍāka* ذاك ‘that [there]’ (see 1.8.7.2, 2.5.6):

ba'da'idin بعدئذ 'afterwards', lit. 'after this'

hīna'idin حينئذ 'then', lit. 'at the time of this'

yawma'idin يومئذ 'on that day', lit. 'on the day of this'

waqta'idin وقتئذ 'at that time', lit. 'at the time of this'

sā'ata'idin ساعتئذ 'at that moment'

'ānaḍāka آنذاك 'at that time'

'inda'idin عندئذ 'then', 'at that time'

(see 2.7.21 on the prepositional *'inda* عند 'at')

'ahda'idin عهدئذ 'at that time, in that period'

Examples in context:

wa-kāna yataraddadu 'alā tilka l-mustašfā waqta'idin

وكان يتردد على تلك المستشفى وقتئذ

'he used to frequent that hospital **at the time**'

kāna l-qalamu 'ānaḍāka ka-l-mustaḥīli

كان القلم آنذاك كالمستحيل

'**in those times** [the use of] the pen was nearly impossible'

(see 2.6.8 on *ka-* كـ 'like', 'as')

Not annexed:

tumma ثم 'then' (see 2.19.3 and 6.4)

2.5.4 Invariable time nouns

The expressions *ba'd-* بعد 'after' and *qabl-* قبل 'before' are unusual in that as adverbials they occur in the invariable forms *ba'du* بعد 'afterwards' and *qablu* قبل 'before[hand]' (an indef. *qablan* قبلاً also occurs). They cannot therefore be annexed in this form, though as prepositionals *ba'da* بعد 'after' and *qabla* قبل 'before' are always annexed (see 2.7.6, 2.7.31 respectively). However, they both occur after the prep. *min* من (see 2.6.12), without change of inflection, *min ba'du* من بعد, *min qablu* من قبل:

'aḥbarahā 'annahu tazawwaja min qablu

أخبرها أنه تزوج من قبل

'he told her he had been married **before**',

istīrāduhu min qablu استيراده من قبل 'its import **previously**'

sa-yatimmu ba'du سيتم بعد 'it will be done **later**',

sa-'arāka fī-mā ba'du سأراك فيما بعد 'I shall see you **later on**'

(see 5.7 on *fīmā ba‘du* فيما بعد, lit. ‘in what is afterwards’)

(for ‘yet’ see *lammā* لما with *ba‘du* بعد 4.2.3)

2.5.5 Adverbials of place

(cf. loc. obj. 2.4.3.2, and phrases 2.5.7)

markaziyyan مركزيا ‘centrally’

maḥalliyyan محليا ‘locally’

‘ālamīyyan عالميا ‘globally’

wa-yatimmu tajmī‘u l-sayyārati maḥalliyyan

ويتمّ تجميع السيارة محليا

‘and the car is assembled **locally**’

fa-‘innahā tuwazza‘u ‘ālamīyyan

فإنّها توزّع عالميا

‘for they [namely, films] are distributed **globally**’

Invariable nouns, demonstratives:

hunā هنا ‘here’

hunāka هناك ‘there’

tamma ثمّ ‘there’

tammata ثمّة ‘there’

(see 3.1.3.1 for these as fillers in inverted sentences)

Note *‘ilā hunāka* إلى هناك ‘to there’, ‘thither’ (see *‘ilā* إلى 2.6.7).

ḥaytu حيث (see further 7.6.9.3) followed by noun(s) in indep. case:

wa-yahlumū bi-l-‘ayši fī ‘ūrubbā ḥaytu l-‘amnu wa-l-ḥayātu l-karīmatu

و يحلم بالعيش في أوروبا حيث الأمن والحياة الكريمة

‘and he dreams of living in Europe **where there is security and a decent life**’

2.5.6 Other adverbials

Demonstratives etc.:

- *‘idān* إذّا ‘in that case’ (▷C1:42)

‘idān إذّا is an adverbial whose exact position in the sentence is unpredictable, although it tends to occur more towards the beginning because it notes a reaction or response to a previously stated proposition:

sa-naltaqī 'īdan fī l-ḥādiyata 'ašrata

سنلتقي إذا في الحادية عشرة

'so we will meet at 11 o'clock'

wa-'īdan fa-bi-'imkāninā 'an

وإذا فيإمكاننا أن

'hence it is in our capability to

'īdan wa-bi-kulli l-wuḍūḥi wa-l-ṣarāḥati najaha l-'irhābu fī qatli mawsimin siyāḥiyyin

إذا وبكلّ الوضوح والصراحة نجح الإرهاب في قتل موسم سياحي

'well then, with all clarity and frankness, terrorism succeeded in destroying a tourist season'

- *'iddāka* إَذَاكَ 'at that time, point' (ex. in ▷C3:29)

Note the phrase *'iddāka* إَذَاكَ 'at that time', lit. 'at the time of that', which incorporates both elements and is sometimes written as one word:

tumma tahda'u l-'aṣwāṭu tadrijiyyan wa-taṭaṭaṭi'u l-'anwāru kulluhā wa-'iddāka tartafī'u l-sitāratu wa-yabda'u l-'arḍu

ثم تهدأ الأصوات تدريجياً وتنطفئ الأنوار وإَذَاكَ ترتفع الستارة ويبدأ العرض

'then voices gradually become quiet, all the lights go out, and **at that point** the curtain goes up and the show begins'

- *li-dā* لَذَا 'for that [reason]', 'therefore'

li-dā lam yantazir 'ijābatan

لَذَا لم ينتظر إجابة

'for that reason he did not wait for an answer'

- *hākaḍā* هَكَذَا 'like this':

kāna wāqifan hākaḍā

كان واقفاً هَكَذَا

'he was standing like this'

hākaḍā badā lahā l-'amru

هَكَذَا بدا لها الأمر

'that is how the matter seemed to her', lit. 'like that seemed'

(see 3.17.4 on *badā* بدا 'to seem')

- *kaḍālika* كَذَلِكَ, 'thus', 'likewise', lit. 'like that' but now in addition 'also', tending to replace *'ayḍan* أَيْضاً 'also' (cf. 12.12.1)

kaḍālika rijālu l-šurṭati

كذلك رجال الشرطة

‘likewise the police’

tadribuhum bi-l-ḥāriji wa-kaḍālika maḥalliyyan

تدريبهم بالخارج وكذلك محلياً

‘their training abroad and **also** locally’

- *kaḍā* ‘likewise’:

wa-kaḍā ḡayru l-muslimi

وكذا غير المسلم

‘likewise the non-Muslim’

- *faqat* ‘only’ (see 3.30.3; for use with negs. see 4.9)

idfa ‘ū li-ḥāmilihi ḥamsīna junayhan faqat

ادفعوا لحامله خمسين جنيها فقط

‘pay its bearer fifty pounds **only**’

- *fa-ḥasbu* ‘only’. Invariable (see 4.9 in neg. sentences):

‘alayhi ‘an yaḥfiya bi-wa’dihi fa-ḥasbu

عليه أن يفي بوعده فحسب

‘he has to fulfil his promise and **that is all**’

See also *qaṭṭu* قط ‘[not] at all’ and *al-battata* البتة ‘[not] at all’ as pure neg. reinforcing adverbials, 4.2.7.

For interrogatives *kam* كم, *kayfa* كيف, *matā* متى, ‘ayna أين etc., see 10.7–10.10 for syntax.

2.5.7 Adverbial phrases: dep. nouns

MWA preserves the CA usage of dep. indef. verbal nouns as a loose type of qual. (e.g., circ. qual., abs. obj.), e.g. *ḡaṣban ‘an* غصبا عن ‘in spite of’, where the noun retains the prep. of its underlying verb. In MWA, however, perhaps in response to the wide range of conjunctions and connectors in the Western languages, this construction has been greatly extended.

Some of these also occur in the form of prepositional phrases or annexation units. Here only those which occur exclusively as dep. indef. nouns are listed, and the others are grouped together in 2.5.8 if they have only prepositional phrase alternants. If they have all three forms they are treated as variants of prepositionals in 2.7.

For further functions, see 7.5.1.11 and 11.1.2

- *badalan min* بدلا من ‘instead of’, lit. ‘as a substitute for’:
fī yawmin wāḥidin badalan min sab‘ati ‘ayyāmin
 في يوم واحد بدلا من سبعة أيام
 ‘in one day **instead of** seven’
badalan min-a l-‘igḏāqi ‘alā ṣunūfi l-biḏā‘ati l-raḥīṣati
 بدلا من الإغداق على صنوف البضاعة الرخيصة
 ‘**instead of** showering [resources] on [all] kinds of cheap goods’
- *binā‘an ‘alā* بناء على ‘based on’:
binā‘an ‘alā tawṣiyatin min-a l-lajnati l-tanfiḏiyyati
 بناء على توصية من اللجنة التنفيذية
 ‘**based on** a recommendation from the Executive Committee’
- *faḍlan ‘an* فضلا عن ‘not to mention’:
faḍlan ‘an ‘aqdi ‘adadin min-a l-ittifāqiyyāti
 فضلا عن عقد عدد من الاتفاقيات
 ‘**not to mention** the concluding of a number of agreements’
faḍlan ‘an ta’kīdihā li-ta’yīdi stimrāri ‘amaliyyati l-salāmi
 فضلا عن تأكيدها لتأييد استمرار عملية السلام
 ‘**not to mention** her confirmation that she would support the continuation of the peace process’
- *‘ibāratan ‘an* عبارة عن ‘[regarded] as’, ‘in the form of’ (cf. *i’tibār* اعتبار 2.5.8.5):
‘ibāratan ‘an ku’ūsīn wa-hadāyā ‘ayniyyatin
 عبارة عن كؤوس وهدايا عينية
 ‘**in the form of** tumblers and material gifts’
- *‘iḏāfatan ‘ilā* إضافة إلى ‘in addition to’ (see 2.5.6.5)
- *inṭilāqan min* انطلاقا من ‘starting from’:
inṭilāqan min ḥirṣihi ‘alā tafāḏi l-tanāquḏāti l-‘aydiyūlūjiyyati
 انطلاقا من حرصه على تفادي التناقضات الأيديولوجية
 ‘**starting from** his desire to avoid ideological contradictions’

- *ittifāqan ma'a* اتفاقا مع 'in agreement with':
wa-ttifāqan ma'a raḡbatihī fī 'ibqā' i l-'alāqāti l-wuddiyyati
 واتفاقا مع رغبته في إبقاء العلاقات الودية
 'and in agreement with his desire to keep cordial relations'
 - *nāhika* 'an ناهيك عن 'not to mention', 'to say nothing of' is not strictly indef. but is included here because it functions exactly as *faḍlan* 'an فضلا عن 'not to mention' etc.:
nāhika 'an mu'tamari l-'aqqalliyyāti wa-l-mutaṭarrifina
 ناهيك عن مؤتمر الأقليات والمتطرفين
 'not to speak of the Minorities Conference and the extremists'
nāhika 'an-i ftiqādihi 'ilā tanzīmin siyāsiyyin yataḥammalu l-mas'ūliyyata fī ḡiyābihi
 ناهيك عن افتقاده إلى تنظيم سياسي يتحمل المسؤولية في غيابه
 'to say nothing of his need for a political system which will bear the responsibility in his absence'
 - *naẓaran li-* نظرا لـ 'in respect of', 'in view of'
naẓaran li-'adami wujūdi marāfiqa fī hādīhi l-minṭaqati
 نظرا لعدم وجود مرافق في هذه المنطقة
 'in view of the lack of facilities in this region'
 (cf. 12.6 on 'adam عدم 'non-existence, lack')
naẓaran li-dawri l-maktabati fī l-mujtama'i l-madrasīyi
 نظرا لدور المكتبة في المجتمع المدرسي
 'in view of the role of the library in school society'
 - *niyābatan* 'an نيابة عن 'in lieu of':
wa-qāma wazīru l-ḥārījīyyati niyābatan 'an-i l-ra'īsi bi-stiqbāli l-sufarā'i l-jududi
 وقام وزير الخارجية نيابة عن الرئيس باستقبال السفراء الجدد
 'and the Minister of Foreign Affairs undertook on behalf of the president to receive the new ambassadors'
 - *taba'an li-* تبعا لـ 'according to':
taba'an li-mā jā'at bihi 'awāmiruhu
 تبعا لما جاءت به أوامره
 'according to what his orders brought'
- (see 3.11.4.1 for 'to bring')

- *ṭibqan li-* طبقاً لـ (see 2.7.39) ‘in accordance with’

wa-yatimmu tawzī‘u l-ṣuqāqī ṭibqan li-l-ṣurūṭi l-mu‘lani ‘anhā
 ويتم توزيع أوزج الشقق طبقاً للشروط المعلن عنها
 ‘and the flats are distributed **in accordance with** the advertised conditions’

(see impersonal pass. 3.12.4, and *tamma* تمّ 3.23.1)

2.5.8 Adverbial phrases: prepositional phrases

(▷C2:81, 253 for general treatment)

In addition to the expansion of the *nisba* نسبة type adverb(ial), there are many prepositional phrases with adverbial function. The class is completely open and only a selection of examples will be given here. The phrases occur in various patterns.

2.5.8.1 *bi-* بـ ‘in’, ‘with’ (see 2.6.4) + verbal or other nouns (▷C2:306)

The noun may be either def. (generic, see 1.12.3.1) or indef. (often so with verbal nouns, see 1.12.4.2):

bi-l-taḥdīdi بالتحديد ‘exactly’

bi-l-ta’kīdi بالتأكيد ‘certainly’

bi-l-dāt بالذات (see 2.8.3.3) ‘none other than’, ‘itself’

bi-l-ṣudfati بالصدفة (cf. *ṣudfatan* صدفة) ‘coincidentally’

bi-l-kāmili بالكامل ‘completely’

bi-l-ṭab‘i بالطبع ‘of course’

bi-ḥāṣṣatin بخاصّة ‘especially’

bi-darajatin kabīratin بدرجة كبيرة ‘to a large degree’

bi-ḥtiṣarin باختصار ‘briefly’

Example in context:

kuntu ‘aḥmilu ḥādā l-mujallada bi-l-taḥdīdi

كنت أحمل هذا المجلد بالتحديد

‘I was carrying **exactly** that volume’

2.5.8.2 *bi-* بـ + vague noun such as ‘form’, ‘shape’+ adj.

A wide range of adverbial expressions is rendered by *bi-ṣaklin* بشكل ‘in a ... form, way’ *bi-ṣūratin* بصورة, ‘in a ... form’ *bi-ṣifatin* بصفة, ‘in a ... mode, capacity’ qualified by the appropriate adj., easily translatable into the equivalent English

adverb or adv. phrase, thus *bi-šaklin wādīhin* بوضوح بشكل ‘clearly’, lit. ‘in a clear way’ *bi-šaklin ḥāsīmīn* بحاسم بشكل ‘decisively’, lit. ‘in a decisive way’.

This is an open class. Other examples are:

bi-šaklin ‘āmmīn عام بشكل ‘generally’, *ḥāṣṣīn* خاص بشكل ‘specifically’, *fa‘ālīn* فعال بشكل ‘effectively’, *mubāšīrīn* مباشر بشكل ‘directly’, *mutazāyīdīn* متزايد بشكل ‘increasingly’, etc., although these and many other adjs also go with the variants listed below.

The neg. of this construction is formed with *ḡayr* غير (see 2.9.2.3), e.g. *bi-šaklin ḡayrī ‘ādiyyīn* بشكل غير عادي ‘in an unusual fashion’, ‘unusually’.

An expanded variant with adj. (rel.) clause (see Chapter 5):

bi-šaklin yafūqu si‘ra l-fā‘idati l-naqdiyyi

بشكل يفوق سعر الفائدة النقدي

‘in a way which exceeds [namely, “exceeding”] the cash interest value’

bi-šaklin yafḍaḥu bihi nafsahu

بشكل يفضح به نفسه

‘in a way which shamed even him’ (cf. 3.13.1 for reflexives)

bi-šaklin lā yūḥī bi-‘unūṭatiḥā

بشكل لا يوحى بأنوثتها

‘in a way which does not reveal her femininity’

With the various periphrastic indef. constructions (1.12.4.1):

bi-šaklin mā بشكل ما ‘in some form or other’

bi-‘ayyi šaklin min-a l-‘aškālī بأي شكل من الأشكال ‘in any shape or form’

The following variants are listed without subcategories, though they mostly follow the pattern of *bi-šaklin* بشكل:

bi-šūratīn بصورة ‘in a ... form’

bi-šūratīn dā‘imatīn بصورة دائمة ‘permanently’

bi-šūratīn ‘akbara بصورة أكبر ‘in a greater way’, i.e. ‘more’

(see relative 2.11.1)

bi-šūratīn lam yatawaqqa‘hā ‘aḡlabu l-muntaḥibīna

بصورة لم يتوقعها أغلب المنتخبين

‘in a way which the majority of the voters did not expect’ (see Chapter 5)

bi-šifatin بصفة ‘in a ... mode, capacity’, in the latter sense as 1st element of annexation and usually with spec. comp. (see 2.4.4)

bi-šifatin ḥāṣṣatin

بصفة خاصة

‘specifically’

bi-ṣifatihi tālīta l-ḥulafā'i l-rāšidīna

بصفته ثالث الخلفاء الراشدين

'in his capacity as **third** of the Rightly Guided Caliphs'

bi-ṣifatihi min-a l-šaḥṣiyyāti l-qibṭiyyati l-ma'rūfati

بصفته من الشخصيات القبطية المعروفة

'in his capacity **as one of** the well-known Coptic personalities'

(note partitive *min* من '[one] of' 2.6.12)

bi-waṣfi بوصف synonym of *bi-ṣifati* بصفة 'in the quality of', also often with spec. comp., 2.4.4:

bi-waṣfihi muwāṭinān miṣriyyan

بوصفه مواطنا مصرية

'in his capacity **as an Egyptian citizen**'

bi-waṣfi kawnihā 'āḥira 'a 'mālihi

بوصف كونها آخر أعماله

'by virtue **of its being his last work**'

(see *kawn* 3.16.2)

Further examples:

bi-tarīqatin بطريقة 'in a ... way'

bi-tarīqatin dīmūqrāṭiyyatin بطريقة ديمقراطية 'in a **democratic** way'

bi-wajhin بوجه 'in a ... manner'

bi-wajhin 'āmin بوجه عام 'in a **general** way', 'generally'

bi-'uslūbin بأسلوب 'in a ... style', def. or indef., also annexed

bi-'uslūbin mubāširin بأسلوب مباشر 'in a **direct** way'

bi-'uslūbi l-jazzāri

أسلوب الجزار

'in the manner **of a butcher**', lit. 'the butcher'

2.5.8.3 There are many other prepositional phrases of which the following is only a selection (cf. also under the individual preps. in 2.6):

fī l-wāqi'i في الواقع 'in fact'

'alā ḥaddin sawā'in على حدّ سواء 'equally'

li-l-'asafī للأسف 'regrettably'

2.5.8.4 Time phrases (see ‘times’ in 2.14.5)

min ḥīnin ‘ilā ḥīnin من حين إلى حين ‘from time to time’

min ḥīnin ‘ilā/li ‘āḥara من حين إلى\آخر ‘from time to time’

bayna l-ḥīni wa-l-ḥīni بين الحين والحين ‘once in a while’

fī ba‘ḍi l-‘aḥyāni في بعض الأحيان ‘sometimes’,

fī naḥsi l-waḥti في نفس الوقت ‘at the same time’ (see *naḥs* 2.8.1)

fī l-waḥti naḥsihi في الوقت نفسه ‘at the same time’

fī l-waḥti l-ḥāliyyi في الوقت الحالي ‘at the present time’

fī ‘ānin wāḥidin في آن واحد ‘at the same time’

fī sāliḥi l-zamāni في سالف الزمن ‘in former times’

bayna l-faynati wa-l-‘uḥrā بين الفينة والأخرى ‘once in a while’

fī faṭratin mā في فترة ما ‘at one time or another’, lit. ‘period’ (see 5.6.3)

2.5.8.5 A group based on the word *i‘tibār* ‘consideration’ occurs in several forms, which will give an idea of the complex developments in conjunctive and adverbial phrases:

Dep. indef. (cf. 2.5.7) *i‘tibāran min* من اعتبارا:

i‘tibāran min ba‘ḍi ḡadin

اعتبارا من بعد غد

‘with effect from the day after tomorrow’

i‘tibāran min 21 al-ṣahriyya l-ḥāliyyia

اعتبارا من ٢١ الشهر الحالي

‘effective from the 21st of this month’

Prepositional phrase *bi-‘tibāri-* باعتبار either annexed to a single notion:

bi-‘tibārihi ḍaḥiyyatan باعتباره ضحية ‘by virtue of his being a victim’

or to a statement (see 3.11.2.4 on verbs which take statements as double objs.):

bi-‘tibārihi ḥiṣnan li-l-difā‘i ‘an ḥurriyyatihim

باعتباره حصنا للدفاع عن حريتهم

‘by virtue of its being [topic as dep. pronoun suffix] a fortress [pred. as dep.] for the defence of their freedom’

Prepositional phrase *‘alā ‘tibāri* على اعتبار ‘on the consideration that’, usually annexed to statements (cf. 7.5.2.9):

'alā 'tibāri 'annahum ḍuyūfun

على اعتبار أنهم ضيوف

'on the consideration that they are guests'

'iḍāfatan 'ilā [dālika] [ذلك] إضافة إلى

kānat taṭlubu min samīra 'iḍāfatan 'ilā 'amali l-manzili 'an tusā'idahā fī tanẓifī l-ḥadīqati

كانت تطلب من سميرة إضافة إلى عمل المنزل أن تساعد في تنظيف الحديقة

'she would ask of Samira that she help her clean the garden **in addition to** [doing] the housework'

2.5.9

The CA construction using (mainly) stem IV verbs (1.9.0.2) to express the manner of an action (the latter expressed as the verbal noun in the position of dir. or indir. obj.) is still productive, see further 3.23.4. They invariably translate best as adverbs or as transferred epithets:

'aḥsana taḥdīda l-ma'nā, wa-'ajāda taḥrīra l-jumali, wa-'abda'a fī l-ṣiyāḡati

أحسن تحديد المعنى، وأجاد تحرير الجمل، وأبدع في الصياغة

'he defined the topic **excellently**, constructed the sentences **well** and used an **eloquent** style', lit. 'he did well the defining ... he did excellently the constructing ... he acted eloquently in the style'

2.6 PREPOSITIONS (▷C2:253 for general treatment).

These are elements that correspond to the the class of true prepositions and also overlap the many phrasal prepositions in English such as 'at the back of', 'in front of'. The latter are all nominal in Arabic and will henceforth be labelled prepositionals to keep them separate from the true prepositions.

The distinction between the prepositions listed in 2.6.2 to 2.6.13 and the prepositionals listed in 2.7 is now hopelessly confused in the secondary literature, and the radical formal and functional differences between the two almost totally obscured. Formally, prepositions are underived elements (synchronically at least they lie outside the derivational system, cf. 1.6.12), hence their Arabic name *ḥurūf al-jarr* حروف الجر 'particles of obliqueness', while all prepositionals are nouns, in Arabic *ṣurūf* ظروف 'space and time qualifiers' (see 2.4.3). Prepositions have only one function, while prepositionals also function as adverbials (see 2.5), as well as (mostly) retaining their original noun status in other contexts. Hence prepositionals may, like nouns (in principle, though seldom), be def., e.g. *al-'amāmu* الأمام 'the front', indef. e.g. *'amāman sir* أماما سر 'Forward march!', diminutive (1.8.1.2), e.g. *bu'ayda* بُعِيدَ 'a little after' or be operated on by

prepositions (but never by other prepositionals), e.g. 'ilā l-'amāmi إلى الأمام 'to the front'.

In addition to the obvious formal differences there is a major distributional/semantic distinction: only true prepositions can connect verbs with their indirect objs. (cf. 3.11.4), while prepositionals merely denote the environment in which the act occurs.

2.6.1 Prepositions

Prepositions, as their Arabic name indicates, are particles that precede the noun. Nouns following prepositions always take the oblique case. Individual prepositions are dealt with in 2.6.2-13. Here are some general syntactic features common to them all.

2.6.1.1 When a prep. operates upon two or more nouns the repetition of the prep. is optional so long as there is no structural nor semantic reason for its being repeated (▷C2:256).

Repetition of prep. with noun:

bi-l-nisbati li-l-niqābati wa-li-l-mihnati
 بالنسبة للنقابة وللمهنة
 'with regard **to** the guild and **to** the profession'

bi-šaklayhi 'aw bi-maḍmūnayhi
 بشكليّه أو بمضمونيّه
 'in its two forms or [in its] two contents'

Non-repetition with noun:

'iḍafatan 'ilā mašrū'in li-'ihlāli l-mustašfā l-kuwaytiyyi bi-l-šāriqati
wa-bīnā'i mustašfan jadīdin wa-l-tawassu'i fī mustašfā l-qāsimiyyi
 إضافة إلى مشروع لإحلال المستشفى الكويتي بالشارقة وبناء مستشفى جديد والتوسع في
 مستشفى القاسمي
 'as well as a project **for** relocating the Kuwaiti hospital in Sharjah and
building a new hospital and **expanding** the Qasimi hospital'

Repetition of the prep. is compulsory when the coordinated item is a pronoun, as there are no free obl. pronouns (see 11.7.1):

taqḍī 'alaynā wa-'alayhā
 تقضي علينا وعليها
 '(which would) condemn **us** and **it**'

It is also common when the the prep. conveys a different sense:

hiya ... al-muḥāmiyatu **bi**-l-dustūriyyati wa-**bi**-maḥkamati l-tamyīzi
 هي...المحامية بالدستورية و بمحكمة التمييز
 'she is ..., the lawyer **of** constitutionality and **in** the court of appeal'

2.6.1.2 Preps. with intransitive verbs (see **3.11.4**) are often omitted, though there is no discernible principle involved (▷C2:261):

rāḡibu l-ištirāk راغب الاشتراك '(the one) desiring subscription'
 (for al-rāḡibu **fī** الراغب في)

Prepositions are also often omitted after *lā budda* لا بد , *lā šakka* لا شك , *lā ḥaraja* لا حرج (see **7.5.1.6** and **7.5.1.7**) (▷C2:261 and cf. 226, again in ▷C3:145).

Individual preps are listed below in English alphabetical order of transliteration, ignoring diacriticals. The meanings of a prep. can be classified into three: the basic, literal meaning; extensions of the literal meaning; and metaphorical meanings. In each section there will also be examples of compound prepositional phrases. Although the groupings here are based essentially on lexical rather than syntactic distinctions, this type of information is not found in such readily classifiable groups in Arabic dictionaries, and is provided here as a useful source of reference.

2.6.2 'a/ā على (▷C2:321) 'on', 'over', 'above'

- 'over', 'on', 'above':

wa-'**alā** jānibay-i l-nīli fayḍun min-a l-ḍajīji
 و على جانبي النيل فيض من الضجيج
 'and **on** both sides of the Nile (was) an abundance of noise'
 'alqat ra'sahā '**alā** l-sarīri
 ألقت رأسها على السرير
 'she threw her head **upon** the bed'
 wa-'**alā** qasamātihā btisāmatun malā'ikiyyatun
 وعلى قسماتها ابتساماة ملائكية
 'and **on** the features of her face (was) an angelic smile'

(cf. inverted nom. sentence **3.1.3**):

wajadtu mīrāy tajlisu '**alā** maq'adīn bi-l-qurbi minnī
 وجدت ميراي تجلس على مقعد بالقرب مني
 'I found Miray sitting **on** a seat near me'

- Obligation (▷C2:326) (cf. 'must' in **3.15.2**):

'alaynā 'an na'īya hādā
 علينا أن نعي هذا

‘we must be aware of this’

‘alā l-nisā’i ‘an yanalna l-’i jāba

على النساء أن ينلن الإعجاب

‘women have to win admiration’

Antonym of *li-* لـ ‘for’ etc (see 2.6.10.) (▷C2:325) as in *ḥaqqā ‘alā* حقّ على ‘to deserve something (bad)’ and *ḥaqqā li-* لـ حقّ ‘to be entitled to’.

- Extended obligation, i.e., bearing a sense of burden:

ḥaytu nazalū jamī ‘an fī funduqin ‘alā nafaqati [l-dawlati]

حيث نزلوا جميعا في فندق على نفقة [الدولة]

‘where they all stayed in a hotel at the expense of [the state]’

wa-sa-yatimmu ‘iṣlāḥu l-wujūdi ‘alā yadayhi

وسيتّم إصلاح الوجود على يديه

‘putting the universe right will be carried out at his hands’

- Circumstances, states or conditions (▷C2:328):

li-daf‘inā ‘ilā mā kunnā ‘alayhi

لدفعنا إلى ما كنّا عليه

‘to push us towards where we were’

ḥattā lā tasū ‘a ḥālātu l-farīqi ‘aktāra mimma hiya ‘alayhi

حتّى لا تسوء حالة الفريق أكثر ممّا هي عليه

‘so that the state of the team should not get worse than it is’

‘id ‘anā ‘alā tilka l-ḥālāti min-a l-ka’ābati

إذّ أنا على تلك الحالة من الكآبة

‘since I was in that state of gloom’

This category includes adversative phrases (▷C2:330) (see 7.3.2 for adversatives in circ qual. clauses):

‘alā ḥtilāfi ‘anwā ‘ihā

على اختلاف أنواعها

‘with all its different kinds’

- Location:

‘atnā ‘a julūsihi ‘alā maqhan

أثناء جلوسه على مقهى

‘whilst he was sitting in a coffee house’

- Direction (esp. verbs like *daḥala* دخل ‘to enter’):

wa-daḥaltu ‘alā l-ṭabībī wa-qultu lahu bi-dūni muqaddimātīn

و دخلت على الطبيب و قلت له بدون مقدمات

‘I went **into** the doctor and said to him without preliminaries’

- Temporal:

hal ḥadaṭa ḍālika kulluhu ‘alā madā ḥamsatin wa-‘iṣrīna ‘āman?

هل حدث ذلك كله على مدى خمسة و عشرين عاما

‘did all of that occur **over a period of** twenty-five years?’

- With many phrases (see also 2.5.8.3) of the which the following are just a few examples:

‘alā l-aqalli على الأقل ‘at least’

‘alā l-naḥwi l-tālī على النحو التالي ‘in the following manner’

‘alā ḥaddi ta-‘bīrihi على حدّ تعبيره ‘according to what he expressed’

‘alā l-‘iṭlāqi على الإطلاق ‘totally’

- Prep. + noun as compound:

‘alā ‘itri على إثر ‘following’ (see *‘itra* إثر 2.7.22)

‘alā ‘asāsi على أساس ‘on the basis of’

‘alā ‘asāsi l-mušāarakati fi l-qiyami على أساس المشاركة في القيم
‘on the basis of sharing values’

‘alā niṭāqi على نطاق (cf. *fi niṭāq* في نطاق 2.6.5) ‘on the scale of’

‘alā niṭāqi nisfi qarnin على نطاق نصف قرن ‘on a scale of half a century’

‘alā niṭāqin wāsi ‘in على نطاق واسع ‘on a wide scale’

‘alā sabīli على سبيل ‘by way of’

‘alā sabīli l-miṭāl على سبيل المثال ‘by way of example’

For *‘alā* على with the complementizer *‘anna* أن, see 7.5.2.11; also ▷C2:331)

2.6.3 ‘an عن (▷C2:276) ‘about’, ‘away from’, ‘on (topic)’

- ‘about’, ‘on the subject of’:

hādā ‘an ‘alāqati l-ṣurṭati bi-l-quwā l-kubrā fi l-mujtama‘i

هذا عن علاقة الشرطة بالقوى الكبرى في المجتمع

‘this was (all) **about** relations between the police force and the major powers in society’

- With verbs in the sense of resistance:

fī sabīli l-difā'i 'an karāmatihim
 في سبيل الدفاع عن كرامتهم
 'in order **to defend** their honour'

- or surpassing:

fa-lā yatamayyazūna bi-šay'in 'an 'awlādi l-fuqarā'i
 فلا يتميِّزون بشيء عن أولاد الفقراء
 'they are in no way **distinguishable from** the children of the poor'
wa-lā yazīdu jamāluhā 'an darajatin maqbūlatin
 ولا يزيد جمالها عن درجة مقبولة
 'her beauty **does not exceed** an acceptable degree'

(for 'an with superlatives/comparatives see 2.11.2.1)

- or ceasing, refraining:

lam yakun hunāka sti 'dādun li-l-tanāzuli 'an-i l-jawdati
 لم يكن هناك استعداد للتنازل عن الجودة
 'there was no readiness to **compromise on** quality'
ibta'adat 'an dawwāmati al-'aḍābi
 ابتعدت عن دوامة العذاب
 'she **distanced herself from** the vortex of pain'
yajibu 'alā l-ṣā'imi 'an yamtani'a 'an-i l-tadhīni
 يجب على الصائم أن يمتنع عن التدخين
 'the fasting person must **refrain from** smoking'

Miscellaneous phrases

- 'an ṭarīq 'via':

'an ṭarīqi l-ṣabakati l-qawmiyyati
 عن طريق الشبكة القومية
 'via the national network'
'an ṭarīqi mu'āwini l-sintrāl
 عن طريق معاون السنترال
 'via the telephone operator'

'an عن + mā ما / man مَن

Combinations of 'an عن + mā ما / man مَن sometimes contract into 'ammā عمّا or 'amman عمّن respectively (▷C2:256; 5.7):

wa-lam yasma'ū 'amman yas'alu 'anhum

و لم يسمعوا عمن يسأل عنهم

'they did not hear **about (anyone)** asking after them'

But contraction is optional:

'an mā qarībin taftaḥu l-madārisu 'abwābahā

عن ما قريب تفتح المدارس أبوابها

'**soon** schools will be opening their doors'

2.6.4 *bi-* ب (▷C2:298) 'in', 'at', 'with', 'by'

- Loc. with sense of 'in', 'at', 'within' (cf. *fī* في 2.6.5):

bi-madrasati l-ṣabāḥiyyati l-tānawīyyati

بمدرسة الصباحية الثانوية

'**at** the al-Sabah secondary school'

al-maktabu llaḍi ya'malu bihi

المكتب الذي يعمل به

'the office he works **in**'

bi-kāfītiriyā l-funduqi l-kabiri

بكافتيريا الفندق الكبير

'**in** the cafeteria of the large hotel'

safīru dawlati l-kuwayti bi-l-qāhirati

سفير دولة الكويت بالقاهرة

'the Kuwaiti ambassador **in** Cairo'

- Can be interchanged with *fī* في 'in', see 2.6.5 (C 2:299; 309):

bi-minṭaqatin rāqiyatin 'aw fī minṭaqatin ša'biyyatin

بمنطقة راقية أو في منطقة شعبية

'**in** a developed region or **in** an ethnic region'

- Accompaniment (▷C2:301):

bi-ṣuḥḥati zawjī

بصحبة زوجي

'**in** the company of my husband'

bi- 'azmin wa-tiqatin

بعزم وثقة

'with determination and confidence'

bi-ri 'āyati muḥammad bin rāšid

برعاية محمد بن راشد

'under the supervision of Mohammed bin Rashed'

tanahhadtu *bi-*'asan 'amīqin

تنهّدت بأسى عميق

'I sighed with deep sorrow'

For idiomatic *bi-* ب with the verbs *jā'a* جاء and '*atā* أتى 'to come', *dahaba* ذهب 'to go' for 'bring' and 'take', see 3.11.4.1:

'*atat* 'ilaynā *bi-labanin wa-zabādī wa-jubnin wa-bayḍin wa-'ašīrin*

أتت إلينا بلبن و زبادي و جبن و بيض و عصير

'she brought us milk, yoghurt, cheese eggs and juice'

- Instrument (▷C2:303), 'with':

bi-kulli ṭāqatihi بكلّ طاقته 'with all his strength'

bi-yadin murta 'iṣṭatin بيد مرتعشة 'with a shaking hand'

masaḥat jabīnī bihā

مسحت جبيني بها

'she wiped my forehead with it'

- Quantity/time expressions (cf. *fi* في 'in' 2.6.5) (▷C2:306) (see numbers, etc. 2.12):

kuntu 'usāhimu fī mizāniyyati l-'usrati *bi-sab* 'ati junayhātīn

كنت أساهم في ميزانية الأسرة بسبعة جنيهات

'I used to contribute seven pounds to the family budget', lit. 'with seven pounds',

iṣṭarāhā bi-ḥamsīna dūlāran

اشتراها بخمسين دولارا

'he bought it for fifty dollars'

bi-ḥulūli l-'āmi l-jadīdi

بحلول العام الجديد

'at the beginning of the new year'

bi-dāti l-waqtī

بذات الوقت

'at the same time'

qabla ḥulūli tilka l-laḥẓati bi-'asābī'a

قبل حلول تلك اللحظة بأسابيع

'weeks before the arrival of that moment, lit. 'before ... **by weeks**'

šaḡīqatuhā llatī takburuhā bi-'a'wāmin qaṭṭālin

شقيقتها التي تكبرها بأعوام قليلة

'her sister, who was **a few years** older than her'

fīmā ba'du bi-kaṭīrin

فيما بعد بكثير

'much later', lit. 'in what was later **by much**'

- For *bi-lā* بلا 'without' as compound prep. (▷C2:308), only with indef. nouns (see 4.1.6):

bi-lā manhajin 'aw ḥuṭṭatin muktafiyatin

بلا منهج أو خطة مكتفية

'**without** a programme or an adequate plan'

- Phrases and prep. + noun compounds with *bi-* بـ (▷C2:306) (for other *bi-* بـ phrases see, for instance, *bi-naḥsi* بنفس 2.8.1.3, *bi-'aynihi* بعينه 2.8.2.2, *bi-'akmalīhi* بأكمله 2.9.1.10, *bi-* بـ with *laysa* ليس 4.2.8.1, *ka'anna bi-* كأن بـ 5.9.9.4, *'idha bi-* إذا بـ 3.31.1, and *bi-* بـ in adverbial phrases, 2.5.6):

bi-jīwārī بجوار 'in the vicinity of' (see 2.7.25)

bi-ḥasabī بحسب 'according to' (see *ḥasaba* حسب 2.7.16)

bi-ḥuṣūṣī بخصوص 'concerning'

bi-ḥuṣūṣī l-muṣādarātī بخصوص المصادرات '**concerning** the confiscations'

bi-sababī بسبب 'by cause of'

bi-sababī jahlihi 'aw ta'aṣṣubīhi

بسبب جهله أو تعصبه

'**because of** his ignorance or fanaticism'

bi-sababī wuṣūlihi mubāṣaratan min dubayy#

بسبب وصوله مباشرة من دبي

'**because of** his arrival directly from Dubai'

bi-ḥilāfi بخلاف 'besides, contrary to' (see 2.7.18)

bi-ša'ni بشأن 'in the matter of', 'concerning'

bi-ša'ni ḥarbi l-ḥalījī

بشأن حرب الخليج

'**in the matter of** the Gulf war'

bi-l-qurbi min بالقرب من 'near' (see *qurābata* قرابة, etc. 2.7.32)

bi-l-nisbati li بالنسبة لـ 'with regard to' (see 11.1)

bi-l-nisbati li-mawqifi l-muraššahayni

بالنسبة لموقف المرشحين

'with regard to the position of the two candidates'

bi-l-nisbati li-l-duwali l-mujāwirati

بالنسبة للدول المجاورة

'in relation to the neighbouring states'

bi-qaṭ'i l-naẓari 'an النظر عن بقطع 'irrespective of' lit. 'by cutting off the gaze from'

bi-qaṭ'i l-naẓari 'an lawnihi 'aw dīnihi 'aw jinsihi

بقطع النظر عن لونه أو دينه أو جنسه

'irrespective of his colour, religion or race'

bi-ṣarfi l-naẓari 'an بصرف النظر عن 'regardless of', lit. 'by averting the gaze from'

bi-ṣarfi l-naẓari 'an-i l-nuqūdi llātī 'indaka lī

بصرف النظر عن النقود التي عندك لي

'regardless of the money you owe me' (see *li-* لـ 2.6.10 and 'alā على 2.6.2 idioms for owing, and)

bi-ḡaḍḍi l-naẓari 'an بغض النظر عن 'without taking into account', lit. 'by lowering the gaze from'

bi-ḡaḍḍi l-naẓari 'an madā ṣiḥḥatihi

بغض النظر عن مدى صحته

'without taking into consideration the extent of its authenticity',

2.6.5 *fī* (▷C2:309) 'in', 'within', 'into'

fī stiftā'in 'ajrathu l-jam'iyyatu l-'amrikiyyatu li-l-mutaqā'idīna

في استفتاء أجرته الجمعية الأمريكية للمتقاعدين

'in a poll carried out by the American Society for Retirees'

tajūlu 'aynāya *fī* 'arjā'i l-makāni

تجول عينايا في أرجاء المكان

'my eyes wandering **all over** the place'

fī muḥītin min-a l-fasādi

في محيط من الفساد

'in an ocean of corruption'

irmihi fī l-ḥabsi

إرمه في الحبس

‘throw him **into** prison’

wa-ka’annahu maṭmūrun fī ’asrāri l-rimāli

و كأنّه مغمور في أسرار الرمال

‘as though he were buried **in** the secrets of the sand’

(see *wa-ka’anna* و كأنّ, 5.9.9.5)

- *fī* في and *bi-* بـ, overlap (see under *bi-* بـ 2.6.4; also ▷C2:298):

quwwātu ḥilfi šamāli l-’aṭlasiyyi fī kūṣūfū

قوّات حلف شمال الأطلسي في كوسوفو

‘the North Atlantic Treaty forces **in** Kosovo’

al-taḥawwulu l-dīmuqrāiyyu fī ’indūnīsyā

التحوّل الديمقراطي في إندونيسيا

‘the democratic transformation **in** Indonesia’

mubtasiman fī ḥayā’in wa-’adabin

مبتسما في حياء و أدب

‘smiling **in** shyness and politeness’ (see 7.3.1)

- with sense of ‘at’:

fī jāmi’ati hārfard في جامعة هارفارد **at** Harvard University’

- هذا الصدد *hāḍā l-ṣadadi* / بمجال *bi-majāli* في *fī*:

fī majāli l-difā ‘**in** the field of defence’

and *bi-majāli l-ṣaḥāfati* ‘**in** the field of journalism’

fī hāḍā l-ṣadadi / في هذا الصدد

bi-hāḍā l-ṣadadi ‘**in** this connection’

- Time (2.14.6, 2.14.7):

fī mustahilli jawlatin ’ūrūbiyyatin ḥalījiyyatin

في مستهلّ جولة أوروبية خليجية

‘**at** the beginning of a European-Gulf tour’

fī ’āmi sittatin wa-sittina

في عام ستّة و ستّين

‘**in** the year of 66’

- Proportion and multiplication (see 2.12):

yā sayyidī talāta# fī talāta# tusāwī tis 'a# ... kānat kaḍālika fī-l-māḍī wa-sa-taẓallu

يا سيدي ثلاثة في ثلاثة تساوي تسعة ... كانت كذلك في الماضي و ستظل
'my friend, three **times** three equals nine ... it was like that in the past and it will remain so'

- 'about', 'on', 'in' (contrast 'an عن 2.6.3):

līsāns fī jarāḥati ṭibbi l-'asnāni

ليسانس في جراحة طب الأسنان
'a diploma **in** dental surgery'

- Prep. + noun as compound:

fī 'atnā' i في أثناء 'during' (see 'atnā' أثناء 2.7.5)

fī ḥālātī في حالة 'in the case that', 'in the event that' (i.e., should ...)

fī ḥālātī wujūdi ḥaṭarin

في حالة وجود خطر
'should [lit. "in the case that"] any danger exist'

fī ḥālātī wujūdi ḥaẓrin 'alā bay 'i l-sayyārātī

في حالة وجود حظر على بيع السيارات
'should there be an embargo on the selling of cars', lit. 'in the case of the existence of'

fī ḥudūdi في حدود 'within'

fī ḥudūdi 3 šuhūrin في حدود 3 شهور 'within 3 months'

fī 'iṭāri في إطار 'in the framework of'

fī 'iṭāri ḥirṣi l-ra'isi

في إطار حرص الرئيس
'in the framework of the president's eagerness'

fī 'iṭari bay 'i kulli mā huwa ḥukūmiyyun wa-qīṭā 'un 'āmmun

في إطار بيع كل ما هو حكومي وقطاع عام
'in the framework of selling everything that is governmental or public sector'

fī ḥilālī في خلال 'during' (see ḥilāla خلال 2.7.19)

fī ḥuṣūṣi في خصوص 'regarding'

fī ḥuṣūṣi 'ahli l-ḍimmati

في خصوص أهل الذمة
'regarding protected people'

fī niṭāqi في نطاق 'within the scope of'

(cf. 'alā niṭāq على نطاق 2.6.4)

fī niṭāqi l- 'a 'māli l-mašrū 'ati

في نطاق الأعمال المشروعة

'within the scope of lawful activities'

fī majāli في مجال 'in the field, area of'

fī majāli taqwīmi l- 'asnāni

في مجال تقويم الأسنان

'in the field of orthodontics' lit. 'straightening teeth'

fī majāli ta 'līmi l- 'atfāli wa-l-šabābi

في مجال تعليم الأطفال و الشباب

'in the field of teaching children and youths'

fī sabīl في سبيل 'in the interest of' (with 'an أن see 7.5.1.11)

fī sabīli l-difā 'i 'an karāmatihim

في سبيل الدفاع عن كرامتهم

'in the interest of defending their honour'

For *fīmā* فيما phrases (▷C2:314), see *mā* ما at 5.7

2.6.6 *ḥattā* حتى (▷C2:296) 'until'

(See also conjunctions ('even') 6.11 and subordinate clauses 7.6.7)

ḥattā حتى conveys sense of 'until' (also 'even') which derives from its original meaning of 'up to and [possibly] including a specific point':

ḥattā 'āḥiri qatṛati dimā 'in

حتى آخر قطرة دماء

'until the last drop of blood' [idiomatic plur. 'bloods']

munḍu fajri l- 'islāmi wa-ḥattā yawminā haḍā

منذ فجر الإسلام و حتى يومنا هذا

'since the dawn of Islam and up to this day of ours'

lan yufāriqahu ḥattā l-mawti

لن يفارقه حتى الموت

'will not leave him until his death'

2.6.7 'ilā إلى (▷C2:290) 'to', 'as far as'

'to', 'as far as', derived from its original sense of 'up to a specific point' (contrast *hattā* حتى 2.6.6):

bad'an min-a l-nujū 'i wa-l-kufūri 'ilā l-'awāšimi l-kubrā

بدءاً من النجوع و الكفور إلى العواصم الكبرى

'beginning with the hamlets and small villages **up to** the big capital cities'

al-wuṣūlu 'ilā ttifāqiyyatin

الوصول إلى اتفافية

'coming **to** an agreement'

fa-qad-i rtafa 'a 'adadu l-suyyāhi 'ilā dubayy

فقد ارتفع عدد السياح إلى دبي

'the number of visitors **to** Dubai has grown'

- Verbs expressing motion, either physically or metaphorically:

sa-'adhabu 'ilā l-ḡarbiyyati

سأذهب إلى الضفة الغربية

'I shall **go to** the West Bank'

ḡahaba 'ilā hunāka li-dirāsati l-ṭibbi

ذهب إلى هناك لدراسة الطب

'**he went there** to study medicine', lit. 'to there'

fa-hiya tuṣīru min jihatīn 'ilā l-'anāširi l-ḥaḍāriyyati l-tābitati

فهي تشير من جهة إلى العناصر الحضارية الثابتة

'so **it indicates** on the one hand the established civilizational elements'

tabi'nāhu 'ilā ṣālati l-istiqbālī

تبعناه إلى صالة الاستقبال

'**we followed** him **to** the reception hall'

- Juxtaposition with *min* من:

fa-tahra'u min hunā wa-tarkuḍu 'ilā hunāka

فتهرع من هنا و تركض إلى هناك

'so she would rush **from** here and run [**to**] there'

- With sense of *hattā* حتى i.e., 'until' (see 2.6.6):

tarāja 'at 'an-i rtidā 'i l-ḥijābi 'ilā mā ba'da nihāyati 'arḍi masraḥiyyati

'šāri' Muḥammad 'Alī'

تراجعت عن ارتداء الحجاب إلى ما بعد نهاية عرض مسرحية 'شارع محمد علي'

‘she refrained from putting on the veil **until** after the end of the play
 “Muhammad Ali Street” ’

'ilā l- 'āna mā ziltu lā 'uḥibbu l-samaka (note: not *'ilā l- 'āni* **1.8.7.3**)

إلى الآن ما زلت لا أحب السمك

‘**until now** I still do not like fish’

- ‘in addition to’:

*wa-lākinna **'ilā dālika** 'alā maw'idin ma'a [...]*

و لكنك إلى ذلك على موعد مع (...)

‘but you are, **in addition to that**, on an appointment with [...]

*wa-mā **'ilā dālika** min ḥadamātin*

و ما إلى ذلك من خدمات

‘and **other additional** services’

- Interchanged with *li-* لـ (▷C2:282). Verbs that used to take the prep. *'ilā* إلى , and also some phrases, are now commonly found with *li-* لـ :

'addat li-taḥṭīmiḥā l-kāmili

أدت لتحطيمها الكامل

‘**led to** its complete destruction’

yuwajjihūna 'abṣārahū li-'a' lā

يوجهون أبصارهم لأعلى

‘**they direct** their eyes **upward**’

inḍimāmuhā li-munazzamati l-yūnisīf

انضمامها لمنظمة اليونيسيف

‘**its** attaching itself **to** the UNICEF organization’

uḍturra mu'ahḥaran li-'ilgā'i 'arḍi l-masraḥiyyati

اضطر مؤخراً لإلغاء عرض المسرحية

‘**he was forced** recently **to** cancel the performance of the play’

'ilā l- 'amāmi إلى الأمام / *li-l- 'amāmi* للأمام ‘forward’, ‘to the fore’

2.6.8 *ka-* كـ ‘like’, ‘as’ (▷C2:338)

- Original sense of comparison:

*lajnatun rafti 'atu l-mustawā **ka-**hāḍihi*

لجنة رفيعة المستوى كهذه

‘a high-level committee **like** this one’ (see **2.5.5**)

ka-l- 'ādati

كالعادة

‘as usual’ (lit. ‘like the custom’)

- With sense of ‘as’ as a neologism, probably a calque (▷C2:339) (cf. spec. comp 2.4.4):

dawru l-majlisi ka-kullin

دور المجلس ككلّ

‘the role of the parliament as a whole’

lam yakun muwaffaqan ka-mulaḥḥinin

لم يكن موفقاً كملحن

‘he was not successful as a composer’

istiḥdāmu 'arāḍihā ka-nuqtati nṭilāqin

استخدام أراضيها كنقطة انطلاق

‘the use of its territories as a take-off point’

bada'a 'amalahu ka-ṭabībi taḥḍirin

بدأ عمله كطبيب تخدير

‘he began his work as an anaesthetist’, lit. ‘doctor of narcotization’

'indamā yata'allaqu l-'amru bi-mawḍū'in ka-l-turāṭi

عندما يتعلق الأمر بموضوع كالتراث

‘when the issue is related to a subject such as heritage’

2.6.9 *ladā* لدى, ‘with’, ‘amongst’, ‘upon’

In MWA *ladā* لدى conveys a general sense of presence or possession and is sometimes used where one might expect to find ‘*inda* عند 2.7.21 or even *li-* لـ 2.6.10. *ladā* لدى in its sense of possession has been associated historically more with abstract than concrete things, and its usage in MWA confirms this distinction:

ladā mušāḥadatihim manẓaran jamīlan

لدى مشاهدتهم منظراً جميلاً

‘[up]on their seeing a beautiful sight’

al-safīru l-miṣriyyu ladā dimašqa

السفير المصري لدى دمشق

‘the Egyptian ambassador to Damascus’

ladā l-ḥukūmati لدى الحكومة ‘with the government’,

*fa - 'inna l-kalimata l-šā'i'ata wa-l-mutadāwalata **ladā** jamī'i l-fuqahā'i hiya*

فإن الكلمة الشائعة و المتداولة لدى جميع الفقهاء هي

'so the prevailing and widely acknowledged word **amongst** all jurists (on this) is'

Idiomatic meaning 'to have':

ladayhi l-kaṭīru min-a l-humūmi

لديه الكثير من الهموم

'he has a lot of concerns'

ladayhi 'asbābuhu

لديه أسبابه

'he has his reasons'

wa-ladā l-yamani talātatu maṭārātin ra'isiyyatin fī šan'a wa-'adanin

wa-ta'izza

ولدى اليمن ثلاثة مطارات رئيسية في صنعاء وعدن و تعز

'and **Yemen has** three main airports in San'a, Aden and Taizz'

2.6.10 *li-* لـ 'belonging to', 'for the purpose of' (▷C2:282)

- belonging to, i.e. 'to have' (▷C2:286) (future and past see *kāna* كان, 3.16.3.1)

*wa-hiya waḥdahā **lahā** šaklun ḥāṣṣun mumayyazun*

وهي وحدها لها شكل خاص مميز

'and **she alone has** a special distinguished face'

*kunnā talātatan ... **li-kullin minnā** ḥujratun*

كنّا ثلاثة ... لكلّ منا حجرة

'there were three of us ... **each one of us had** a room'

*wa-**li-kulli minṭaqatin** lahjatuhā*

و لكلّ منطقة لهجتها

'and **each region has** its (own) dialect'

***lahu** banūna fī l-jāmi'ati wa-bnun wa-bnatun fī l-marḥalati*

l-tānawīyyati

له بنون في الجامعة و ابن و ابنة في المرحلة الثانوية

'**he has** sons in the university and a son and daughter at the secondary stage'

- Antonym of '*alā* على (see 2.6.2), (▷C2:284)

lahum miṭlu mā li-l-muslimīna wa- 'alayhim miṭlu mā 'alā l-muslimīna

لهم مثل ما للمسلمين و عليهم مثل ما على المسلمين

'they have the same rights as [for] Muslims and they have the same duties as Muslims'

- 'on account of', 'because of', 'in order to' (see also 7.6.1.5):

li- 'aybin fihā

لعييب فيها

'because of some fault in herself'

li-dā 'udda min-a l-kabā'iri

لذا عُدَّ من الكبائر

'for this [reason] it is reckoned (to be) one of the major sins'

li-baḥṭi l-mawqifi

لبحث الموقف

'in order to investigate the position'

li-stiqbāli muwazzāfi l-dawlati

لاستقبال موظفي الدولة

'to receive state employees'

ḥaqibatun kabīratun 'uḥaṣṣiṣuhā li-naqli l-kutubi

حقيبة كبيرة أخصّصها لنقل الكتب

'a large bag which I use exclusively for carrying books'

- Paraphrase of annexation structures for general sense of possession (see 2.3.5):
- When subj. is def.:

sūqu l-kuwayti li-l- 'awrāqi l-māliyyati

سوق الكويت للأوراق المالية

'the Kuwaiti stock market', lit. 'for stocks'

- Or indef.:

qā'ātun li-l- 'anṣiṭati l-ṭaqāfiyyati

قاعات للأنشطة الثقافية

'halls for cultural activities'

Interchanged with 'ilā إلى (2.6.7):

al-wuṣūlu 'ilā ttiḥāḥiqiyatin الوصول إلى اتفاقية / *al-wuṣūlu li-ttiḥāḥiqiyatin*

الوصول لاتفاقية

'arriving at an agreement'

- Indicating authorship:

wa-kitābun ṣaġīrun li-mawlānā muḥyī l-dīn ibn ‘arabī
 وكتاب صغير لمولانا محيي الدين ابن عربي
 “and a small book **by** our master Muhyi al-Din Ibn Arabi”
lam ‘akun qad qara’tu lahu
 لم أكن قد قرأت له
 ‘I had not read anything **by him**’

- Temporal (2.6.4, 2.6.5, 2.14.5):

li-’awwalī marratin لأول مرة ‘**for** the first time’

- Idioms:

li-l-ġāyati للغاية
muhimmun li-l-ġāyati مهم للغاية ‘**extremely** important’,
 lit. ‘**to the extreme**’
al-yūsuf li-l-tawzī‘i
 اليوسف للتوزيع
 ‘The Yūsuf Distribution [Co.]’
al-ṭāwūs li-’a’ māli l-liḥāmi
 الطاووس لأعمال اللحام
 ‘al-Tawoos **for** welding jobs’

2.6.11 *ma’a* مع ‘with’, ‘in spite of’ (▷C2:315; 1.6.12)

- Standard sense of ‘with’, normally physical accompaniment:

ma’a zumalā’ihi مع زملائه ‘**with** his colleagues’
tarakanī ma’ahu تركني معه ‘he left me **with him**’
naša’a ma’a l-’usrati نشأ مع الأسرة ‘he grew up **with** the family’

- Other shades of ‘with’, ‘association’ or ‘connection’, ‘at the time of’, ‘together with’:

allatī bada’at ma’a ‘intāji l-jīli l-’awwalī min-a l-’ajhizati
 التي بدأت مع إنتاج الجيل الأول من الأجهزة
 ‘which began **with** the production of the first generation of appliances’

baynamā l-mubāḥaṭātu jāriyatun ḥāliyyan ma‘a šarikātin fī l-‘urdunni wa-‘irāna

بينما المباحثات جارية حاليا مع شركات في الأردن و إيران
‘whilst talks are currently taking place **with** companies in Jordan and Iran’

wa-namā ma‘a al-zamāni

ونما مع الزمن
‘and grew **with** time’

tammat ma‘a ḥtifā‘i l-šāṭi‘i

تمت مع اختفاء الشاطئ
‘it ended **with** the disappearance of the coast’

intahat ma‘a nihāyati l-qarni l-tāsi‘a ‘ašara

انتهت مع نهاية القرن التاسع عشر
‘it ended **at** the end of the nineteenth century’

- Literal possession (▷C2:316) (cf. *ladā* لدى 2.6.9):

ma‘i l-‘āna 71,5 frank

معي الآن ٧١.٥ فرنك
‘[I had] **with me** seventy-one and a half francs’

- Adversative (▷C2:317)

with nouns:

ma‘a šakkinā fī ... مع شكنا في ... ‘in spite of our doubting...’

with nominalized clauses (see 7.5.2.11):

wa-ma‘a ‘annanā qad šaraḥnā ḥāḍiḥi l-wijhata min-a l-naẓari bi-taḥṣīlin ... fa-‘inna al-nuṣūṣa

و مع أننا قد شرحنا هذه الوجهة من النظر بتفصيل ... فإن النصوص
‘and **although we** have explained this point of view in detail ... the texts’

- Collocations with (mainly) stem VI verbs (cf. 3.11.4). Some of these are perhaps natural, others possibly calques (see *ba‘d* بعض 2.9.1.3 and reciprocals 3.14):

al-tajāwubu ma‘a kulli mā ya’tīnā min-a l-ḥārijī

التجاوب مع كل ما يأتينا من الخارج
‘**responding to** everything that comes to us from abroad’

- Dep. invariable *ma'an* معا as obj. qual.:

ša'idnā l-bāša ma'an

صعدنا الباص معا

'we got on the bus **together**'

rajulun kabīrun wa-miskīnun ma'an

رجل كبير و مسكين معا

'an old man and wretched **at the same time**' (see 2.4.8)

2.6.12 *min* من 'from' 'of'

(▷C2:262; ▷C2:272, see also under negs. 4.1.1, (adj.) rel. structures 5.4.4, rhetorical questions 10.2 or in comparative, ▷C2:273, also *af'al* أفعل syntax in comparison, esp. 'too', 2.11.2, 2.11.11)

- Physical point of departure (locative):

min swīndūn fi l-mamlakati l-muttaḥidati 'ilā dubayy

من سويندون في المملكة المتحدة إلى دبي

'**from** Swindon in the United Kingdom to Dubai'

hiya min-a l-ḥārījī wāḍiḥatun mumayyazatun ka-l-wujūhi l-bašariyyati wa-min-a l-dāḥilī fa-hiya ġayru maḥjubatin 'annā

هي من الخارج واضحة مميزة كالوجوه البشرية ومن الداخل فهي غير محجوبة عنا

'**from outside** she was clearly distinguishable like human faces and

from inside she was not concealed from us'

- Partitive (▷C2:18, 266):

ṭamānūna milyāran min-a l-dūlārāti

ثمانون مليارا من الدولارات

'eighty billion [of] dollars' (see 2.12.14)

al-'adīdu min-a l-mašrū'āti l-mustaqbaliyyati

العديد من المشروعات المستقبلية

'a number of future projects'

kawkabatun min rijālī l-'i'lāmi wa-l-ṣaḥāfati

كوكبة من رجال الإعلام والصحافة

'a group of men of the media and journalism'

'amīrun min-a l-'umarā'i

أمير من الأمراء

'a certain prince', lit. 'a prince of the princes' (see 1.12.4.1)

wa-min 'injāzātihi fī haḍā l-ṣadadi

و من إنجازاته في هذا الصدد

‘and **among** his achievements in this connection’

wa-min-a l-jadīdi 'ayḍan

و من الجديد أيضا

‘and also new’, lit. ‘and **among** the new’

- Subset with partitive *min* من:

fa-laysa hunāka min 'aflāmin 'insāniyyatin ḍakiyyatin

فليس هناك من أفلام إنسانية ذكية

‘there are not any clever humanistic films’, lit. ‘there is not **of** clever humanistic films’ (see neg. 4.2.8.1)

wa-lam 'ajid min ḥīlatin

و لم أجد من حيلة

‘and I found no ruse’, lit. ‘did not find **of** a ruse’ (see neg 4.2)

lam ya 'tur 'alā wajhin wāḥidin min-a l-wujūhi l-qadīmati

لم يعثر على وجه واحد من الوجوه القديمة

‘he did not come across any **of** the old faces’

fī hādīhi l-marḥalati min-a l-'amali l-niqābiyyi

في هذه المرحلة من العمل النقابي

‘at this stage **of** the trade unionist activity’

- Explanatory (▷C2:263 ‘epexegetic’):

'adā'u l-takālīfi l-mālīyyati min ḥarājin wa-ḍarā'iba

أداء التكاليف المالية من خراج و ضرائب

‘payment of financial obligations **by way of** land tax and income taxes’

bi-kulli mā yaḥwīhi min ḥuznin wa-'asan šaḥfīn

بكل ما يحويه من حزن و أسى شفيف

‘with all the transparent grief and sadness it contained’, lit. ‘with all that it contains **of** sadness and grief’ (see *mā ... min* ما ... من 5.4)

ta'tīru l-mīdiyā min ṣaḥāfatīn wa-'idā'atin wa-tilīfīziyūnin

تأثير الميديا من صحافة و إذاعة و تلفزيون

‘the influence of the media **such as** journalism, radio and television’

- Temporal point of departure:

nasma'u min ḥīnin 'ilā 'āḥara

نسمع من حين إلى آخر

‘we hear **from** time to time’

wa-min tamma 'ilā majlisi l-wuzarā'i

ومن ثمّ إلى مجلس الوزراء

'then [lit. "and **from** there"] to the cabinet'

- Point of origin of cause:

irta'ada l-rajulu min 'unfi duhūlihi

ارتعد الرجل من عنف ذهوله

'the man shook **from** [lit "on account of"] the severity of his astonishment'

'araftuhu min malāmihihi

عرفته من ملامحه

'I knew him **from** his features'

- As part of prep. phrase:

min qibali من قِبَل 'by' (3.12.1 for periphrastic agreement of pass. verbs)

ṣadara 'amrun bi-man 'ihā min-a l-safari min qibali l-maḥkamati

صدر أمر بمنعها من السفر من قِبَل المحكمة

'an order to prevent her from travelling was issued **by** the court'

- In expressions such as *min ġayri šakkin* من غير شك 'without doubt':

wa-yusajjilu l-tārīḥu li-l-muslimīna min ġayri 'adnā šakkin ḥirṣahum

'alā ...

ويسجل التاريخ للمسلمين من غير أدنى شك حرصهم على ...

'and history records for Muslims **without the slightest doubt** their desire for ...'

- Prep. *min* من + noun in compounds (▷C2:260) (see *min ba'di* من بعد 2.7.6). The prep. *min* من, like *bi-* بـ, frequently forms compound prepositional structures.

min 'alā من على 'from off', lit. 'from on' ('*alā* على being originally a noun)

yarfa'u nazzāratahu l-ṭibbiyyata min 'alā 'anfihi

يرفع نظارته الطبيّة من على أنفه

'he lifts his prescription glasses **from off** his nose', lit. 'from on'

min jānibi من جانب (and *bi-jānibi* بجانب) 'on the part of'

min jānibi l-'aṭrāfi l-mutaḥāwīdati

من جانب الأطراف المتفاوضة

'**on the part of** the negotiating parties'

al-'istrāṭījiyyatu llatī stuḥdimat min jānibi l-muraššahīna

الإستراتيجية التي أُستُخدمت من جانب المرشحين

'the strategy used **on the part of** the candidates'

min 'ajli من أجل 'for the sake of'

min 'ajli taṭwīri l-ta'limi l-jāmi'iyyi

من أجل تطوير التعليم الجامعي

'for the sake of developing university education'

min 'ajli ziyādati l-iddihāri

من أجل زيادة الادّخار

'for the sake of increasing savings'

min ḥawli من حول (see *ḥawla* حول, 'around' 2.7.17) 'around'

al-'umūru min ḥawlinā الأمور من حولنا 'things around us'

min ḥilāli من خلال 'through' (see 2.7.19) 'through'

min ḥilāli fathī majālātin jadīdatin

من خلال فتح مجالات جديدة

'through the opening of new fields'

min nāḥiyati من ناحية 'from the point of view of'

min nāḥiyati l-misāḥāti wa-'adadi l-sukkāni

من ناحية المساحات و عدد السكان

'from the point of view of area and population',

min-a l-nāḥiyati l-naẓariyyati

من الناحية النظرية

'from the theoretical point of view'

min taḥti من تحت etc. (see *taḥta* تحت 2.7.36) 'from under'

min taḥti من تحت (▷C2:351)

yastaṭī'u 'an ya'tiya bihi min taḥti l-'arḍi

يستطيع أن يأتي به من تحت الأرض

'he can bring it **from under** the earth [i.e., from impossible places]'

An exception to the above are those adverbs ending in 'u', i.e., *qablu* قبل, *ba'du* بعد, *ḥaytu* حيث:

al-taṭawwūrātu l-duwaliyyatu l-rāhinatu min ḥaythu ntiḥā'i l-ḥarbi l-bāridati
التطوّرات الدولية الراهنة من حيث انتهاء الحرب الباردة
'current international developments **in terms of** the ending of the Cold War' (see 7.6.9.4).

2.6.13 *munḍu* منذ 'ago' 'since'

(▷C2:344) (and see Chapter 7.6.8 for *munḍu* منذ as a conjunction with and without 'an أن also 6.2.7, 7.3.2 for *munḍu* منذ with *wa-* و. (The distribution of *muḍ* مذ appears to be restricted mainly to verbs in MWA, see 7.6.8 also).

munḍu منذ with temporal meaning of 'from a certain time', 'ago' or 'since' (noun either def. or indef.) (see also in dates and times):

munḍu sanawātin منذ سنوات 'years ago', 'for years'

munḍu bidāyati l-ḥamlati l-intiḥābiyyati

منذ بداية الحملة الانتخابية

'since the beginning of the election campaign'

munḍu ṣiġarī

منذ صغري

'since my childhood'

with *ḥattā* حتى and 'ilā إلى (▷C2:346) (see 2.6.6 and 2.6.7)

munḍu bad'i l-ḥalīqati ḥattā 'aṣrinā hādā

منذ بدء الخليقة حتى عصرنا هذا

'from the beginning of creation until this era of ours'

munḍu l-ṣabāḥi l-bākiri 'ilā muntaṣafi l-layli

منذ الصباح الباكر إلى منتصف الليل

'from the early morning until midnight'

2.7 PREPOSITIONALS

The preposition(al)s (see above 2.6 and 2.6.1 for definition) below are in English alphabetical order of transliteration, ignoring diacriticals and the difference between ['and['. The preposition(al)s are an open class. Although the following list contains many of the more common ones there are others such as *ṣaṭra* شطر 'in the middle of', *badāla* بدال 'instead of', *ḥidā'a* حذاء 'alongside', *tilqā'a* تلقاء 'towards', to name but a few. The following noun is always in obl. case.

The prepositionals are often reinforced by preps to make compound preps, e.g., *bi-dūni* بدون 'without' 2.7.11, a feature that is becoming increasingly common in MWA (▷C2:260, 275). If there is a reason for this development, it may lie in the gradual erosion of the obl. elements as case endings disappear in normal reading (cf. 1.2.8, 1.2.9), compensated for by an explicit prep. to assure that the phrase will be recognized as having that function.

Adverbial compounds may also be operated upon by a prep. (▷C2:261): *min yawmi 'idīn* من يومئذ 'from that day'.

2.7.1 ‘*abra* عبر ‘through’, ‘by means of’, ‘via’

‘*abra l-nāfiḡati* عبر النافذة ‘through the window’,

‘*abra mawjāti l-rāḡiyū l-mutawassiḡati*

عبر موجات الراديو المتوسطة

‘by medium-wave radio’,

‘*abra l-‘aqmāri l-ṣinā ‘iyyati*

عبر الأقمار الصناعية

‘via satellite’

For ‘*abra* عبر as first element of comp. nouns, ‘trans-’ see 12.7.1.

2.7.2 ‘*amāma* أمام ‘in front of’

wa-taqifu qalīlan ‘amāma l-ḡaymati

وتقف قليلا أمام الخيمة

‘and she would stop briefly **in front of** the tent’

waqafat al-mirsīdis al-sawḡā ‘u ‘amāma l-kāzīnū

وقفت المرسيدس السوداء أمام الكازينو

‘the black Mercedes stopped **in front of** the casino’

2.7.3 ‘*aqiba* عقب ‘after’ with sense of ‘subsequent to’

(also ‘*alā ‘aqabi* على عقب

‘*aqiba fawzihi* عقب فوزه ‘after his victory’

‘*aqiba taṣ ‘īḡi l-‘azmati* عقب تصعيد الأزمة ‘after the escalation of the crisis’

‘*aqiba l-muqābalati* عقب المواجهة ‘after the meeting’

2.7.4 ‘*asfala* أسفل ‘underneath’, ‘at the bottom of’

ta ‘riḡu l-‘intāji ‘asfala l-‘ulbati

تاريخ الإنتاج أسفل العلبة

‘the date of production is **on the bottom of** the container’,

‘*aḡḡata ḡafratan ‘amīqatan ‘asfala l-sayyārati*

أحدث حفرة عميقة أسفل السيارة

‘[which] caused a deep hole **underneath** the car’

2.7.5 'aṭnā'a أثناء 'during', 'while'

'aṭnā'a l-mubārātī أثناء المباراة 'during the match'

'aṭnā'a julūsihi 'alā l-maqhā

أثناء جلوسه على المقهى

'while he was sitting in the café', lit. 'during his sitting'

fī 'aṭnā'i في أثناء 'during the course of':

fī 'aṭnā'i wilāyatihi 'alā miṣra

في أثناء ولايته على مصر

'during his government of Egypt'

2.7.6 ba'da بعد (▷C2:340) 'after'

- Temporal:

ba'da 'awdatī 'ilā l-qāhirati

بعد عودتي إلى القاهرة

'after my return to Cairo'

ba'da waḡātī 'azwājihinna

بعد وفاة أزواجهنّ

'after the death of their husbands'

- Locative:

ba'da l-maḡaṭṭati bi-šāri 'ayni

بعد المحطة بشارعين

'two streets after the station', lit. '... by two streets' (see 2.6.4)

- Diminutive bu'ayda بُعيد (▷C2:256)

bu'ayda 'tizālihi 'āma 1965

بعيد اعتزاله عام ١٩٦٥

'a little after his retirement in 1965'

min ba'di (▷C2:342) من بعد [sometime] after

min ba'di l-'amaliyyati

من بعد العملية

'[sometime] after the operation'

For *ba'da'idin* بعدد (▷C2:342) see 2.5, and for *ba'da'an* بعد أن and *ba'da mā* ما بعد (▷C2:342) see 7.5.1.10. For *fīmā ba'du* فيما بعد see relatives, 5.7. For *ba'da* بعد as first element of comp. nouns, 'post-' see 12.7.1.

2.7.7 *bayna* بين (▷C2:332) 'between', 'amongst'

li-ta'zīzi l-'alāqāti bayna l-baladayni

لتعزيز العلاقات بين البلدين

'to strengthen relations **between the two countries**' (see *li-* لـ 2.6.10)

In correlative constructions *bayna* بين (like all preps and prepositionals) must be repeated when personal prons occur as the first component of the correlate (see 2.6.1, 11.7):

baynahā wa-bayna l-muntajāti l-'uḥrā

بينها و بين المنتجات الأخرى

'**between them** and [**between**] the other products'

li-'i'ādati l-'alāqāti baynahā wa-baynahu

لإعادة العلاقات بينها و بينه

'to restore relations **between** her and [**between**] him'

Unlike the prepositional(al)s, however, *bayna* بين is usually repeated when both are nouns:

qaṭ'u l-ṣilati bayna turāṭinā l-taqāfiyyi wa-bayna taqāfatinā l-mu'āṣirati

قطع الصلة بين تراثنا الثقافي و بين ثقافتنا المعاصرة

'cutting the link **between** our cultural heritage and [**between**] our contemporary culture',

ṣaḥru l-'asali l-taqlīdiyyu bayna l-ra'isi l-'amrikiyyi wa-bayna l-ša'bi wa-'ajhizati l-'i'lāmi

شهر العسل التقليدي بين الرئيس الأمريكي و بين الشعب و أجهزة الإعلام

'the traditional honeymoon **between** the American president and [**between**] the people and the organs of publicity' (note how this example contains a *third* correlative but *bayna* بين is not repeated for a third time).

bayna l-muslimīna wa-bayna ḡayrihim

بين المسلمين و بين غيرهم

'**between** the Muslims and [**between**] others'

This occurs especially when the two correlates are some distance apart in the clause, and maybe separated by a further clause:

wa-wāzana fī ṣamtin ḥazīnin bayna l-siyādati llatī ḥaluma bi-mumārasatihā 'alā l-ḥārati wa-bayna maṣḥi 'ahḍiyati 'abnā'ihī

ووازن في صمت حزين بين السيادة التي حلم بممارستها على الحارة و بين مسح أحذية أبنائه

‘he compared in sad silence **between** the control he has been dreaming to exercise over the lane and [**between**] his cleaning of his childrens’ shoes’

But it does not always need to be repeated between nouns:

bayna l-’anā wa-l-’āḥari

بين أنا و الآخر

‘**between** the I and the other’,

wa-jarā l-tawqī’u ‘alā haḍā l-ittifāqi ... bayna ‘indūnīsyā wa-l-burtuḡāl

و جرى التوقيع على هذا الاتفاق ... بين إندونيسيا و البرتغال

‘and this agreement ... **between** Indonesia and Portugal was signed’

Sense of ‘among’:

bayna zumalā’ihi

بين زملائه

‘**amongst** his colleagues’

inṭilāqan min ‘aḥammīyyati tabāduli l-ḥibrati bayna l-muḥtaṣṣīna

انطلاقاً من أهمية الخبرة بين المختصين

‘beginning with the importance of swapping expertise **between** [among] specialists’

wa-min baynihā ...

و من بينها ...

‘and from **among** them ...’,

bayna bayna بين بين ‘somewhere between’ (▷C2:335):

raḡulun bayna bayna ... lā ta’rifu lahu ṭa’man wa-lā lawnan wa-lā rā’iḥatan

رجل بين بين لا تعرف له طعماً ولا لونا ولا رائحة

‘a man **in between** ... you cannot find [lit. “know”] in him any taste, colour or scent’

Idiomatic *bayna yaday-* بين يدي (▷C2:333).

naḥnu l-yawma naqifu bayna yaday ‘adālati l-maḥkamati

نحن اليوم نقف بين يدي عدالة المحكمة

‘we stand today **before** the justice of the Court’

For *bayna* بين as first element of comp. nouns, ‘inter-’ see 12.7.1.

(For [*fī*] *mā bayna* فيما بين (▷C2:337) see *mā* ما 5.7.)

2.7.8 *dāhila* داخل 'inside', 'within'

dāhila l-miyāhi l-'iqlīmiyyati

داخل المياه الإقليمية

'inside regional [namely territorial] waters'

dāhila l-ḥizbi

داخل الحزب

'inside the party'

lākin nahā mawjūdātun dāhila sijnin ḥāniqin min-a l-wujūdi nafsīhi

لكنّها موجودة داخل سجن خانق من الوجود نفسه

'but she exists **within** a stifling prison of existence itself'

min dāhili من داخل 'from within':

min dāhili waṭāninā

من داخل وطننا

'from inside our country'

2.7.9 *ḍidda* ضدّ 'against'

ḍidda l-tayyāri ضدّ التيار 'against the current'

ḍidda l-jamāhīri ضدّ الجماهير 'against the masses'

al-intiqādātu l-mustamirrātu l-muwajjahatu ḍiddahā

الانتقادات المستمرة الموجهة ضدها

'the incessant criticisms directed **against it**'

2.7.10 *ḍimna* ضمن 'among', 'within'

ḍimna 'ahdāfi l-ṣarīkati

ضمن أهداف الشركات

'(with)in the aims of the company'

ḍimna l-rusūmi

ضمن الرسوم

'included in the fees'

ḍimna mubārayāti l-majmū'ati l-tāniyati

ضمن مباريات المجموعة الثانية

'among the matches of the second group'

2.7.11 *dūna* دون (▷C2:347) ‘excluding’, ‘without’, ‘less’, ‘lower than’, ‘below’

- ‘excluding’ (▷C2:348):

li-muwāṭṭin dūna 'āḥara

لمواطن دون آخر

‘for one citizen **to the exclusion of** another’

laysat muškilatun maḥalliyyatan fī baladīn dūna 'āḥara wa-lākin nahā muškilatun 'ālamīyyatun

ليست مشكلة محلية في بلد دون آخر و لكنها مشكلة عالمية

‘it is not a local problem in one country **to the exclusion of** another but it is a global problem’

lam yakun fī l-taṣrī'i l- 'islāmiyyi mā yuḡliq dūna 'ahli l-dimmati 'ayya bābin min 'abwābi l- 'a' māli

لم يكن في التشريع الإسلامي ما يغلق دون أهل الذمة أي باب من أبواب الأعمال

‘there has been nothing in Islamic legislation that would close the door of any professions **to the exclusion of** the protected people’

- ‘without’:

dūna l-naẓari 'ilā millatihim

دون النظر إلى ملتهم

‘**without** regard to their religion’

wa- 'an yujarriba l-ibti'āda dūna ḥawfin

و أن يجرب الابتعاد دون خوف

‘and to try distancing himself **without** fear’

- ‘less than (below)’:

wa-qad tazawwaja min fatātin min mustawān dūna mustawāhu

l-ijtimā'iyi

و قد تزوج من فتاة من مستوى دون مستواه الاجتماعي

‘and he married a girl from a lower social class than his own’,

lit. ‘from a class **below** his social class’

lā taqbilu l-madrasatu 'atfālan dūna l-sādisati min-a l- 'umri bi- 'aktara min ṣahrayni

لا تقبل المدرسة أطفالا دون السادسة من العمر بأكثر من شهرين

‘the school does not accept children [who are] more than two months

under the age of six’

- *bi-dūni* بدون:

bi-dūni šakkin بدون شكّ ‘without doubt’

bi-dūni l-ḥājati إلى الحاجة ‘without the need for’

bi-dūni tawaqqufin بدون توقف ‘without stopping’

- *min dūni* من دون:

min dūni ‘ayyi taḡyīrin من دون أيّ تغيير ‘without any change’

exclamatory *dūnaka* (▷C2:347; 2.16.4)

- *dūna* ‘an دون أن ‘without’ (conj.) (▷C2:350) see subord. clauses, 7.5.1.10

For *dūna* as first element of comp. nouns, ‘sub-’ see 12.7.1.

2.7.12 *fawqa* فوق (▷C2:352) ‘above’, ‘over’, ‘on’

yaḥtallu manzilatan ḥāṣṣatan fawqa l-baṣari

يحتلّ منزلة خاصّة فوق البشر

‘occupying a special place **above** humanity’

hal sa-‘amšī marratan ‘uhrā fawqa l-raṣīfi?

هل سأمشي مرّة أخرى فوق الرصيف؟

‘will I walk one more time **on** the pavement?’

wa-tasā‘altu li-mādā zallat sanā‘u sāhiratan fawqa ḡurfatī

و تساءلت لماذا ظلّت سناء ساهرة فوق غرفتي

‘and I asked why Sanā’ had continued to stay up late **above** my room’

ḥattā tahbiṭa fawqa ḥāffati šubbāki l-mustašfā

حتّى تهبط فوق حافة شبّاك المستشفى

‘until it alights **on** the edge of the hospital window’

For *fawqa* as first element of comp. nouns, ‘super-’ see 12.7.1.

2.7.13 *fawra* فور ‘immediately upon’

(cf. 2.7.3 عقب *‘aqiba*)

fawra wuṣūlihim فور وصولهم ‘upon on their arrival’

fawra talaqqī l-šakwā

فور تلقي الشكوى

‘upon receiving the complaint’

fawra l-intihā‘i min ‘iḥmādi l-nīrāni

فور الانتهاء من إخماد النيران

‘**immediately after** finishing putting out the fires’

2.7.14 *ḥalfa* خلف ‘behind’

ḥalfa nāfiḍatihā l-muṭillati ‘alā l-baḥri

خلف نافذتها المطلّة على البحر

‘**behind** her window which looks out over the sea’

wa-tabda’u riḥlata l-hubūṭi ḥalfa dālika l-’uḥuqi l-wāsi ‘i l-šāsi ‘i

وتبدأ رحلة الهبوط خلف ذلك الأفق الواسع الشاسع

‘and [the sun] begins its journey of descent **behind** that wide vast horizon’

- من خلف *min ḥalfi*:

min ḥalfi nāfiḍati ḥujratihi

من خلف نافذة حجرته

‘**from behind** the window of his room’

2.7.15 *ḥārija* خارج ‘outside’

ḥārija dā’irati l-sinṭrālī

خارج دائرة السنترال

‘**outside** the telephone exchange area’

ḥārija l-bayti

خارج البيت

‘**outside** the house’

Nominal:

taṣḍīru hāḍiḥi l-’ajhizati li-l-ḥāriji

تصدير هذه الأجهزة للخارج

‘exporting these gadgets **abroad**’

2.7.16 *ḥasaba* حسب ‘according to’

ḥasaba l-ta’rīfātī l-mu’lanati

حسب التعريفات المعلنة

‘**according to** the published tariff’

ḥasaba mā na’lamu

حسب ما نعلم

‘according to what we know’

(see *ḥasabamā* حسبما ‘according to’ as conj. at 5.9.5)

بحسب *bi-ḥasabi*:

li-kulli 'insānin bi-ḥasabi ṭāqatihi wa-juhdihī wa-kafā'atihi

لكلّ إنسان بحسب طاقته وجهده وكفاءته

‘for every human being **according to** his ability, effort and competence’

bi-ḥasabi ba'di kātibī sīratihī

بحسب بعض كاتبی سيرته

‘**according to** some of [or: one of] the writers of his biography’

(see *ba'd* بعض 2.9.1.3)

2.7.17 *ḥawla* حول ‘around, about’

jawlātun nājiḥatun ḥawla l-‘ālamī

جولات ناجحة حول العالم

‘successful trips **around** the world’

al-jadalu l-mutaṣā'idu ḥawla l-munṣa'ātī l-nawawīyyati

الجدل المتصاعد حول المنشآت النووية

‘the escalating dispute **about** atomic sites’

(For *min ḥawli* من حول see 2.6.12):

2.7.17.1 *ḥawālā* حوالى ‘around’

For quantities and time expressions (2.14.6) only:

ḥawālā 1500 ṣaḥṣin

حوالى 1500 شخص

‘**about** 1500 people’

ḥawālā 7 kilū mitr

حوالى 7 كيلو متر

‘**about** 7 km’ (see 2.14.9.3)

ḥawālā l-rābi'ati wa-niṣfin ḥarajtu 'ilā l-ṭarīqi

حوالى الرابعة ونصف خرجت إلى الطريق

‘**at around** 4.30 I went out into the road’

2.7.17.2 *ḥiyāla* حيال ‘concerning’

ḥiyāla hādā l-mawḍū'ī ‘**concerning** this subject’

2.7.18 *ḥilāfa* 'other than'

min muhandisīna wa-fanniyyīna wa-ḥilāfihim

من مهندسين وفنيين وخلافهم

'of engineers, artists and **others**'

laysa ladaynā maṣrūfātun ḥāṣṣatun 'aw maṣrūfātu tamwīlin 'aw ḥilāfuhu

ليس لدينا مصروفات خاصة أو مصروفات تمويل أو خلافه

'we have no private expenditures, or funded expenditures, or **otherwise**'

- *bi-ḥilāfi* 'against', 'contrary to'

wa-dālika bi-khilāfi barnāmiji l-ḥizbi l-jumhūrīyyi

و ذلك بخلاف برنامج الحزب الجمهوري

'that being **contrary to** the republican party's programme'

bi-ḥilāfi salīm buṭrus wa-'aḥmad fāris al-šidyāq

بخلاف سليم بطرس و أحمد فارس الشدياق أكد لقراءته

'**contrary to** Salim Buṭrus and Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq'

- 'besides':

sab'u guraḥin li-l-nawmi wa-dālika bi-ḥilāfi 'adadin lā yuḥṣā li-l-'akli wa-l-mā'īšati

سبع غرف للنوم وذلك بخلاف عدد لا يُحصى للأكل والمعيشة

'seven bedrooms **besides** an innumerable number for eating and living'

bi-ḥilāfi l-waḥti l-dā'i'i fi l-nawmi

بخلاف الوقت الضائع في النوم

'**besides** the time wasted in sleeping'

- Invariable *ḥilāfan* 'contrary to':

ḥilāfan li-l-taqālīdi wa-l-mā'lūfi

خلافاً للتقاليد والمألوف

'**contrary to** tradition and common procedure'

2.7.19 *ḥilāla* 'within', 'during'

Mostly with time expressions. It conveys the sense that something will/has taken place up to and including the duration of the time expressed:

wa-yu'ādu ṣaḥnuhu ḥilāla sā'atin wāḥidatin

و يعاد شحنه خلال ساعة واحدة

'and it can be recharged **within** an hour'

li-māḍī taqā'asat 'an-i l-tawaddudi ḥilāla l-'a'wāmi l-māḍiyati

لماذا تقاعست عن التودّد خلال الأعوام الماضية

'why had she resisted affection **during** recent years?'

wa-ḥilāla laḥaḏātīn kuntu 'ajlisu 'alā miq'adi l-darajati l-'ulā l-waṭīri
 و خلال لحظات كنت أجلس على مقعد الدرجة الأولى الوثير
 'and **within** moments I was sitting on the comfortable first-class seat'

fī ḥilāli في خلال 'during':

fī ḥilāli l-'uqūdi l-talāṭati l-māḏiyati
 في خلال العقود الثلاثة الماضية
 'throughout the last three decades'

min ḥilāli من خلال 'through', 'by way of':

min ḥilāli l-bābi l-maḏḏūḥi
 من خلال الباب المفتوح
 'through the open door'

min ḥilāli ḥadā l-maḥḥūmi
 من خلال هذا المفهوم
 'through this concept'

yabda'u l-tarwīju wa-ba'tu al-tiqati min ḥilāli l-bunūki
 يبدأ الترويج و بعث الثقة من خلال البنوك
 'the stimulation of the market and renewal of confidence begins **with**
 [lit. "through"] the banks'

wa-kānat-i l-taḥqīqātu tatimmu min ḥilāli l-ṣurṭati l-'askariyyati
 و كانت التحقيقات تتم من خلال الشرطة العسكرية
 'the investigations were carried out **through** the military police'

2.7.20 'ibbāna إبان 'during'

'ibbāna l-sittīniyyāti
 إبان الستينات
 'during the sixties'

fī qurṭubata 'ibbāna 'aṣrihā l-'umawīyyi l-zāhiri
 في قرطبة إبان عصرها الأموي الزاهر
 'in Cordoba **during** its flourishing Umayyad period'

Also with *fī* في, and note that it is invariable (1.8.7.3).

2.7.21 'inda عند (▷C2:318-19) 'at' (temporal and locative (cf. French *chez*) 'upon', 'to have'

- Temporal:

'inda nihāyati l-sab'ināti

عند نهاية السبعينات

‘**at** the end of the seventies’

wa-‘inda mawti tšāwšiskū

و عند موت تشاوشسكو

‘and **on** the death of Ceaucescu’

kuntu ‘ahra‘u ‘inda l-ğurūbi ‘ilā šurfati l-funduqi

كنت أهرع عند الغروب إلى شرفة الفندق

‘I used to rush **at** sunset to the hotel balcony’

ṭalāqatu l-wajhi ‘inda liqā ‘ihi

طلاقة الوجه عند لقائه

‘a cheerfulness of face **on** meeting him’

‘inda l-hubūṭi wa-‘inda l-‘iqālā‘i

عند الهبوط وعند الإقلاع

‘**on** landing and **on** take-off’

- Locative:

wa-‘anna l-ibtizāza lā yaqifu ‘inda ḥaddin

وأنّ الابتزاز لا يقف عند حدّ

‘and that blackmail knows no bounds’, lit. ‘does not stop **at** boundaries’

wa-taḥduṭu tağayyurātun rūḥiyyatun šattā ‘indī

وتحدث تغيّرات روحية شتّى عندي

‘and all kinds of spiritual changes are taking place **within me**’

‘inda qabri ḥāfiẓin

عند قبر حافظ

‘**at the site of** Hafez’s tomb’

li-l-tawaqqufi ‘inda šūrati l-‘amīrati sārā

للتوقف عند صورة الأميرة سارا

‘to stop **at** the picture of Princess Sarah’

al-waqtu l-‘āna ‘indahū yaqtaribu min-a l-ṭālīṭati ba‘da l-ḡuhri

الوقت الآن عنده يقترب من الثالثة بعد الظهر

‘the time **with him** now is approaching 3 p.m.’

- ‘to have’:

‘indahā mawhibatun fiṭriyyatun fī ḥtiyāri l-‘aqmišati l-jayyidati

عندها موهبة فطرية في اختيار الأقمشة الجيدة

‘**she has** an innate talent for choosing good materials’

- compound with *min* من:

al-masāfatu min ‘indī ‘ilā manzilika tusāwī l-masāfata min ‘indika ‘ilā manzilī

المسافة من عندي إلى منزلك تساوي المسافة من عندك إلى منزلي

‘the distance from where **I am** to where you live is equal to that from **where you are** to my home’ (see 11.7)

- Nominal:

al-samaku l-maqliyyu ‘afḍalu wajbatin ‘indī

السّمك المقلّي أفضل وجبة عندي

‘fried fish is my favourite dish’ [lit. ‘**with me**’, i.e., ‘in my opinion’]

‘indamā عندما ‘when’ (conj.) (▷C2:320) (see 5.9.8)

‘inda’idīn عندئذ ‘at that time’ (adv.) (▷C2:321) (see 2.5.3)

2.7.22 ‘iṭra إثر ‘after’ (temporal)

‘iṭra ḥurūjī raṣāṣatin bi-ṭarīqi l-ḥaṭa’i

إثر خروج رصاصة بطريق الخطأ

‘after a shot was fired in error’

istamarrat šahrayni wa-nisfa l-šahri ‘iṭra ‘amaliyyatin jirāḥiyyatin li-l-qalbi

استمرت شهرين و نصف الشهر إثر عملية جراحية للقلب

‘she continued for two and a half months **after** a surgical heart operation’

Also ‘alā ‘iṭri على إثر (see 2.6.2 for ‘alā على):

‘alā ‘iṭri l-ḍarbatī l-šārūḥiyyati

على إثر الضربة الصاروخية

‘after the rocket strike’

‘alā ‘iṭri l-hazīmati l-tāniyati

على إثر الهزيمة الثانية

‘after the second defeat’

2.7.23 ‘iwaḍa عوض ‘in return for’, ‘in compensation for’

‘iwaḍa l-matā ‘ibī llatī sabbabūhā lahum

عوض المتاعب التي سببوها لهم

‘in compensation for the troubles they caused them’

‘For ‘iwaḍa ‘an عوض عن ‘instead of, in compensation for’ as conj. see 7.5.1.10

2.7.24 'izā'a إزاء 'towards'

'izā'a l-ṣirā'i إزاء الصراع '[his attitude] **towards** the conflict'

mawjatu l-isti'yā'i l-'āmmi 'izā'a l-nuḥabi l-siyāsiyyati

موجة الاستياء العام إزاء النخب السياسية

'the wave of public anger **towards** the political elite'

2.7.25 jiwāra جوار 'next to', 'beside(s)'

jiwāra sinamā sfinkis جوار سينما سفنكس 'next to the Sphinx Cinema'

بجوار bi-jiwāri:

bi-jiwāri maḥaṭṭati sikkati ḥadīdi l-jizata

بجوار محطة سكة حديد الجيزة

'near the Giza railway station'

wa-bi-jiwārihā و بجوارها 'and besides these'

2.7.26 liqā'a لقاء 'in return for'

yu'ālīju 'atfalahā liqā'a malālīma

يعالج أطفالها لقاء ملاليم

'he treats [the village's] children **for** a few millimes'

2.7.27 muqābila مقابل 'opposite', 'in return for'

- 'opposite':

muqābila timtālī l-'asmāki

مقابل تمثال الأسماك

'opposite the fish statue'

- Often with money and payments:

muqābila l-ḥuṣūli 'alā ma'lūmātīn

مقابل الحصول على معلومات

'in return for the obtaining of information'

muqābila nisbatīn muttafaqīn 'alayhā min-a l-'arbāḥi

مقابل نسبة متفق عليها من الأرباح

'in return for an agreed share of the profits'

muqābila 'iḥrājīhi ḥālan min-a l-ḡurfati llati sujina fihā

مقابل إخراجِه حالا من الغرفة التي سُجن فيها

'in return for his immediate removal from the room in which he was imprisoned'

wa-l-'istirlīnī yahbiṭu muqābila l-dūlārī

والإسترليني يهبط مقابل الدولار

'and sterling falls against the dollar'

Note: *dūna muqābilin* 'with no reward' (see *dūna* 2.7.11) دون مقابل

- With *bi-* ب (also *fī* في):

bi-l-muqābili tarānī ...

بالمقابل تراني ...

'in return you will see me ...'

- In sports results [soccer scores]:

wāḥid muqābila lā-ṣay'

واحد مقابل لا شيء

'one [to] nil' (see 2.14.9.2)

2.7.28 *naḥwa* نحو (▷C2:357) 'towards'

wa-ttajaha bi-naḥsihi naḥwa miṣra

و اتّجه بنفسه نحو مصر

'and he went himself towards Egypt'

wa-lam takun tubdī 'awāṭīfahā naḥwahu

ولم تكن تبدي عواطفها نحوه

'she did not show her feelings towards him'

Approximation:

kuntu bada'tu mundu naḥwi ṣahrayni

كنت بدأت منذ نحو شهرين

'I had begun approximately two months ago'

naḥwa 27% min-a l-muwaẓẓafīna

نحو ٢٧٪ من الموظفين

'approximately 27% of the employees'

2.7.29 *naẓīra* نظير 'in exchange', 'in return for'

Specified quantities:

*yu'ajjiruhu li-l-ġayri naẓīra 15% min-a l- 'irādi l-yawmiyyi*يُؤَجِّرُهُ لِلْغَيْرِ نَظِيرَ ١٥٪ مِنْ الْإِيرَادِ اليَوْمِي
'he rents it to others **for** 15% of the daily revenue'*naẓīra mabāliġa mu'ayyanatin*نَظِيرَ مَبَالِغٍ مُعَيَّنَةٍ
'in return **for** specific sums'

For abstract amounts:

*naẓīra l-ištirāki l-mubāširi*نَظِيرَ الْإِشْتِرَاكِ الْمُبَاشِرِ
'in return **for** direct participation'**2.7.30** *nuṣba* نصب 'in front of' (restricted usage)*kuntu 'aḍa'u nuṣba 'aynī ...*كُنْتُ أَضَعُ نَصْبَ عَيْنِي ...
'I used to keep in sight ...', lit. 'put **before** my eyes'**2.7.31** *qabla* قبل (▷C2:343)

- Temporal:

qabla 'ayyāmin قبل أَيَّامٍ 'some days **before**'*wa-waṣalū qablī bi-sā'atin kāmīlatin*و وَصَلُوا قَبْلِي بِسَاعَةِ كَامِلٍ
'and they arrived by a whole hour **before** me' (see 2.6.4 for *bi-*):*fa-yuġādiruhu qabla maḥaṭṭati l-maḥkamati bi-maḥaṭṭatin*فَيُغَادِرُهُ قَبْلَ مَحْطَةِ الْمَحْكَمَةِ بِمَحْطَةٍ
'and he would leave him one station **before** the court',
lit. 'before the, by one ...'

- Diminutive:

*qubayla jawlati klīntūn*قُبَيْلَ جَوْلَةِ كَلِينْتُونِ
'a little **before** Clinton's trip'

- Compound *min qabli* من قبل 'before':

lam ta 'rif 'aḥadan min qablīka

لم تعرف أحدا من قبلك

'she did not know anyone **before you**'

min qablu من قبل 'before', 'previously' (see 2.5.4)

For *qabla* قبل as first element of comp. nouns, 'pre-' see 12.7.1.

2.7.32 *qurba* قرب 'near'

Locative:

qurba wisādatī fī l-layli قرب وسادتي في الليل **'near** my pillow at night'

kānat mustalqiyatan qurba l-funduqi nafsīhi

كانت مستلقية قرب الفندق نفسه

'she was lying down **near** the hotel itself'

bi-l-qurbi min بالقرب من

bi-l-qurbi min šāṭi' i ḥān yūnus

بالقرب من شاطئ خان يونس

'**near** the shore of Khan Yunus'

bi-l-qurbi min-a l-madrasati

بالقرب من المدرسة

'**in** the proximity of the school'

Temporal *qurībata* قرابة 'nigh on':

qurābata nisfi qarnin قرابة نصف قرن **'close to** half a century'

2.7.33 *raġma* رغم 'in spite of'

raġma ta 'addudi 'asfārī šarqan wa-ġarban

رغم تعدد أسفاري شرقا و غربا

'**in spite of** the number of my journeys east and west'

raġma 'asmālihīm-i l-bāliyatī

رغم أسماهم البالية

'**in spite of** their worn rags'

rağman 'an رَغْمًا is still used:

rağman 'annī 'aqadtu muqāranatan bayna ġaybūbatihī l-sa'īdati wa-'araqī l-murhaqi

رَغْمًا عَنِّي عَقَدْتُ مَقَارَنَةً بَيْنَ غَيْبُوبَتِهِ السَّعِيدَةِ وَ أَرْقِي الْمَرْهَقِ

'in spite of myself I made a comparison between his happy unconsciousness and my exhausted sleeplessness' (see *bayna* بَيْنَ 'between' 2.7.7)

For *rağma* 'anna رَغْمَ أَنْ 'in spite of' as conj. see 7.5.2.11

2.7.34 *rahna* رَهْنٌ 'under'

wuḍi'a l-sabta l-māḍiya rahna l-i'tiqāli

وُضِعَ السَّبْتُ الْمَاضِي رَهْنُ الْإِعْتِقَالِ

'he was put last Saturday **under** arrest'

2.7.35 *şawba* صَوَّبَ 'towards'

tumma taḥarruka l-tā'irati al-daḥmati ... şawba l-mamarri

ثُمَّ تَحَرَّكَ الطَّائِرَةُ الضَّخْمَةُ... صَوَّبَ الْمَرَّ

'then the movement of the huge aircraft ... **towards** the runway'

şawba madrasati M. 'A. l-i'dādiyyati

صَوَّبَ مَدْرَسَةَ م.ع. الْإِعْدَادِيَّةِ

'on the way to the M. 'A. Preparatory School'

şawba l-taṭawwuri wa-l-dīmūqrāṭiyyati

صَوَّبَ التَّطَوُّرَ وَالْدِيمُوقْرَاطِيَّةَ

'**towards** development and democratization'

2.7.36 *taḥta* تَحْتَ (C2:350) 'under', 'underneath'

- Literal:

taḥta l-imāmati تحت العِمَامَةِ 'under the turban'

taḥta l-maq'adi تحت المَقْعَدِ 'under the seat'

- Figurative:

taḥta ri'āyati l-farīqi l-'awwali

تَحْتَ رِعَايَةِ الْفَرِيقِ الْأَوَّلِ

'under the patronage of the field marshal'

For *taḥta* تَحْتَ as first element of comp. nouns, 'sub-' see 12.7.1.

2.7.37 *tilwa* تلو 'after'

'inda mutāba 'ati l-riḥlāti l-'adabiyyati 'ilā 'ūrūbbā wāḥidatan **tilwa** l-'uḥrā

عند متابعة الرحلات الأدبية إلى أوروبا واحدة تلو الأخرى

'when pursuing his literary trips to Europe one **after** the other'

2.7.38 *tujāha* تجاه 'towards'

mašā'iruka **tujāha** l-'āḥarīna

مشاعرك تجاه الآخرين

'your feelings **towards** others'

al-siyāsatu l-'amrīkiyyatu **tujāha** l-ṣīni

السياسة الأمريكية تجاه الصين

'the American policy **towards** China'

mas 'ūliyyatuhu **tujāha** mā kataba

مسؤوليته تجاه ما كتب

'his responsibility **for** what he has written'

'indamā lāḥazat naẓarātihi l-ḥāmiyata **tujāhahā**

عندما لاحظت نظراته الحامية تجاهها

'when she noticed his passionate glances **towards her**'

2.7.39 *ṭibqa* طبق, 'in accordance with'

ṭibqa l-'aṣli

طبق الأصل

'**in accordance with** the original'

nusḥatun **ṭibqa** l-'aṣli min 'abīhi

نسخة طبق الأصل من أبيه

'an exact copy of his father' [i.e., a chip off the old block, lit. 'a copy **in accordance with** the original of his father']

- *ṭibqan li-* طبقاً لـ 'in accordance with'

ṭibqan li- l-'uṣūli l-tārīḥiyyati

طبقاً للأصول التاريخية

'**in accordance with** historical principles'

2.7.40 *ṭiwāla* طوال 'during', 'throughout'

ṭiwāla 'akṭara min 'arba'īna sanatan

طوال أكثر من أربعين سنة

'for more than forty years'

ṭiwāla l-'usbū' i l-māḍī

طوال الأسبوع الماضي

'during the whole of last week'

ṭiwāla l-riḥlati

طوال الرحلة

'throughout the journey'

2.7.41 *ṭīlata* طيلة 'during', 'throughout'

ṭīlata l-waqtī طيلة الوقت 'for the whole time'

ṭīlata 'iṣrīna 'āman طيلة عشرين عاما 'for twenty whole years'

ṭīlata l-'usbū' i al-māḍī طيلة الأسبوع الماضي 'throughout all last week'

2.7.42 *wafqa* وفق 'in accordance with'

buḡyata ktišāfi 'ālamīn jadīdīn wa-wafqa qawā'ida musabbaqatin

بغية اكتشاف عالم جديد و وفق قواعد مسبقة

'out of a desire to discover a new world **in accordance** with previously established laws'

wafqan li- وفقا لـ 'in accordance with'

wa-yumkinu wafqan li-dālika dirāsatu kutubi l-riḥlāti l-'arabiyyati

و يمكن وفقا لذلك دراسة كتب الرحلات العربية

'it is possible **in accordance with** that to study the Arabic travel books'

2.7.43 *warā'a* وراء 'behind'

warā'a majālī l-baṣari

وراء مجال البصر

'behind the field of vision'

wa-warā'a dālika 'asbābun kaṭṭīratun

ووراء ذلك أسباب كثيرة

'and there are many reasons **behind** that'

- with *min* من

'anwāru l-buyūti l-muwājihati min warā'i l-satā'iri l-bayḍā'i

أنوار البيوت المواجهة من وراء الستائر البيضاء

'[with] the lights of the houses facing out **from behind** the white curtains'
(note the *min* من here)

For *warā'a* وراء in compounds 'ultra-', 'trans-', see 12.7.1.

2.7.43 *waṣṭa* وسط 'amongst', 'in the middle of'

waṣṭa kulli hādā هذا وسط كل هذا 'in the middle of all this'

waṣṭa birkatin min-a l-dimā'i

وسط بركة من الدماء

'in the middle of a lake of blood'

waṣṭa jawwin 'usriyyin ḡukūriyyin

وسط جو أسري ذكوري

'in the middle of a male family atmosphere'

For *waṣṭa* وسط as first element of comp. nouns, 'mid-' see 12.7.1; for the determiners *miṭla* مثل, 'like' see 2.9.2.1 and *ḡayra* غير 'other than, else' see 2.9.2.3.

2.8 EMPHASIZERS

A number of nouns function as emphasizees or corroborators of other nouns. In some cases these emphasizees occur as 1st elements of annexation + noun, and in others as appositionals (also annexed) + pron. suff., or both.

2.8.1 *nafs* نفس (▷C2:138) 'self', 'same'

See also reflexives (3.13).

2.8.1.1 Annexed, always sing.

'same':

lahu nafs l-fā'iliyyati wa-nafs l-ta'īri l-ṣiḥḥiyyi

له نفس الفاعلية و نفس التأثير الصحي

'it has **the same** effectiveness and **the same** effect on health'

min nafs l-maṣādiri

من نفس المصادر

'from **the same** sources'

mulawwaṭun bi-naḥsi l-māddati

ملوث بنفس المادة

‘polluted with/by **the same** substance’

2.8.1.2 Appositional, agrees in case, number and gender and always annexed to a pron. agreeing and linking with the antecedent.

‘-self’ sing.:

‘anna ra’īsa l-markazi naḥsahu

أنّ رئيس المركز نفسه

‘that the director of the centre **himself**’

al-ma’nā naḥsuhu

المعنى نفسه

‘the meaning **itself**’

Plur. form *‘anfus* أنفُس ‘-selves’ is also used in this way, see **2.8.1.3** for its use with *bi-* بـ

‘same’

fi l-‘usbū ‘i naḥsihi llaḍi raḥalat fihi diyānā

في الأسبوع نفسه الذي رحلت فيه ديانا

‘in **the same** week in which Diana died’

fi l-waḥti naḥsihi

في الوقت نفسه

‘at **the same** time’

yatakallamāni l-luḡata naḥsahā

يتكلّمان اللغة نفسها

‘they (masc. dual) speak **the same** language’

2.8.1.3 With *bi-naḥsi* بنفس، the prep. being superfluous (▷C2:141, 304)

When emphasizing plur. and dual nouns the plur. form *‘anfus* أنفُس is used:

qāmū bi-talwīnihā bi-‘anfusihim

قاموا بتلوينها بأنفسهم

‘they carried out the colouring of it **themselves**’

wa-qad taḥaqqaqatā bi-‘anfusihimā min kulli kalimatin qīlat

وقد تحققتا بأنفسهما من كلّ كلمة قيلت

‘and they [fem. dual] made sure **personally** of every word that was said’

Sing. form *naḥs* نفس ‘-self’, i.e. *bi-naḥsi* بنفس is also used in this way

2.8.2 ‘ayn عَيْن ‘same’, ‘self’

Agrees in case, number and gender (with or without *bi-* بـ)

2.8.2.1 Appositional without *bi-* بـ

sālikan-i l-mamarra ‘aynahu

سالكا الممر عينه

‘walking down **the same** corridor’ (see 2.10.2)

2.8.2.2 Appositional with *bi-* بـ

‘innahu l-junūnu bi-‘aynihi إِنَّهُ الْجُنُونُ بَعَيْنِهِ ‘it is madness **itself**’

With indef. antecedent:

tawqī‘u l-‘iqābi ‘alā sārīqin bi-‘aynihi

توقيع العقاب على سارق بعينه

‘to apply the punishment to one thief **in particular**’

2.8.3 *dāt* ذات ‘self’, ‘same’

(▷C2:122 ‘reflexive particle’, with *bi-* بـ ▷C2:304) (see also under verbs 3.13, and contrast with *dū* ذو set in annexation 2.3.8).

2.8.3.1 Annexed = ‘same’

fī dāti l-laḥẓati فِي ذَاتِ اللَّحْظَةِ ‘at **the same** moment’

2.8.3.2 Appositional, pron. agrees in number and gender with noun

al-ša‘bu l-‘amrīkiyyu dātuhu الشَّعْبُ الْأَمْرِيكِيُّ ذَاتُهُ

‘the American people **itself**’

al-maṣādiru dātuhā الْمَصَادِرُ ذَاتُهَا ‘the sources **themselves**’

taḥmilu l-isma dātahu

تَحْمِلُ الْأِسْمَ ذَاتَهُ

‘[it] carries [fem.sing] **the very** name’

2.8.3.3 With adv. phrase, no pron. suffix *bi-l-dāti* بِالذَّاتِ ‘itself’, ‘particular(ly)’

hunā bi-l-dāti هُنَا بِالذَّاتِ ‘here **specifically**’

li-hāda l-sababi bi-l-dāti لِهَذَا السَّبَبِ بِالذَّاتِ ‘for this **very** reason’

ṭabaqatu l-talawwuṭi bi-l-dāti

طَبَقَةُ التَّلَوُّوتِ بِالذَّاتِ

‘the layer of pollution **itself**’

fī hādā l-waqtī l-ḥarījī bi-l-dāti

في هذا الوقت الحرج بالذات

‘at this **particularly** crucial time’

2.8.4 *mujarrad* مجرد ‘mere[ly]’

(See also below annexed to sentences, 7.5.1.11, also cf. restrictives *faqat* فقط etc., 3.30.3)

As 1st element of annexation:

mujarradu ḥabarin ṣaḡīrin

مجرد خبر صغير

‘a **mere** brief report’

yataqarraru ḥaqqu l-‘amāni bi-mujarradi ‘i‘tā’ihi

يتقرر حقّ الأمان بمجرد إعطائه

‘the right of safety is affirmed by **the mere** giving of it’

laysat mujarrada madīnatin ‘aw ‘āṣimatin

ليست مجرد مدينة أو عاصمة

‘it is not **merely** a city or a capital’ (see 4.2.8.1)

2.8.5 Pronouns

(▷C2:77) cf. 3.5.2 for pron. emphasizing pred., 3.9 emphasizing agreement, 3.11.1 emphasizing dir. obj.

Pronouns may also be used in emphatic apposition to any element:

fī ṣaḥṣihi huwa في شخصه هو ‘in his **very own** person’ (see *bi-ṣaḥṣihi* بشخصه 2.8.6)

hādā laysa kalāmī ‘anā هذا ليس كلامي أنا ‘these are not **my own** words’

wuṣūluhu huwa وصوله هو ‘his **own** arrival’

‘innahā hiya ‘ummuhā tuwāsīnī ‘anā l-ḡarībata

إنّها هي أمّها توأسيني أنا الغريبة

‘**she**, [the little girl’s] mother, was consoling **me**, the stranger’

2.8.6 Miscellaneous emphasizees

bi-ṣaḥṣihi بشخصه ‘himself’:

laysa bi-l-ḡarībīyi ‘an yaḥḍura l-safīru bi-ṣaḥṣihi

ليس بالضرورة أن يحضر السفير بشخصه

‘it is not necessary for the ambassador **himself** to attend’

maḥḍu محض ‘merely’

- As 1st element of annexation:

wa-kāna ḥadīṭuhu ‘an ‘ābā’ihi maḥḍa ḥtilāqin

وكان حديثه عن آبائه محض اختلاق

‘his talk about his ancestors was a mere fabrication’ (see 2.4.8)

laysa bi-maḥḍi l-ṣadaqati

ليس بمحض الصدقة

‘it is not mere charity’ (see 4.2.8.1)

- As adj.:

hādā kaḍibun maḥḍun

هذا كذب محض

‘this is a pure lie’

Agreement in gender is variable:

ṣudfatun maḥḍatun صدفة محضة / *maḥḍun* محض ‘a pure coincidence’

2.9 NOMINAL DETERMINERS

There is a set of nouns, including a group of quantifiers, that have as their principal or sole function the status of determiners, annexed for the most part to the following noun or occurring in apposition.

2.9.1 Quantifiers (for numerals see 2.12)

True quantifiers in Arabic are nouns (but see 2.1.5.1), unlike in English where they are adjs.

2.9.1.1 *kull* كل ‘each’, ‘every’, ‘all’

- Annexed:

To indef. sing. ‘each’, ‘every’:

kullu millīmin naḥṣulu ‘alayhi

كلّ ملّيم نحصل عليه

‘every millieme we get’

kullu ḍaḥiyyatin min ḍaḥāyā l-zalzālī

كلّ ضحية من ضحايا الزلزال

‘every [single] victim of the earthquake’

(cf. *kullu ḍaḥāyā l-zilzālī* كلّ ضحايا الزلزال 'all the victims of the earthquake')

yahšā kulla rannati tilifūnin

يخشى كلّ رنة تليفون

'he fears [each and] every telephone ring'

To def. sing. 'all', 'the whole':

fa-'akala kulla l-raġīfi فأكل كلّ الرغيف 'so he ate the whole loaf'

To def. plur. 'all':

kullu l-šarikāti كلّ الشركات 'all the companies'

To rel. clauses (5.4.1)

wa-l-ḥaḳīqatu 'anna kulla man ḥarajū laylata 23 yūliyū ... 'amsakū

bi-l-qalami wa-qālū kalimatahum

والحقيقة أنّ كلّ مَنْ خرجوا ليلة ٢٣ يوليو ... أمسكوا بالقلم و قالوا كلمتهم

'and the fact is that all those who went out on the night of the 23rd July ... took up the pen and said their word'

- Generic:

bi-kulli l-wuḍūḥi wa-l-širāḥati

بكلّ الوضوح والصراحة

'clearly and frankly', lit. 'with all clarity and frankness'

- Appositional (and annexed) (>C2:24, 73, 124, 128):

li-l-'ālamī kullihī

للعالم كلّهُ

'to the whole world'

'alā mustawā l-minṭaqaṭi kullihā

على مستوى المنطقة كلّها

'on the level of the entire region'

For *kull* كلّ in abs. obj., see 2.4.2.5.

For agreement with pred. see 3.1.1, for verbs 3.8.4.

- *kilā* كلا (>C2:128; 130) 'both'

kilā كلا (fem. *kiltā* كلتا (indep.) and *kilay* كليّ (masc.), *kiltay* كلتيّ (fem.) (dep./obl.) 'both' is the dual of *kull* كلّ that is still used in MWA. It functions only as the 1st element of annexation + noun or attached pron. Inflection for dep./obl.

only occurs when *kilā* كلا is attached to pron. Verbal and adj. concord is always sing.:

bi- 'anna kilā l-ḥizbayni lam ya 'ud ṣāliḥan li-l-ta 'bīri 'an ...

بأنّ كلا الحزبين لم يعد صالحا للتعبير عن...

'that **both** [dep. with noun] parties are no longer fit to express ...'

(= 'neither party', see negs 4.2)

fī kilā l-ḥālatayni

في كلتا الحالتين

'in **both** [obl. with noun] cases'

- With attached pron.:

li-yakūna 'aḥaduhumā 'aw kilāhumā ḥallan li-qaḍiyyati l-mub 'adīna

ليكون أحدهما أو كلاهما حلاً لقضية المبعدين

'so that one of them or **both of them** [indep. with pron.] may be a solution to the problem of the expelled persons'

'anna kilāhimā yu 'ayyidu 'amaliyyata l-salāmi

أنّ كليهما يؤيد عملية السلام

'that **both of them** [dep. with pron. see 'inna إن Chapter 3] support the peace process'

al- 'amākinu l-muḥaṣṣaṣatu li-kilāhimā

الأماكن المخصصة لكليهما

'the places set aside for **both of them**' [obl. with pron.]

- *kullun min* كلّ من set 'both', 'each of'

Unlike *kilā* كلا, *kull* كلّ can often be found with *min* من in the sense of 'each of'. The reason for this distinction is that *kull* كلّ is used distributively, expressing the individuality of each entity. It is often found with the dual but can be used to enumerate more than two entities, and inflects like *kull* كلّ in 2.9.1.1

kullun min-a l-ḥizbayni l-jumhūriyyi wa-l-dīmūqrāṭiyyi

كلّ من الحزبين الجمهوري و الديمقراطي

'**both** parties the Republican and the Democratic'

al-iddihāru wa-l-istīmāru wa-l-irtifā 'u bi-mu 'addali kullin minhumā

الدّخار والاستثمار والارتفاع بمعدّل كلّ منهما

'saving and investment, and the raising of the level of **both of them**'

fī kullin min miṣra wa-l-kuwayti

في كلّ من مصر والكويت

'in **both** Egypt and Kuwait'

Verbal concord is generally sing.:

kullun minnā kāna yattaki 'u 'alā l-'āḥari

كلّ منّا كان يتكئ على الآخر

'each of us used to lean on the other'

(see 'ayy 'أي 'any' 2.9.1.6 for the same construction)

Also used with plur.:

kullun min ha'ulā 'i l-qādati كلّ من هؤلاء القادة 'every one of these leaders'

- *al-kull* الكل / *kullun* كلّ (>C2:124) 'the whole'

kull كلّ is still commonly used as a free form, either def. or indef.:

al-kullu maṣṣūlun الكلّ مشغول 'everybody is busy'

al-kullu yataḥaddatu الكلّ يتحدّث 'everybody is talking'

dawru l-majlisi ka-kullin

دور المجلس ككلّ

'the role of the council as a whole'

nuṣannifuhā kullan 'alā ḥidatin

نصنّفها كلّاً على حدة

'we categorize them each one individually'

li-kullin takālifuḥu

ولكل تكاليفه

'everyone has his obligations'

2.9.1.2 *jamī* 'جميع' (>C2:132) 'all'

- As 1st element of annexation

fi jamī'i taṣarrufātihim

في جميع تصرفاتهم

'in all their activities'

'adā 'u jamī'i l-'amaliyyāti l-ḥārijīyyati

أداء جميع العمليات الخارجية

'carrying out all overseas operations'

nuraḥhibu bi-jamī'i l-ḥāḍirīna

نرحّب بجميع الحاضرين

'we welcome all those present'

fi jamī'i l- 'uṣūri

في جميع العصور
'in **all** ages'

Appositional:

'aṣwātu l-muṭribāti jamī'ihinna

أصوات المطربات جميعهن
'the voices of the singers [fem.], **all of them**'

- *al-jamī'* 'الجميع' 'everyone', 'all'

al-salāmu 'ayḍan mas 'ūliyyatu l-jamī'i

السلام أيضا مسؤولية الجميع
'peace also is the responsibility of **all**'

yajibu 'an yakūna l-jamī'u mušārikīna

يجب أن يكون الجميع مشاركين
'**all** must take part'

- *jamī'an* جميعا (see 2.4.8) (▷C2:189)

Invariable dep. case sing. with adverbial function:

wa-qad 'aḥzananā jamī'an mawḍū'u l- 'irhābi

وقد أحزننا جميعا موضوع الإرهاب
'the subject of terrorism has saddened us **all**'

fa-l-nāsu jamī'an min 'aṣlin wāḥidīn

فالناس جميعا من أصل واحد
'and people are **all** from one origin'

- *'ajma'* أجمع (▷C2:133) sing. or plur. in dep. case with or without pron.:

'a'āda llāhu hādīhi l- 'ayyāma 'alā l- 'ālamī 'ajma'a bi-l-ḥayri wa-l-barakāti

أعاد الله هذه الأيام على العالم أجمع بالخير والبركات
'may God make these days happen again with goodness and blessings over **all** the world' (see 3.25.1 for optative verbs)

'ilā 'an bada'at ta'kula 'abnā'ahā 'ajma'īna

إلى أن بدأت تأكل أبنائها أجمعين
'until it begin to consume all of its sons', lit. 'its sons, all [of them]' (see 7.5.1.10 for *'ilā 'an* إلى أن)

Annexed with prep. *bi-* بـ

bi- 'ajma'ī بأجمع with attached pron. linking to the antecedent:

yadda 'ī 'anna l-ša 'ba bi-'ajma'īhi yaqifu warā 'ahu

يدّعي أنّ الشعب بأجمعه يقف وراءه

'he claims that the people **in their entirety** stand behind him'

2.9.1.3 *ba 'd* بعض 'some', 'any' (▷C2:134) (see **1.12.4.1** on periphrastic indefiniteness)

- Annexed:

ba 'du l-jinsiyyāti l-'ajnabiyyati

بعض الجنسيات الأجنبية

'**certain** foreign nationalities'

wajadnā ba 'da l-masājidi taṭlubu ...

وجدنا بعض المساجد تطلب ...

'we found **some** of the mosques requiring ...' (note agr. with 'mosques')

bi-'iḍāfati ba 'dī l-ta 'dīlāti

بإضافة بعض التعديلات

'with the addition of **certain** adjustments'

li-taḡṭiyati naṣṣāṭin ba 'duhā ḥaḳīqīyyun wa-ba 'duhā wahmiyyun

لتغطية نشاطات بعضها حقيقي وبعضها وهمي

'to cover activities **some of which** are real [masc. sing.] and **some** imaginary [masc. sing.]'

For more issues of agreement see **3.1.1** for pred., **3.8.4** for verbs.

- *al-ba 'd* البعض 'some' (▷C2:134; **3.14.3**)

Occurs independently with collective sense of 'some':

'id yumattīlu l-ba 'da l-qalba wa-l-ba 'du l-'āḥaru yumattīlu l-'aqla

إذ يمثل البعض القلب و البعض الآخر يمثل العقل

'since **some** represent the heart and **the others** represent the intellect'

'illā 'anna l-ba 'da lahu taḥaffuḏātun

إلا أنّ البعض له تحفظات

'except that **some** people have reservations' (note the agreement)

Without def. art.:

lam yaḥuṣṣa ba‘ḍan dūna ba‘ḍin

لم يخصّ بعضاً دون بعض

‘it did not concern **some** to the exclusion of (some) others’

‘amḍaytu bihi ba‘ḍan min waqtī

أمضيت به بعضاً من وقتي

‘I spent **some** of my time in it’

Reciprocity and in apposition:

tata‘allaqu ‘ajzā‘uhā ba‘ḍuhā bi-ba‘ḍin

تتعلق أجزاؤها بعضها ببعض

‘in which its parts are interrelated with one another’

2.9.1.4 *mu‘ẓam* معظم ‘most (of)’, ‘the majority of’

1st element of annexation followed by plur. noun:

fī mu‘ẓami l-duwāl l-‘urūbiyyati

في معظم الدول الأوروبية

‘in the **majority** of European countries’

Dep. sing. noun occurs in generic time expressions: *mu‘ẓama l-waqtī* معظم الوقت ‘**most** of the time’. For agreement see 3.1.1 for pred., 3.8.4 for verbs.

2.9.1.5 *biḍ‘a* بضعة (cf. 1.12.4 on indefiniteness; see also under numbers, see 2.12.17) ‘few’, ‘some’ (originally used for an indeterminate number from 3–10)

As 1st element of annexation + 2nd element in indef. plur. As with numerals 3–10 gender polarity rule applies i.e., masc. noun in sing. form requires fem. form *biḍ‘a* بضعة, and fem. noun in its sing. form requires masc. form *biḍ‘* بضع:

biḍ‘atu ‘amtārīn بضعة أمتار ‘a few metres’

ba‘da biḍ‘i daqā‘iqa بعد بضع دقائق ‘after a few minutes’

For *nayyif* نيف ‘few’ see numbers 2.12.15. For *nisf* نصف (▷C2:91) ‘half’ see 2.14.2.

2.9.1.6 *‘ayy* أيّ or *‘ayya* أيّة (▷C1:156) ‘any’ (see interrogs. 10.6 and exclamatory 3.28.3; also see indef. 1.12.4.1)

‘ayy أيّ is always annexed to the following noun; gender agr. is no longer compulsory

- With gender agreement:

'ayyatu wasāṭatin أيّة وساطة **'any** mediation'

lā ya'kulu 'ayya naw'in min-a l-'a 'lāfi

لا يأكل أيّ نوع من الأعلاف

'it does not eat **any** kind of fodder'

lan yaḥmila 'ayya jadīdin

لن يحمل أيّ جديد

'it will not carry **anything** new' (see 2.1.5)

- Without gender agreement:

dūna 'an 'atalaqqā 'ayya stijābatin

دون أن أتلقّى أيّ استجابة

'without receiving [that I receive] **any** reply'

lā yumkinunī 'an 'uḥaddida bi-l-ṭab'i 'ayyahā sa-yahbiṭu 'awwalan

لا يمكنني أن أحدد بالطبع أيّها سيهبط أولاً

'I cannot predict of course **which of them** will fall first'

- Subset with *min* من (cf. *kullun min* كلّ من 2.9.1.2):

dūna 'an tafqida 'ayyun min 'anāṣirihā ṣay'an min jāḍibiyyatihā

دون أن تفقد أيّ من عناصرها شيئاً من جاذبيتها

'without **any of** its elements losing any of their charm'

lam yuqaddimhā 'ayyun min maṣānī 'i l-sayyārāti l-'uḥrā

لم يقدمها أيّ من مصانع السيارات الأخرى

'no **other** car manufacturers offered it'

li-l-iṣṭirāki fī 'ayyin min-a l-ḥidmatayni

للاشتراك في أيّ من الخدمتين

'to subscribe to **any of** the two services'

2.9.1.7 *kāffa* كافة 'all'

- Annexed (cf. *kull* كلّ 2.9.1.1):

fī kāffati l-maḥāfilī l-duwaliyyati

في كافة المحافل الدولية

'in **all** the international arenas'

fī taḥlilī kāffati l-qadāyā

في تحليل كافة القضايا

'in solving **all** the cases'

tārīḥu l- 'islāmi fi kāffati marāḥilihi
 تاريخ الإسلام في كافة مراحلہ
 'the history of Islam in **all** its stages'

- Invariable dep. case sing. adverbial form (see 2.4.8):

wajaba 'alā l-muslimīna kāffatan
 وجب على المسلمين كافة
 'it became a duty on the Muslims **altogether**'

šu'ūbu l- 'ālamī kāffatan
 شعوب العالم كافة
 'the peoples of the world **altogether**'

2.9.1.8 *sā'ir* 'all'

- Found only in annexation (cf. *kull* كل 2.9.1.1 and *kāffa* كافة above):

sā'iru šu'ūnihim سائر شؤونهم 'all their affairs'

2.9.1.9 *šattā* 'all kinds of', 'various'

Invariable

- Annexed:

fi šattā l-majālāti l-siyāsiyyati wa-l-iqtisādiyyati wa-l-ṭaqāfiyyati
 في شتى المجالات السياسية والاقتصادية والثقافية
 'in **all** kinds of political, economic and cultural areas'

- Appositional variant:

taḡayyurātun rūḥiyyatun šattā
 تَغْيِرَات رُوحِيَّة شَتَّى
 'various spiritual changes'

'aškālun šattā min-a l-mu'ānāti
 أَشْكَال شَتَّى مِنَ الْمَعَانَاةِ
 'all kinds of suffering'

2.9.1.10 The following quantifiers require an attached pron. linking them to the antecedent (cf. *naḥs* نفس, 2.8.1.2).

bi- 'akmali- بأكمله 'as a whole':

al-kawnu bi-'akmalihi
 الكون بأكمله
 'the universe **in its entirety**'

kalimātun dāllatun ‘alā l-’amri bi-’akmalihī

كلمات دالة على الأمر بأكمله

‘words denoting the matter in **its entirety**’

bi-ḥaḍāfiri- بحذافر ‘lock, stock and barrel’:

takarrara l-ḥulmu bi-ḥaḍāfirihi

تكرر الحلم بحذافره

‘the dream repeated itself **in all its details**’

bi-’asri- بأسر ‘the whole’:

al-madīnatu bi-’asrihā المدينة بأسرها ‘**the whole** town’

2.9.2 Miscellaneous determiners, ‘same’, ‘other than’. ‘un-’

2.9.2.1 *miṭl* مثل (plur. *’amṭāl* أمثال (▷C2:144) ‘same’, ‘like’

- Annexed, with following def. noun in either sing. or plur.:

miṭlu hādīhi l-malābisi lā tatanāsabu ma’a miṣra l-ḥadīṭati

مثل هذه الملابس لا تتناسب مع مصر الحديثة

‘clothes **like** these do not go with modern Egypt’, lit. ‘the like of these clothes’

fī miṭli hādīhi l-zurūfi

في مثل هذه الظروف

‘in circumstances **like** these’

miṭlu hādīhi l-māddati

مثل هذه المادة

‘a substance **like** this’

- Apposition, with attached pron.:

hunāka ‘aṣarātun miṭluhu هناك عشرات مثله ‘there are dozens **like it**’

jamī‘u l-’aṭibbā’i ‘amṭālika جميع الأطباء أمثالك ‘all doctors **like you**’

min sūqin miṭli hādā من سوق مثل هذا ‘of a market **like this**’

(Note: *sūq* سوق is one of the nouns that may be masc. or fem. although it is normally fem., 1.12.2.1)

- miṭla* مثل as prepositional (C 2:145) (cf. 2.7)

When the annexed phrase is adverbial *miṭl* takes dep. case (as does *ḡayr* غير 2.9.2.3, for example, and the annexed quantifiers in 2.9.1):

miṭla l-maḥābiri l-ḥadīṭati مثل المخابر الحديثة ‘like modern laboratories’ (for conj. *miṭlamā* مثلما see 5.9.11.)

2.9.2.2 *ṣibh* شبه ‘semi-’, ‘quasi-’, ‘sort of’ (cf. 12.7.1 for comp. nouns quasi-, etc.)

1st element of annexation followed by noun or adj. in the indef. or def. form, either sing. or plur.:

- Noun:

fī mawḍiʿin ṣibhi qīṭārīn

في موضع شبه قطار
‘in a a train-like place’

dālīka l-ḥamāsu sibhu l-dīniyyi

ذلك الحماس شبه الديني
‘that semi-religious zeal’

wa-ʾišnā fī ṣibhi l-ḡurbati llatī ʾaradnāhā li-ʾanfusinā

وعشنا في شبه الغربة التي أردناها لأنفسنا
‘and we lived in the semi-exile we wanted for ourselves’

- Adj. (attrib. and pred.):

wa-hiya sibhu maṣlūlatin ʾalā l-sarīri

وهي شبه مشلولة على السرير
‘she being semi-paralysed on the bed’

ziyārātun sibhu yawmiyyatin

زيارات شبه يومية
‘almost daily visits’ (here as type of adj. determiner)

ʾinna muwājahata l-majlisi li-l-ḥukūmati ʾilā hādā l-ḥaddi sibhu mustaḥīlatin

إن مواجهة المجلس للحكومة إلى هذا الحد شبه مستحيلة
‘parliament’s opposition to the government to this extent is virtually impossible’

2.9.2.3 *ḡayr* غير ‘different’, ‘other’ hence often ‘not’, ‘else’

ḡayr غير functions predicatively or attributively (in the latter sense functioning as a type of adjectival determiner, as does *ṣibh* شبه 2.9.2.2), or nominally

(▷C2:147) (see also relatives *ġayra mā* ما غير 5.9, exceptives 9.5.1, 12.6 for comp. words ‘non-’, ‘un-’), but it is not a neg. particle.

- Annexed to adj. or noun for neg.: pred. *ġayr* غير states that ‘x [is] other-than-y’ (see 3.1 for pred.):

hāḍihi l-kawādiru ġayru mawjūdatini-l-’āna

هذه الكوادر غير موجودة الآن

‘these cadres are non-existent now’, lit. ‘**other than** existing’

raġabātunā ġayru marḍiyyatin

رغباتنا غير مرضية

‘our desires are unsatisfied’, lit. ‘**other than** satisfied’

Can also be used with pron.:

al-ḥadāṭatu fī ’ūrubbā ġayruhā fī l-ṣīni

الحداثة في أوروبا غيرها في الصين

‘modernity in Europe is **different from** what it is in China’, lit. ‘is other than it’

- Attributive:

Indef.:

ma ’lūmātun muwattaqatun ġayru qābilatin li-l-ṣakki

معلومات موثقة غير قابلة للشك

‘indisputable documented facts’ (lit. ‘**other than** capable of being doubted’)

fī ma ’rakatin ġayri mutakāfi’atin

في معركة غير متكافئة

‘in an unequal battle’ (see also 12.6), lit. ‘in a battle **other than** equal’.

Def. (adj. takes def. art.):

al-qawā’idu ġayru l-mudawwanati

القواعد غير المدونة

‘the unwritten rules’, lit. ‘**other than** the written’

faḍlan ’an-i l-manẓari ġayri l-ḥaḍāriyyi wa-l-’insāniyyi

فضلا عن المنظر غير الحضاري و الإنساني

‘not to mention the uncivilized and inhuman spectacle’, lit. ‘the **other than** civilized and [other than] human’

- Note the following with unreal annexation, see 2.1.3.2:

al- 'atfālu l- 'urju ġayru muktamili l-numuwwi

الأطفال العرج غير مكتملي النمو

'lame children not fully developed', lit. '**other than** full of development'

- *ġayr* غير sometimes takes the def. art. now in spite of its noun status (cf. unreal annexation 2.1.3.2 which might have been the model for this extension):

al- 'amākinu al-ḡayyiqatu l-ġayru muhawwātin

الأماكن الضيقة الغير مهواة

'[the] confined unaired places', lit. 'the confined places **the other than** the aired'

al-wasā 'ilu l-ġayru mašrū 'atin

الوسائل الغير مشروعة

'[the] illegal means', lit. 'the means **the other than** the legal'

(note generic art. on the nouns)

- Nominal function, annexed to noun or pron.:

wa-qad šāraka ġayru l- 'arabi ... fī

وقد شارك غير العربي

'and non-Arabs participated', lit. '**other than** the Arabs'

jamā 'atun min-a l-masīḥiyyīna wa-ġayrihim

جماعة من المسيحيين و غيرهم

'a group of Christians and others', lit. '**other than** them'

hāḍihi l-ḥīlatu yumkinu 'an tajūza 'alā ġayrihi

هذه الحيلة يمكن أن تجوز على غيره

'this trick could be played on someone else', lit. '**other than** him'

- *min ġayr* من غير 'without' (see also 2.6.12., 7.5.1.11 for *min ġayri 'an* من غير 'as conj.')(▷C2:149, 152)

min ġayri ta'abin من غير تعب 'without toil'

- *al-ġayr* الغير 'the others'

Stands independently and defined in the sense of 'others':

fī 'iz 'āji l-ġayri

في إزعاج الغير

'in the annoyance of **others**'

fī sabīli ta'jīrīhā li-l-ġayri

في سبيل تأجيرها للغير

'in order to lease them to **others**'

'an yasmaḥa li-l-**ḡayr**i bi-sti'māli tilifūnihi
 أَنْ يَسْمَحَ لِلْغَيْرِ بِاسْتِعْمَالِ تَلِفُونِهِ
 'to allow **someone else** to use his telephone'

When the annexed phrase is adverbial *ḡayr* غير takes dep. case (as does *mīl* مثل 2.9.2.1, for example, and the annexed quantifiers in 2.9.1) exceptives, 9.5 (▷C2:150); *ḡayra* 'an[na] أَنْ غَيْرَ see 7.5.2.11. For *lā ḡayru* لَا غَيْرُ see 2.18.

2.9.2.4 *siwā* سَوَى 'other than', 'besides'

Similar to *ḡayr* غير in that they both function in an exceptive sense (see 9.5.2). However, *siwā* سَوَى never occurs with def. art. (cf. 2.9.2.3.5) and cannot be followed by an adj. (cf. 2.9.2.3.2).

- as synonym of *ḡayr* غير in exceptive sense with neg:

lā yaṣīfu siwā l-mamāliki l-'arīqati ḥaḍāratan
 لَا يَصِفُ سَوَى الْمَمَالِكِ الْعَرِيقَةِ حَضَارَةً
 'he describes **only** those states old in civilization'

(see 2.11.8 for *tamyīz* with elative)

- non-exceptional affirm. sense:

wa-siwāhā min-a l-'a'māli
 وَسَوَاهَا مِنَ الْأَعْمَالِ
 'and works **other** than these' (see *mā ... min* مَا ... مِنْ 5.4.4)

For *siwā* 'anna أَنْ سَوَى (▷C2:355) see subord. 7.5.2.11.

2.9.2.5 'adam عدم 'lack of', 'absence of'

'adamu tawaṣṣuliḥā li-ḥallin
 عَدَمُ تَوَصُّلِهَا لِحَلِّ
 'her **not reaching** a solution'

'adamu 'i'ādati tajmīdi 'ayyi muntajin
 عَدَمُ إِعَادَةِ تَجْمِيدِ أَيِّ مُنْتَجٍ
 'not to refreeze any product' (see 're-' 12.7);

'adamu l-lujū'i 'ilā l-ṭabībi 'illā 'inda l-ḍarūratī l-quṣwā
 عَدَمُ اللُّجُوءِ إِلَى الطَّبِيبِ إِلَّا عِنْدَ الْضَّرُورَةِ الْقُصْوَى
 'not to visit the doctor except in extreme necessity'

(see neg. compound nouns at 12.6)

2.9.2.6 *sū* 'سوء' 'mis-' (see 12.7)

sū'u l-fahmi سوء الفهم 'misunderstanding'

bi-sū'i niyyatin بسوء نية 'with ill-will'

sū'u l-'idārati سوء الإدارة 'mismanagement'

2.10 VERBAL NOUN AND PARTICIPIAL PHRASES

Verbal nouns may be annexed to their agents or their objects, or may operate directly on the obj., while participles may be annexed only to their objects, and may also operate on them directly. When the verb is indirectly transitive through a prep. (3.11.4) its verbal nouns and participles do the same.

2.10.1 Verbal noun phrases

2.10.1.1 *Annexed agent* (▷C2:401) ('subjective genitive')

Occur mainly with intrans. verbs:

fi hudūri l-malikati في حضور الملكة 'in the presence of the Queen', lit. 'being present'

'inda wuṣūli l-qīṭāri عند وصول القطار 'upon the arrival of the train', lit. 'arriving'

'ala murūri l-zamāni على مرور الزمان 'with the passing of time'

2.10.1.2 *Annexed obj.* (▷C2:402) ('objective genitive')

li-ḥifẓi l-salāmi

لحفظ السلام

'for the preservation of peace' = 'peace-keeping'

qabla 'idhāli l-barīdi l-'iliktrūniyyi

قبل إدخال البريد الإلكتروني

'before the introduction of e-mail'

yuhaddidu bi-jtiyāzi ḥaṭṭi waqfi l-nāri

يهدّد باجتياز خط وقف النار

'threatens to cross the ceasefire line', lit. 'the crossing of'

2.10.1.3 *Obj. in dep. case* (▷C2:403)

When the agent of the verb is already annexed to the noun, the obj. must be in the dep. case:

munḍu tawallīhi mahāmma maṣṣibihi

منذ تولّيه مهامّ منصبه

‘since **his taking up the duties** of his office’, lit. ‘the taking up of him (obl.) his duties (dep.)’

min tārihi bulūgi l-muwazzafi sinna l-sittina

من تاريخ بلوغ الموظف سنّ الستين

‘from the date of **the official’s reaching the age** of sixty’

ḥawla ‘idmānihā l-tadhīna

حول إدمانها التدخين

‘concerning **her addiction to smoking**’

tarkuhā li majāla l-iktišāfi bi-nafsi

تركها لي مجال الاكتشاف بنفسي

‘**her leaving** to me **the chance** of making the discovery myself’

2.10.1.4 *With doubly trans. verbs*

qarrarat maṣṣahu darajata l-duktūrāh

قررت منحه درجة الدكتوراة

‘it decided [namely, committee] **to give him the PhD degree**’

‘i ‘tā’uhunna l-ma’rifata l-fikriyyata wa-l-‘amaliyyata l-lāzimata

إعطاؤهنّ المعرفة الفكرية والعملية اللازمة

‘giving **them** [fem.] **the necessary intellectual and practical knowledge**’

‘idā’uhā maḥāzina maṣṣlaḥati l-ḡamāriki

إيداعها مخازن مصلحة الجمارك

‘depositing **them** [in] **the warehouses** of the customs department’

See also *i ‘tabara*, 2.5.8.5

2.10.1.5 *With verbal noun of kāna كان ‘to be’, see 3.16.2;*

min kawni l-‘aqīdati hiya mā yan‘aqidu ‘alayhi qalbuhi wa-ḡamīruhu

من كون العقيدة هي ما ينعقد عليه قلبه و ضميره

‘because of belief being **what** his heart and conscience are bound to’

fī kawnihinna ‘ab‘ada ‘an-i l-rāḡati wa-l-hudū‘i min ḡayrihinna

في كونهنّ أبعد عن الراحة والهدوء من غيرهنّ

‘in **their** [fem.] **being further** from relaxation and calm than others’

2.10.1.6 With free obj. pronoun 'iyyā- إِيَّا (see 2.4.1.1)

The particle 'iyyā إِيَّا occurs after verbal nouns and active participles where annexation of two pronouns is not permitted, and where, in many cases, an agent pronoun is already suffixed:

istiyā'ī min 'adami 'i'tā'ika 'iyyāya sayyārataka l-tāniyata

استيائي من عدم إعطائك إِيَّاي سيارتك الثانية

'my displeasure at **your** not **giving me** your second car', lit. 'the giving of you [agent] [to] me [1st obj.] your car [2nd obj.]'

(see 12.6 on 'adam عدم 'lack of', i.e. 'non-')

In addition, where the agent noun is required to preserve its formal indefiniteness (usually the circ. qual., see 2.4.6) pron. suffixation is impossible, and is replaced by the 'iyyā إِيَّا alternative:

wa-rakala 'ahaduhumā l-'āhara fī mu'ahharatihi 'āmīran 'iyyāhu 'an yaftaḥa l-ṣaṇṭata

وركل أحدهما الآخر في مؤخرته آمرا إِيَّاه أن يفتح الشنطة

'one of them kicked the other in his backside, **ordering him** to open the bag'

2.10.1.7 Paraphrase of dep. obj. with li- لـ (▷C2:286)

When the verbal noun is def. or annexed the prep. *li-* لـ can be used to paraphrase (note that this is normally a stylistic alternative to obj. in dep. form, see 2.10.1.3):

ba'da faqdihi li-zawjatihi

بعد فقده لزوجته

'after his losing **his wife**', cf. 'after his loss **of** his wife'

'alā rafḍihi l-imtiṭāla li-qtirāḥi l-wazīri

على رفضه الامتثال لاقتراح الوزير

'in his refusal to obey **the** minister's **suggestion**'

istiḡlāluhu li-l-furṣati l-'aḥīrati lahu

استغلاله للفرصة الأخيرة له

'his exploiting **the last opportunity** he had'

min kaṭrati 'aklihim li-l-samaki fī ṣiḡarihim

من كثرة أكلهم للسماك في صغرهم

'on account of **their eating** a lot of **fish** when they were young'

fī muqābalatihi li-l-ra'īsi l-sūriyyi

في مقابلته للرئيس السوري

'in his meeting **with** the Syrian President'

It is also commonly used under the following conditions:

When the verbal noun of trans. verb is indef. dep., as in purposive obj. (see 2.4.5):

tamhīdan li-raf'ihā 'ilā wizārati l-ṣiḥḥati

تمهيدا لرفعها إلى وزير الصحة

'in preparation for its submission to the minister of health'

To preserve indefiniteness of verbal noun:

mujarradu jam 'in li-'aškālīn turāṭiyyatin

مجرد جمع لأشكال تراثية

'merely a collection of traditional figures' (see *mujarrad* مجرد 2.8.4)

When the obj. is a pron. not a noun:

ḥilāla fatarāti qiyādatī lahā

خلال فترات قيادتي لها

'during the periods of my leading it'

2.10.1.8 Maf'ūl muṭlaq as obj. (▷C2:448) (see 2.4.2.5)

li-ḥuḍū'ihī lahum ḥuḍū'an lā yalīqu bi-makānatihi

لخضوعه لهم خضوعا لا يليق بمكانته

'because of his being submissive to them in a way', lit. 'with a being submissive not befitting his position'

2.10.1.9 Verbal noun with passive meaning (▷C2:402)

The verbal noun as part of an annexation structure can express a passive sense of something 'having been done' even though structurally Arabic does not distinguish:

ba'da 'iblāḡī bi-

بعد إبلاغي بـ

'after my being informed of'

2.10.1.10 As circ. quals see 2.4.6

2.10.1.11 Alternative to subord. clause, see 'an أن 7.5.1.1,

qarrartu 'ijrā'a l-'amaliyyati

قررت إجراء العملية

'I decided to carry out the operation', lit '[on] the carrying out of'

2.10.1.12 Verbal nouns from indir. trans. verbs

When the verb is indirectly transitive through a prep. (3.11.4) its verbal nouns do the same:

fakkara fī l-ḡahābi 'ilā zamīlihi
 فكر في الذهاب إلى زميله
 'he thought about **going to** his colleague'

2.10.2 Active participial phrases (▷ C2:406)

Act. (and pass. participles) have all the functions of adjs, see 2.1.

- Attributive (nom.):

li-kalimātihi l-muhaddidati

لكلماته المهددة

'at his **threatening** words'

jalasa 'alā l-kursiyyi l-mulāṣiqi li-kursiyyi l-'arūsi

جلس على الكرسي الملاصق لكرسي العروس

'he sat on the chair **adjacent** to the chair of the bride'

al-ṭabību l-mušrifu 'alā l-'ilāji

الطبيب المشرف على العلاج

'the doctor **supervising** the treatment'

Because of their participial meaning they can often be translated as rel. clauses when used attributively (see 5.0), cf., 'the proposals leading to a solution' and 'the proposals that lead to a solution':

ḥadīṭun muḥayyibun li-l-'āmāli

حديث مخيب للآمال

'a **disappointing** talk', lit. 'a talk disappointing to hopes'

cf. *ḥadīṭun yuḥayyibu l-'āmāla*

حديث يخيّب الآمال

- Attributive with annexation:

ḡāta ṣabāḥin šāḥiqi l-ḡaw'i ḥādi'i l-samti

ذات صباح شاهق الضوء هادي السميت

'one amazingly bright and peaceful morning', lit. 'one morning **amazing** of light, **calm** of manner'

(see unreal annexation 2.1.3.2)

- Obj. of verb:

wa-wajadnā l-bayta sākīnan sukūna l-qubūri

ووجدنا البيت ساكنا سكونا القبور

‘and we found the house as silent as a grave’,

lit. ‘**being silent** the silence of the grave’

(for abs. obj. qualifying a previous noun, adj. or participle (or rather, the verbal notion implicit in these words), see 2.4.2.5 (▷C2:448; 3:275))

- Simple predicative:

‘aw ‘innahā mutakabbiratun wa-mutaḡaṭṭrisatun

أو إنها متكبرة ومتغطرسة

‘or that she is **haughty** and **conceited**’ (see 1.10.12 for quadriliteral forms)

- Predicative with annexation:

kāna bālīḡa l-taṭallubi

كان بالغ التطلب

‘he made excessive demands’, lit. ‘he was **excessive** of demand’

(see unreal annexation 2.1.3.2)

- With annexed objs. when part. is used as noun expressing verbal action (▷C2:408).

Note that some participles have a noun function expressing a permanent quality as well as a temporary one. In such cases the verbal element is almost absent. This is particularly true of professional designations:

ṣāni‘atu qubba ‘ātihā صانعة قبعتها ‘her hat-maker’

ḥākimu l-šāriqati حاكم الشارقة ‘the Ruler of Sharjah’

musā‘idu l-mustašāri l-ṭibbī l-miṣriyyi

مساعد المستشار الطبي المصري

‘the assistant to the Egyptian medical consultant’

- Dep. objs (▷C2:411):

When the part. is necessarily indef. (e.g. as an obj. qual.) its obj. is always in the dep. case:

mu‘linatan ‘i‘ādata ftiṭāḥihi

معلنة إعادة افتتاحه

‘announcing its re-opening’

muttahiman ‘iyyāhu bi-l-saṭwi

متّهما إيّاه بالسطو

‘accusing him of burglary’

(see 'iyyā إِيَّا 2.10.1.6)

muqallidan ṣawtan nisā 'iyyan

مقلدا صوتا نسائيا

'imitating a womanly **voice**'

- With preps (▷C2:413):

When the verb is indirectly transitive through a prep. (3.11.4) its active participles do the same:

qādirun 'alā ḥimāyatika

قادر على حمايتك

'capable of protecting you'

muttafiqatun ma'a mā huwa wāridun fī tilka l-ḥisābātī

متفقة مع ما هو وارد في تلك الحسابات

'agreeing with what comes in those accounts'

- Active part. with future indication:

wa-lā ṣakka 'annaka bālīgūn ḡāyataka fī l-mustaqbali l-qarībi

ولا شك أنك بالغ غايتك في المستقبل القريب

'and no doubt you **will reach** your objective in the near future'

taraqqabīnī fa-'anā rāji'un ma'a tuyūri l-masā'i

ترقبيني فأنا راجع مع طيور المساء

'watch out [fem. sing.] for me for I **will be returning** with the evening birds'

- Active part. as circ. quals (see 7.3.1):

waqafa ṣāmitan fī makānihi

وقف صامتا في مكانه

'he stood **silent** in his place'

2.10.3 Passive participial phrases

(▷C2:414; 2.1.3.4 cf. idiomatic passives in 3.12.4)

Pass. participles have all the functions of adjs (see 2.1), and hence those of active participles:

- Attributive:

bi-'atwābihim-i l-mulawwanati

بأثوابهم الملونة

'in their **coloured** robes'

- Predicative

'anna l-'i jāba wa-l-wadda mutabādalāni bayna l-iṭnayni

أن الإعجاب والود متبادلان بين الاثنين

‘that admiration and affection are mutual’, lit. ‘**exchanged** between the two’

ra'ā 'annahu kāna ma'rūḍan li-l-bay'i

رأى أنه كان معروضا للبيع

‘he had a vision [lit. ‘saw’] that he was **offered** for sale’

- The part. may be annexed to its ag.:

'i'ānatu mankūbī l-zalzālī

إعانة منكوبي الزلزال

‘assisting **those afflicted by** the earthquake’

(cf. periphrastic variant below)

Prep. phrases with *bi-* ب after pass. participles can introduce the instrument of the action (see 3.12.2) as they do in the following examples. They do not normally introduce the periphrastic agent (see 3.12.1).

- Instruments, lit. and metaphorical (▷C2:416) (see passive verbs in 3.12.2):
- With *bi-* ب

muzawwadatun bi-fataḥātīn ḥāṣṣatin

مزودة بفتحات خاصة

‘**provided** [by someone] **with** special apertures’

maḥfūfan bi-l-maḥāṭiri

محفوف بالمخاطر

‘**surrounded by** risks’

[riyāḥun] muḥammalatun bi-ḡubāri l-ta'aṣṣubi

[رياح] محملة بغبار التعصب

‘[winds] **loaded with** the dust of fanaticism’

al-ḥujratu ... muḡattātun 'arḍuhā bi-kilīm

الحجرة ... مغطاة أرضها بكليم

‘the room ... had a floor **covered with** a kilim’

(see *na't sababī* نعت سببي 2.1.3.4)

- With *min* من 'on the part of', 'by'

Prep. phrases, mainly with *min* من, are used increasingly in MWA with pass. participles to introduce the periphrastic agent of an action (3.12.1):

muwaqqa'un min wazīri l-taṣnī' l-ḥarbiyyi

موقع من وزير التصنيع الحربي

'signed by the Minister of Military Manufacture'

al-'as 'āru l-mu'lanatu min-a l-sūqi

الأسعار المعلنة من السوق

'the prices announced by the market'

taṣrīḥun bi-l-dafni muḥarrarun min ...

تصريح بالدفن محرر من ...

'a burial permit issued by ...'

- With *min qibali* من قِبَل:

al-juḥdu l-mabḍūlu min qibali l-ṭullābi

الجهد المبذول من قبل الطلاب

'the effort exerted by the students'

huwa ma'rūfun min qibali l-nurwījiyyīna

هو معروف من قبل النرويجيين

'he is known by the Norwegians'

- With other preps:

ma'dūdatun bi-wāsiṭati

معدودة بواسطة

'counted by'

- When the verb is indirectly transitive through a prep. (3.11.4) its passive participles do the same:

'anā muṭālabun bi-sidādi 23 'alfa junayhin

أنا مطالب بسداد 23 ألف جنيه

'I am required to pay £23,000'

al-lijānu l-mukallafatu bi-waḍ'ī l-tartībātī

اللجان المكلفة بوضع الترتيبات

'the committees charged with making the arrangements'

- Impersonal pass. (see 3.12.4):

kāna maḥkūman 'alayyā bi-l-ḥabsi l-iḥtiyāṭiyyi 48 sā'atan fī ḥāḍiḥi

l-ḡurfati

كان محكوما عليّ بالحبس الاحتياطي ٤٨ ساعة في هذه الغرفة

'Sentence was passed on me of preventative detention for 48 hours in this room'

al-šū‘arā’u l-mu‘tarafu bihim

الشعراء المعترف بهم

‘[the] **acknowledged** poets’

- Pass. participles as circ. quals. (7.3.1):

jalasa mahmūman

جلس مهموما

‘he sat **concerned**’

2.10.4 Passive participles in normal function

Passive participles also function as nouns (cf. active part.) (▷C2:418):

qā’imati l-mu‘ayyanīna قائمة المعيّنين ‘the list of **appointees**’

al-mustašāru l-‘almāniyyu المستشار الألماني ‘the German **counsellor**’

al-mu‘taqādātu المعتقدات ‘beliefs’, i.e. ‘things believed’

(note fem. plur. for abstracts, 12.4.1)

Idiomatic, cf. passive verbs 3.12.4:

al-maḥmūl المحمول ‘portable’

malmūs ملموس ‘palpable’

tarāju‘un malḥūḏun تراجع ملحوظ ‘a **noticeable** regression’

As nouns of place (see 1.11.2) (although in context they may have different meanings):

multaqā l-‘ahli wa-l-jirāni

ملتقى أهل و الجيران

‘the **meeting-place** of the family and the neighbours’

murtādun li-banāti l-ḥayyi

مرتاد لبنات الحيّ

‘a **gathering place** for the girls of the quarter’

2.11 COMPARATIVES AND SUPERLATIVES ‘more [than]’ / ‘most’ (▷C2.467 ‘relative’)

The Ar. form ‘*af‘alu*’ أَفْعَل is a graded adjective used to express a superlative (Ar. ‘*af‘alu*’ أَفْعَل) e.g. ‘biggest’ or comparative e.g. ‘bigger [than]’ (Ar. ‘*af‘alu [min]*’ أَفْعَل [من] quality. One of the most obvious distinctions between the comp. and the

superl. is that the latter can be annexed to a noun in either indef. sing or def. pl. form.

Note: 'awwal أول 'first' and 'āḥaru آخر 'last' (and their fem. forms) are dealt with under the ordinal numbers, see 2.13.1. For rels with elatives see 5.1.1 and 5.2.3.

2.11.1 Attributive comparative

Indef.:

'ilā darajatin 'a'lā

إلى درجة أعلى

'to a **higher** level'

'ilā ġurfatin 'awsa 'a wa-'afdala

إلى غرفة أوسع و أفضل

'to a **more spacious** and **better** room'

yadhulu l-sūqa bi-'as 'ārin 'aqalla min-a l-muntajī l-maḥalliyyi

يدخل السوق بأسعار أقل من المنتج المحلي

'enters the market at prices **lower than** the local product'

Def. (see *tamyīz* 2.4.4.1). The following examples could also be superl. but the context determines that these are comp.:

al-muḥtaṣarātu l-'aktaru huḏālan

المختصرات الأكثر هزلاً

'the [even] **slimmer** abridgements'

al-mazāyā l-jadīdatu l-'aktaru fā'iliyyatan

المزايا الجديدة الأكثر فاعلية

'the new, **more effective** features'

2.11.2 Predicative comparative (no agr. in num./gender)

(▷C2:469, not clearly separated)

'āmmatan takūnu 'aḡlā min-a l-muntajāti l-'uḥrā

عامّة تكون أغلى من المنتجات الأخرى

'generally will be **more expensive than** the other products'

When a thing is compared with itself (▷C2:480) the second occurrence is *min* من + pron. with no repetition of the first noun:

kānat šuḥratu tawfiq al-ḥakīm qā'imatan 'alā l-masraḥi 'aktara minhā 'alā 'alwāni l-'adabi l-'uḥrā

كانت شهرة توفيق الحكيم قائمة على المسرح أكثر منها على ألوان الأدب الأخرى

‘Tawfiq al-Hakim’s **fame** was based **more** on theatre **than it [was]** on the other genres of literature’

min من + nom. rel. clause (▷C2:481; 5.2.4):

fī zurūfīn ‘aṣ‘aba bi-kaṭīrin min tilka llatī namurru bihā l-‘āna

في ظروف أصعب بكثير من تلك التي نمر بها الآن

‘in much **more difficult** circumstances **than** the ones we are going through now’

min + ‘an من أن clause (▷C2:482) (see 2.11.12).

fawā‘iduhā ‘aktaru min ‘an tuḥṣā

فوائدها أكثر من أن تُحصى

‘its benefits are **too numerous to** be counted’

mimmā مما type (▷C2:483) (cf. other *mimmā* مما 5.5.2):

li-‘aqalla mimmā kāna ‘alayhi

لأقل مما كان عليه

‘to **less than what** it had been’

hum ‘aḍ‘afu mimmā tataṣawwaru

هم أضعف مما تتصور

‘they are **weaker than [what]** you imagine’

Use of *tamyīz* with ‘af‘al أفعل pattern (▷C2:479) (see 2.4.4).

Compar.:

min ‘aktari l-nisā‘i jamālan fī l-tārīḥi

من أكثر النساء جمالا في التاريخ

‘one of **the most beautiful women** in history’

(see partitive *min* من 2.6.12)

‘aktaru htimāman bi-l-maṣākili l-dāḥiliyyati wa-‘aqallu htimāman

bi-qaḍāyā l-‘ālamī l-ḥārījīyī

أكثر اهتماما بالمشاكل الداخلية و أقل اهتماما بقضايا العالم الخارجي

‘**more concerned with** internal problems and **less concerned with** the issues of the outside world’

‘af‘al أفعل with prep. other than *min* من (▷C2:483), generally using the prep. that goes with the verb:

li-‘annahum fī hādā l-muḥīti l-ḍayyiqi - nisbiyyan - ‘aqdaru ‘alā ‘an

yata‘arāfū wa-yata‘āḥaw

لأنهم في هذا المحيط الضيق—نسبيا—أقدر على أن يتعارفوا ويتآخروا

‘because in this – relatively — narrow surrounding they **are more able** to get to know each other and form brotherly relationships’

2.11.2.1 af'al + 'an عن أفعل :

Although *min* من is normally used in this construction 'an عن occurs with a few adjs:

al-'ajzu 'akbaru l-'āna bi-kaṭīrin 'an-i l-fatratī llatī kuntu 'ataḥaddatu lakum fihā 'anhu

العجز أكبر الآن بكثير عن الفترة التي كنت أتحدث لكم فيها عنه

'the deficit is much **bigger** now **than** in the period I was talking to you about'

(see spec. comp. 2.4.4)

Comparative form of adj. is sometimes not required, specifically with the prep. 'an عن (see 2.6.3)

'anna 'as 'āra bay 'i l-samaki fī l-manāṭiqi l-ša 'biyyati ma'qūlatun 'an kaṭīrin min-a l-manāṭiqi l-'uḥrā

أن أسعار بيع السمك في المناطق الشعبية معقولة عن كثير من المناطق الأخرى

'that the selling price of fish in the local areas is **more reasonable than** in many other areas'

2.11.3 Intermediate items

Very common as a calque with *kubrā* كبرى 'major':

dawlatun kubrā دولة كبرى 'a **major** state'

qaḍiyyatun kubrā قضية كبرى 'a **major** issue'

al-ḥaṭāyā l-kubrā الخطايا الكبرى 'major errors'

al-qāhiratu l-kubrā القاهرة الكبرى 'Greater Cairo'

Others:

birīṭāniyā l-'uḡmā بريطانيا العظمى 'Great Britain'

'āsiyā l-wuṣṭā آسيا الوسطى 'Central Asia'

quwwatun 'askariyyatun 'ūḡmā قوّة عسكرية عظمى 'a **great** military power'

'ahammīyyatun quṣwā أهميّة قصوى 'far-reaching importance'

A common example of the 'af'alu أفعل form in this context is 'āḥaru آخر (plur. 'āḥārūna أخرون fem. sing. 'uḥrā أخرى; plur. 'uḥrayātu أخريات) 'other':

'alā ṣa'īdīn 'āḥara على صعيد آخر 'on **another** level'

muškilatun 'uḥrā مشكلة أخرى 'another problem'

al-muškilātu l-'uḥrā المشكلات الأخرى 'the **other** problems'

al-nisā'u l-'uḥrayātu النساء الأخريات 'the **other** women'

'an-i l-rijālī l-'āḥarīna عن الرجال الآخرين 'about the **other** men'

Standing alone as nouns:

li-muwāṭṭinīn dūna 'āḥara

لمواطن دون آخر

'for one citizen to the exclusion of **another**'

min tajāribi l-'āḥarīna

من تجارب الآخرين

'from the experiences of **others**'

mā tamma min 'iḥlālī sintralāti l-rūtāriyyi bi-'uḥrā 'iliktrūniyyatin

ما تمّ من إحلال سنترلات الروتاري بأخرى إلكترونية

'what has taken place by way of replacing the rotary exchanges with **other**, electronic ones'

2.11.4 Attributive superlative (▷C2:472)

Agreement in gender and number is common:

fi l-mustawayāti l-'ulyā في المستويات العليا 'at **the highest** levels'

al-quwwatu l-quṣwā القوّة القصوى 'the **ultimate** power'

al-ṭarīqatu l-muṭlā الطريقة المثلى 'the **ideal** way'

al-ṣaṭru l-'akbaru الشطر الأكبر 'the **biggest** share'

Gender agreement is not always observed, however:

al-ḡurfatu l-'afḍalu fi l-sijni

الغرفة الأفضل في السجن

'the **best** room in the prison'

al-wiqāyatu l-'ajaffu wa-l-'anḏafu

الوقاية الأجف والأنظف

'the **driest and cleanest** protection'

ṣabakatu l-'alāqāti l-'awsa'u

شبكة العلاقات الأوسع

'the **widest** network of relationships'

al-quwwatāni l-ʿaʿẓamu

القوّتان الأعظم

‘the two **super**powers’

2.11.5 Annexed indef. units (▷C2:474; ▷C3:150)

The superl. may be expressed by *ʿafʿal* أفعَل (masc. sing.) in annexation to an indef. sing. noun or def. plur. (cf. *kull* كُلّ 2.9.1.1 which has identical syntax) (▷C2:477). The invariable *ʿafʿal* أفعَل form was also used in CA, even when annexed to fem. nouns.

- Annexed to indef. sing.:

ʿafḍalu wasīlatin أفضل وسيلة ‘**the best** means’

This structure is often modified by an adj./rel. sentence/prep. phrase, etc. (see also 2.11.9):

ʿaqṣā ḥurriyyatin mumkinatin

أقصى حرية ممكنة

‘**the greatest** possible freedom’

ʿakbaru ʿadadin min-a l-buṭūlāti l-sīnīmāʾiyyati

أكبر عدد من البطولات السينمائية

‘**the greatest** number of cinema-starring roles’

ʾahammu juzʾin fi -l-raddi

أهمّ جزء في الردّ

‘**the most important** part of the reply’

Note the following development in which the homonymic form used for colours occurs as superl. (see colours 1.8.6.1):

ʾāṣat-i l-ṣurṭatu ... ʾaswada fatratin fi tāriḥihā

عاشت الشرطة ... أسود فترة في تاريخها

‘the police force experienced ... **the blackest** period in its history’

- Annexed to def. plur. which can itself be annexed further:

ʾaqṣā l-juḥūdi

أقصى الجهود

‘**the utmost** efforts’

ʾaẓḥā ʾuṣūri ḥurriyatihī

أزهى عصور حريته

‘**the most splendid** of its periods of freedom’

'afḍalu l-tajhīzāti l-tibbiyyati

أفضل التجهيزات الطبية

'the best of medical equipments'

- With agreement (▷C1:72, C2:475). Sometimes the superl. element agrees in gender with the noun to which it is annexed:

kubrā l-muduni l-yābāniyyati

كبرى المدن اليابانية

'the largest of the towns in Japan'

kubrā šarikāti l-ta'mīni

كبرى شركات التأمين

'the largest of the insurance companies'

hiya šuḡrā ḍurriyyati 'amānata

هي صغرى ذرية أمانة

'she is the youngest of Amāna's progeny'

- Plur. of *kubrā* كبرى is also used:

kubrayātu l-šarikāti l-'ālamīyyati

كبريات الشركات العالمية

'the largest world companies'

- Two superlatives can be annexed to same noun (▷C2:484, cf. binomial annexation 2.3.7):

'ajmalu wa-'araqu 'awāšimi l-'arabi

أجمل وأرقّ عواصم العرب

'the most beautiful and delightful of Arab capital cities'

min 'ahammi wa-'afḍali l-'āzifāti

من أهم وأفضل العازفات

'among the most important and best musicians (fem.)'

iftitāḥu 'akbari wa-'aḥḍaṭi mujamma'in samakiyyin

افتتاح أكبر وأحدث مجمع سمكي

'the opening of the biggest and most modern fish cooperative'

- *'af'al mā* ما أفعل / *man* مَنْ (▷C2:478) (see 5.6.4) followed by a verb:

'aqallu mā yumkinu أقل ما يمكن 'as little as possible'

fa-hiya 'ab'adu mā takūnu 'an qaḍāyā mu'āširatin

فهي أبعد ما تكون عن قضايا معاصرة

'[the songs] are as far as can be from contemporary issues'

2.11.6 *ḥayr* خير 'better', 'best' and *šarr* شر 'worse', 'worst' (▷C2:485)

These two nouns are used in elative sense:

Compar.:

al-wiqāyatu ḥayrun min-a l-'ilāji

الوقاية خير من العلاج

'protection is **better than** treatment'

al-mawtu 'indī ḥayrun min-a l-ḡayā'i

الموت عندي خير من الضياع

'death in my opinion is **better than** getting lost [in life]'

Superl.:

yaftarisūnahu šarra ftirāsin

يفترسونه شرّ افتراس

'they prey on him badly', lit. 'the **worst** of preying'

(see abs. obj. 2.4.2.3)

kāna ḥayra mumattīlin lahā

كان خير ممثّل لها

'he was **the best** representative for it'

'an yakunna ḥayra miṭālin li-l-zawjāti

الممثّلات أقدر من غيرهنّ أن يكنّ خير مثال للزوجات

to be the best example as wives'

2.11.7 Pos. Adjective as superlative

Positive adjs may occur with superl. meaning:

kabīru kuttābi wa-'udabā'i l-'imārāti

كبير كتّاب و أدباء الإمارات

'**the great[est]** writer and literary figure in the Emirates'

2.11.8 Predicative superlative 'af'al أفعّل

Invariable form:

huwa l-'awlā wa-l-'aḥaqqu bi-hāḡdā l-'i'lāni

هو الأولى و الأحقّ بهذا الإعلان

'he is **the most suitable and deserving** to make this announcement'

wa-huwa yu'tabaru 'aswa'a mu'addalin li-l-numuwwi mundu l-talāfīnāti

و هو يعتبر أسوأ معدّل للنموّ منذ الثلاثينات

'it being regarded as **the worst rate** of growth since the thirties'

(see 'i'tabara اعتبر 3.12)

ḥuṭuwātun 'aktaru taḥdīdan

خطوات أكثر تحديدا

'**more exactly defined** steps'

Superl.:

al-kumbiyūtarātu l-daftariyyatu l-'a'lā 'adā'an

الكمبيوترات الدفترية الأعلى أداء

'the notebook computers **with the highest performance**'

al-'alāqātu l-'aktaru 'ahammiyyatan

العلاقات الأكثر أهمية

'**the most important** relationships'

With partitive *min* من :

'innahu min 'aktari l-mawāddi l-musabbibati li-l-'iṣābati bi-l-saraṭāni

إنّه من أكثر الموادّ المسبّبة للإصابة بالسرطان

'it is **among the most frequent of substances** that cause cancer'

(see 2.10.2 for active participles)

kāna min 'aḥabbi l-mu'allimīna 'ilā l-talāmīdi

كان من أحبّ المعلمين إلى التلاميذ

'he was **one of the most liked of the teachers** amongst the pupils',

lit. 'of the most liked of the teachers to the pupils'

2.11.9 Nominalized comparatives (▷C2:469) and superlatives (▷C2:474)

wa-'annahu min-a l-'aṣaḥḥi wa-l-'aktari fā'idatan 'an ...

و أنّه من الأصحّ و الأكثر فائدة أن ...

'and that it is **more sound and of greater benefit** to ...'

(cf. 3.1.4 for *min* من introducers, and 7.5.1.1)

wa-qad 'anfaqtu fihā ḥamsīna junayhan 'alā l-'aḡalli

وقد أنفقت فيها خمسين جنيها على الأقلّ

'and I have spent £50 on it **at least**'

al-'ahammu fi dālika 'anna ...

الأهم في ذلك أن ...

‘the most important thing about that is that ...’

bi-’a’ālī l-bihārī

بأعالي البحار

‘on the high seas’

(note that these comp. patterns have a broken plur., 1.12.1.2 and 2.1.1.1)

’aḡlabu mā yuqālu ’aw yunšaru

أغلب ما يُقال أو يُنشر

‘most of what is said or published’

2.11.10 ‘af’al أَفْعَل as comp. adverb (cf. *kaṭīran* كثيرا ‘often’ 2.4.8) (▷C2:470)

Generally with ‘akṭar أَكْثَر ‘more’ and always in dep. case:

yaqillu htimāmuḥā ’akṭara fa-’akṭara bi-l-’ālamī l-tālīti

يقلّ اهتمامها أكثر فأكثر بالعالم الثالث

‘its concern for the Third World decreases **more and more**’

ya’rifu ’asbābahā ’akṭara minnī

يعرف أسبابها أكثر مِنِّي

‘he knows the causes of it **more than I do**’

kāna yumkinu ’an ’aqrā’a ’akṭara

كان يمكن أن أقرأ أكثر

‘I could have been able to read **more**’

2.11.11 Other subsets

Other subsets, ‘too’, ‘the more ...’, ‘as ... as’, ‘as possible’:

’afḍālu bi-kaṭīrin أفضل بكثير ‘much better’

fī ’akṭara qaṭīlan min 450 ṣafḥatin

في أكثر قليلاً من 450 صفحة

‘in a little more than 450 pages’

li-’aṭwālī fatratīn mumkinatin

لأطول فترة ممكنة

‘for the longest possible period of time’

2.11.12 *min 'an* من أن 'too ... to [do something]' (▷C2:273)

The comp. is followed by 'an أن + sub. clause (see 7.5.1) to give sense of 'too...to [do]':

'ahwanu min 'an yu'attira fī l-ḥukūmati

أهون من أن يؤثر في الحكومة

'too insignificant to influence the government', lit. 'more insignificant than that it influences the government'

kānatā 'aḍ'afa min 'an tataḥammalā kalimātī

كانتا أضعف من أن تتحملا كلماتي

'they were both too weak to bear my words'

'aktaru mimma أكثر مما type (▷C3:241; 5.4.2):

'aktaru mimma yanbagi أكثر مما ينبغي 'more than is necessary'

2.11.13 Superlatives with numbers (see numerals 2.12)

'aḥsanu mi'ati bankin fī l-'ālamī l-'arabiyyi

أحسن مائة بنك في العالم العربي

'the best hundred banks in the Arab world'

'iḥdā 'akbar# dūri l-našri l-faransiyyati

إحدى أكبر دور النشر الفرنسية

'one of the biggest French publishing houses'

Inflection here on 'af'al أفعل words is regular (see 1.8.6.2) although pronunciation of case endings is unlikely in practice.

2.12 CARDINAL NUMBERS (▷C2:361)

Numerals in MWA essentially retain the syntax of CA, though they are rarely read now with classical inflections. There are signs of a trend towards invariable numerals, especially with weights and measures (see 2.14).

Numbers are sometimes spelt out in full (cf. ▷C2:377):

'aḥada 'ašara 'alfan wa-ḥamsimi'atin wa-'arba'atin wa-sittīna muwazzāfan

أحد عشر ألفاً وخمسمائة وأربعة وستين موظفاً

'eleven thousand five hundred and sixty-four officials'

ṭiwāla 'alfay wa-ḥamsimi'ati 'āmin

طوال ألفي وخمسمائة عام

'for two thousand and five hundred years'

'akṭaru min milyārin wa-niṣfi milyāri 'insānin

أكثر من مليار و نصف مليار إنسان

'more than **one and a half billion people**'

'alā madā l-'arba'i wa-l-'iṣrīna sā'atan yawmiyyan

على مدى الأربع والعشرين ساعة يوميا

'for **twenty-four hours a day**'

However, in MWA they are most often printed as numerals or a combination of numerals and words, frequently demarcated by brackets, so in any case we can seldom be sure how they are vocalized, e.g.:

12 'alfan wa-500 kilū mitr# murabba'#

١٢ ألفا و ٥٠٠ كيلو متر مربع

'12,500 square kilometres'

milyūn wa-49 'alfan wa-798 kilū jirām# muḥaddirāt#

مليون و ٤٩ ألفا و ٧٩٨ كيلو جرام مخدرات

'1,049,798 kilogrammes of drugs'

Some other orthographical conventions:

naḥwa 12 'alfa ṣaḥṣin

نحو ١٢ ألف شخص

'about **12,000 people**'

ḥilāla l-15 'āman-i l-'aḥīrata

خلال ال ١٥ عاما الأخيرة

'during **the last 15 years**'

al-maṣāhidu l-17 allatī sajjalahā

المشاهد ال ١٧ التي سجلها

'**the 17 scenes** which he recorded'

bi-miqdāri 1,5 marra(h) min 'arḍi l-ṣāri'i

بمقدار ١,٥ مرة من عرض الشارع

'to the amount of **1.5 times** the width of the street'

(note the use of the comma in Ar. for decimal point)

(12) 'alfan wa-(500) junayhin

(١٢) ألفا و (٥٠٠) جنيه

'£12,500'

2.12.1.1 *'aḥad* أحد (masc.) / *'iḥdā* إحدى (fem.) 'one', 'one of'

Ar. has two ways of expressing 'one', 'one of', by the nominal *'aḥadun* أحد [masc.] / *'iḥdā* إحدى [fem.], and the adjectival *wāḥidun* واحد [masc.] / *wāḥidatun* واحدة [fem.].

'aḥadun أحد occurs either:

As independent noun:

lā 'aḥada ya 'rifu

لا أحد يعرف

'no-one knows' (see negs. 4.2.1.1)

'aw 'ayyu 'aḥadin 'āḥara

أو أي أحد آخر

'or anyone else' (see *'ayy* أي 2.9.1.6)

or as 1st element of annexation when it generally agrees in gender with the noun/pron. it is annexed to, which is always plur. and def. (cf. syntax of partitive *min* من 2.6.12, certain quantifiers, 2.9.1, and contrast with adj. *wāḥid* واحد)

2.12.1.1 (▷C2:362):

'aḥadu l-muttahamīna

أحد المتهمين

'one of those suspected'

'aḥadu rawāfidi l-'amaliyyati

أحد روافد العملية

'one of the contributors to the process'

ya 'malūna fī 'iḥdā l-wikālāti l-ṣiḥāfiyyati

يعملون في إحدى الوكالات الصحفية

'they work in one of the press agencies'

fī 'iḥdā ġuraḥi l-sifārati

في إحدى غرف السفارة

'in one of the rooms of the embassy'

2.12.1.1 *wāḥidun* واحد (masc.)/*wāḥidatun* واحدة (fem.) 'one', 'one of' (▷C2:363)

Adj. for emphasis:

fī yawmin wāḥidin

في يوم واحد

'in a single day'

su'ālun wāḥidun 'āmmun faqat

سؤال واحد عام فقط

'one general question only'

'izālati l-lağmi l-wāḥidi

إزالة اللغم الواحد

'the removal of a single mine'

(see 1.12.3.1 for generic art.)

dajājatun wāḥidatun

دجاجة واحدة

'a single chicken'

Or nominal partitive with *min* من (see 'aḥadun أحد 2.12.1, and *min* من 2.6.12) in sense of 'one of':

hiya wāḥidatun min 'aqwā wa-'a 'zami l-nisā'i

هي واحدة من أقوى وأعظم النساء

'she is one of the strongest and greatest women

lā yūsīdu l-bāba dūna wāḥidin minhum

لا يوصد الباب دون واحد منهم

'it does not shut the door on any one of them' (see *dūna* دون 2.7.11)

Nominal without *min* من:

wāḥidan warā'a l-'āḥari

واحدا وراء الآخر

'one behind the other'

(see circ. quals 2.4.6.3)

2.12.2 *iṭnāni* اثنان (masc.) *iṭnatāni* اثنتان (fem.) (▷C2:365) with regular dual endings (see 1.12.1.1)

Occasionally for emphasis because the dual is already expressed in the noun:

wa-lam yamurra siwā šahrayni ṭnayni 'illā wa-l-'ammu ḥāmid qad 'āda 'an ra'yihī

ولم يمر سوى شهرين اثنين إلا و العمّ حامد قد عاد عن رأيه

'no more than two months had passed when Uncle Hamid went back on his opinion' (see 9.4.6)

Often with nominal function with *min* من (cf. *wāḥid* واحد above). Annexation not possible:

itnāni min-a l-sufarā'i

اثنان من السفراء

'two of the ambassadors'

itnāni min-a l-muḥāmīna

اثنان من المحامين

'two of the lawyers'

The absence of dual nouns is becoming more common in the enumeration of commercial objects, food items etc.:

'inšā'u 'adadi (2) maḥaṭṭa#jadīda#

إنشاء عدد (٢) محطة جديدة

'the creation of two new stations'

2 muka 'ab#majjānan

٢ مكعب مجّانا

'two cubes free (of charge)'

naql# 2 tallāja#kontēnar#

نقل ٢ ثلاجة كنتينر

'the transport of two refrigerated containers'

2.12.3 Numbers 3–10 (▷C2:366)

The numbers 3–10 are generally annexed to their nouns which must be plur. The number takes the opposite gender to the counted noun's sing. form. It inflects for the function of the whole unit, following normal annexation rules:

'arba'u šarikātin

أربع شركات

'four [ind.] companies'

talāṭatu maṭārātin ra'isiyyatin

ثلاثة مطارات رئيسية

'three principal airports'

ḥamsu sanawātin

خمس سنوات

'five years'

'aḥsanu talāṭati mumattilīna wa-talāṭi mumattilātin

أحسن ثلاثة ممثلين و ثلاث ممثلات

'the best three actors and [three] actresses' (number is 2nd element of annexation)

'ahammu 'ašari riwāyātīn šadarat fī l-qarni l- 'iṣrīna

أهم عشر روايات صدرت في القرن العشرين

'the **ten** most important novels published in the twentieth century' (number is 2nd element of annexation)

(see superl. 2.11.5 and 5.1.1)

or in apposition (see also below) to the noun with the same gender polarity as in:

al-šarikātu l-'arba'u الشركات الأربع 'the **four** companies'

al-qaḍāyā l-'arba'u القضايا الأربع 'the **four** cases'

al-qārrātu l-ḥamsu القارّات الخمس 'the **five** continents'

bi-hāḍihi l-'arqāmi l-'arba'ati بهذه الأرقام الأربعة 'with these **four** numbers',

Variations noted in MWA include the following, however, *al-talāṭatu kutubin* الثلاثة الكتب *talāṭatu l-kutubi* and even *al-talāṭatu l-kutubi* 'the **three** books', but the first of these structures appears to be rising in frequency (see 2.12.13).

The number may also function nominally with partitive *min* من (cf. 'one' and 'two' above) but the rule of gender polarity still applies:

sittatun min kibāri l-dīblūmāsiyyīna

ستّة من كبار الدبلوماسيين

'**six of** the senior diplomats'

Numerals are often written in number form in MWA, especially in the press:

4 min rassāmī l-kārikātiri l-kanadiyyīna

٤ من رسّامي الكاريكاتير الكنديين

'4 Canadian cartoonists'

3 'ašhurin

٣ أشهر

'3 months'

16 miṣriyyan, 5 'irāqiyyīna, 7 sūdāniyyīna, 4 'urdunniyyīna wa-2 min turkiyā

١٦ مصرياً ٥ عراقيين ٧ سودانيين ٤ أردنيين و ٢ من تركيا

'16 Egyptians, 5 Iraqis, 7 Sudanese, 4 Jordanians and 2 from Turkey'

2.12.4 Numbers 11–19 (▷ C2:367)

With exceptions for 11 and 12 the numbers 11–19 are (a) invariable and (b) have an internal gender polarity. The units take the opposite gender to the counted noun and the tens have the same gender as the counted noun.

11 and 12, however, agree in both parts with the gender of the counted noun, and the first element of 12 inflects like a regular dual in annexation. The counted noun takes dep. sing. form throughout and is normally indef.:

kāna ‘umrī ‘aḥada ‘ašara ‘āman

كان عمري أحد عشر عاما

‘I was **eleven years** old’

duwalu l-sūqi l-iṭnatā ‘ašrata

دول السوق الاثنتى عشرة

‘**the twelve** [Common] Market states’

But the remaining numbers are invariable compounds in which the unit observes gender polarity and the ten not:

ba ‘da ṣudūri tamāniyata ‘ašara ‘adadan

بعد صدور ثمانية عشر عددا

‘after the issue of **18 editions**’, lit. ‘eight [fem.] ten [masc.] edition [masc. sing.]’

- Also when the number is in apposition:

ḥilāla l-‘ašhuri l-tamāniyata ‘ašara l-muqbilati

خلال الأشهر الثمانية عشر المقبلة

‘during **the next eighteen months**’, lit. ‘the months [pl. of *šahr* شهر ‘month’ which is masc.] the eight [fem.] the ten [masc.]’

- Numbers written as numerals:

16 mītran murabba‘an ١٦ مترا مربعا ‘**16 square metres**’

14 ṭannan ١٤ طنا ‘**14 tons**’

Note the following example in which the adj. agreement appears to have been formed either incorrectly according to polarity rules, or more likely by agreement with the logical plural, i.e., ‘years’ which in Arabic would take a fem. sing. agreement (see adj. 2.1.1):

ḥilāla l-15 ‘āman-i l-‘aḥīrati

خلال ال ١٥ عاما الأخيرة

‘during **the last 15 years**’, lit. ‘the 15 [i.e. five [fem.] ten [masc.]] year [masc. sing] the last ones [fem.sing] (see 2.12.15)

Signs of invariability:

yaḥṭawī ‘ālā 18 barnāmaj#

يحتوي على ١٨ برنامج

‘comprises **18 programmes**’

2.12.5 Numbers 20–99 (▷C2:367)

The ‘tens’ take sound masc. plur. form and the units precede them, coordinated by *wa-* و, with *wāḥidun* واحد (masc.) and *wāḥidatun* واحدة (fem.) for –1, and *iṭnāni* اثنان (masc.) and *iṭnatāni* اثنتان (fem.) (all inflected as for ‘1’ and ‘2’). The remainder follow the polarity rules for 3–9. Each element inflects for itself.

The counted noun is always dep. sing., mostly indef.:

taršiḥa 30 ṭāliban

ششيع ٣٠ طالبا

‘the nomination of **30 students**’

20 marīḍan

٢٠ مريضا

‘20 patients’

20 kātiban šuḥuḥfiyyan wa-’i’lāmiyyan

٢٠ كاتبا صحفيا و إعلاميا

‘**20 writers** in journalism and publicity’ (note that the adj. agrees with gram. form)

fī l-ḥamsati wa-ḥamsīna malyūnan

في الخمسة و خمسين مليونا

‘at **the 55 millions**’

Signs of invariability:

taḥṭawī ‘alā 34 kitāb# wa-225 kārt#

تحتوي على ٣٤ كتاب و ٢٢٥ كارت

‘comprises **34 volumes** and **225 cards**’

Signs of instability, with natural instead of grammatical agreement:

al-mu’allaḥ min 32 šaḥṣiyyātīn

المؤلف من ٣٢ شخصيات

‘composed of **32 personalities** [fem. plur.]’

38 ‘āḥarīna

٣٨ آخرين

‘38 **others** [masc. plur.]’

Note that proper names increasingly do not inflect (see 1.8.5):

72 ‘abū l-hawl#

٧٢ أبو الهول

‘72 sphinxes’ (popularly known as Abu l-Hol ‘father of terror’)

2.12.6 Number 100 (▷C2:368)

All numbers from 100 upwards are composite. Round hundreds are annexed to the counted noun which takes obl. sing. form. The Arabic for 100 is *mi'a* مائة (for alternative spelling see 1.2.2):

mi'atu yawmin marrat wa-ka-'annahā mi'atu 'āmin

مائة يوم مرّت و كأنّها مائة عام

'one hundred days passed and it was as if they were a hundred years'

Numbers above 100 are expressed in order of size, coordinated with *wa-* و, and with 11–99 following the internal order set out above. The nearest number determines the form of the noun:

192 maḥallan tijāriyyan ١٩٢ محلا تجاريا '192 commercial shops' [one hundred + two + ninety, with ninety determining the case ending]

150 muštarikan ١٥٠ مشتركا '150 subscribers'

ḥawālā 159 fardan ١٥٩ حوالي 'about 159 individuals'

fi l-qur'āni mi'atun wa-'arba'a 'ašrata sūratān mā bayna l-ṭawīlati wa-l-qaṣīrati wa-mā baynahumā

في القرآن مائة وأربع عشرة سورة ما بين الطويلة والقصيرة وما بينهما

'in the Qur'an there are one hundred and fourteen Suras varying between long, short and in between'

'101' as a figure of speech meaning 'any number of', takes spec. comp. (see 2.4.4):

fi mišra '101' bankan bi-ḥilāfi l-banki l-markaziyyi

في مصر '١٠١' بنكا بخلاف البنك المركزي

'there are a hundred and one banks in Egypt other than the Central Bank'

2.12.7 Number 200 (▷C2:369)

The number 200 *mi'atāni* مئتان (variant spelling مائتان) is the dual of 100 and follows the same rules, with those of dual annexation as well:

li-mablaḡi mi'atay 'alfi dūlārin

لمبلغ مائتي ألف دولار

'for the sum of two [obl.case] hundred thousand dollars'

(see 2.12.13)

mi'atāni wa-ḥamsu wa-ṭalāṭuna sanatan lā 'aktāra

مائتان وخمس وثلاثون سنة لا أكثر

'two hundred and thirty-five years, not more'

2.12.8 Numbers 300–900 (▷C2:369)

The round hundreds 300–900 are written as compound nouns and – uniquely – they inflect medially. Otherwise the rules for the numbers are the same as for 100, with the counted noun being annexed in obl. sing form:

tatajāwazu ṣafahātuḥu l-ḥamsami'atin

تتجاوز صفحاته الخمسمائة

‘its pages exceed **five hundred**’

'aḥada 'ašara 'alfan wa-ḥamsami'atin wa-'arba'an wa-sittīna muwazzāfan

أحد عشر ألفا وخمسمائة وأربعا وستين موظفا

‘11,564 employees’

(note how in this example the unit number, i.e., four, should be fem. according to the rules of polarity, and that the whole number is in dep. form)

363 rajulan ٣٦٣ رجلا ‘363 men’

'arba'umi'atin wa-tnāni wa-'arba'ūna muraššaḥan

أربعمائة واثنان وأربعون مرشحا

‘442 candidates’

The word ‘hundred’ also appears in the plur.:

ḥālatun wāḥidatun min bayni mi'āti l-ḥālāti

حالة واحدة من بين مئات الحالات

‘one case among **hundreds** [of cases]’

(see 2.12.1.1)

2.12.9 Number 1000 (▷C2:370) (see annexation 2.3)

The number for 1000 is *'alf* ألف (plur. *'ālāf* آلاف). The other plur., i.e., *'ulūf* ألوف, tends to be used non-arithmetically, i.e., with the sense of ‘thousands’; although *'ālāf* آلاف is also used in this context.

'alf ألف is annexed to the counted noun, which takes obl. sing form. Numbers greater than 1000 follow the same rules as for numbers above 100:

'alfu laylatin wa-laylatun

ألف ليلة وليلة

‘1001 nights’, lit. ‘**1000 nights** and one night’

(note special construction for 1,001 only, see 11.7.2)

ḥawālā 1500 jundiyyin 'amrīkiyyin

حوالي ١٥٠٠ جندي أمريكي

'around **1500** American **soldiers**'

(note adj. agrees with grammatical number, see 2.1.1.4)

'alfun wa-mi'atā ṭiflin

ألف ومائتا طفل

'one thousand two hundred infants'

munḍu 'ālāfi l-sinīna

منذ آلاف السنين

'for **thousands of years**'

'ulūfu l-juzuri l-ṣaġīrati fī l-muḥīṭāti

ألوف الجزر الصغيرة في المحيطات

'**thousands of small islands** in the oceans' (generic art. 1.12.3.1)

2.12.10 Number 2000 (▷C2:370)

2000 is the dual form of 'alf:

'alfā 'amūdin min-a l-ruḥāmi

ألفا عمود من الرخام

'**two thousand** marble **columns**'

2.12.11 Numbers from 3000

The thousands are internally counted nouns which follow the same rules as other counted nouns. Remember that the last number determines the form of the counted noun:

talātatu 'ālāfin wa-tamānumi'atin wa-ṭnāni wa-ḥamsūna muštarikan

ثلاثة آلاف وثمانمائة واثنان وخمسون مشتركا

'3,852 subscribers'

11 'alfan wa-564 muwazzāfan

١١ ألفا و ٥٦٤ موظف

'11,564 officials'

wāzaba 20 'alfa 'āmilin 'alā l-'amali fī l-mabnā

واظب ٢٠ ألف عامل على العمل في المبنى

'**20,000 workers** devoted themselves working on the building'

'akṭaru min 70 'alfa maḥṭūṭin nādirin

أكثر من ٧٠ ألف مخطوط نادر

'more than 70,000 rare manuscripts'

(adj. agrees with the grammatical number, see 2.1.1.4)

900 'alfi mītrin murabba'in min 'aḥṣari 'anwā'i l-'aḥṣābi

٩٠٠ ألف متر مربع من أفخر أنواع الأخشاب

'900,000 square metres of the most magnificent types of wood'

Also occurs with partitive *min* من:

105 'ālāfin min-a l-junayhāti

١٠٥ آلاف من الجنيهاات

'£105,000'

Note also the following special usages:

'aṣarātu l-'ālāfi min-a l-kutubi

عشرات الآلاف من الكتب

'tens of thousands of books'

2.12.12 Millions (▷C2:371), billions, trillions

The Arabic for 'million' is *malyūnu* مليون (plur. *malyūnāt* مليونات /*malāyīnu* /ملايين); for 'billion' it is *milyāru* مليار or *balyūnu* /*bilyūnu* بليون (plur. *balāyīnu* /بليونات/*balyūnātun* /تريليونات/*trīliyūnu* (plur. *trīliyūnātun* /تريليونات/).

Round millions, etc. and their duals are annexed to the obl. sing. noun exactly like the 1000s. These numbers are often paraphrased by *min* من instead of being directly attached to the counted noun:

taṭallaba binā'u l-qaṣri malyūnay ṭannin min-a l-ramli

تطلّب بناء القصر مليوني طنّ من الرمل

'it took two million tons of sand to build the palace'

mablaḡu malyūnayni wa-250 'alfa junayhin

مبلغ مليونين و ٢٥٠ ألف جنيه

'the sum of £2,250,000'

9 malāyīna dirhamin ٩ ملايين درهم '9 million dirhams'

100 malyūni dirhamin ١٠٠ مليون درهم '100 million dirhams'

350 malyūna nasamatin ٣٥٠ مليون نسمة '350 million souls'

Non-specific quantities of millions, normally with partitive *min* من:

'infāqu l-malāyīna min-a l-dūlārāti

إنفاق الملايين من الدولارات

'the spending of **millions of dollars**'

malāyīnu l-bašari ملايين البشر **'millions of people'**

naḥwa malyūnayni min-a l-šabābi

نحو مليونين من الشباب

'about **two million** young men'

Billions:

taqtaribu min-a l-ḥamsati wa-l-talāṭīna milyāran min-a l-junayhāti

تقترب من الخمسة و الثلاثين مليارا من الجنيهات

'it approaches **£35 billion**'

tamānūna milyāran min-a l-dūlārāti

ثمانون مليارا من الدولارات

'**\$80 billion**'

110 milyārāti junayhin ١١٠ مليارات جنيه **'£110 billion'**

290 balyūna dūlārin ٢٩٠ بليون دولار **'\$290 billion'**

Trillions (note the preferred use of sound fem. plur.):

'arba'atu trīliyūnātīn min-a l-dūlārāti

أربعة تريليونات من الدولارات

'**\$4 trillion**'

Signs of invariability:

itnān# malyūn# rajul# اثنان مليون رجل **'two million men'**

mablaḡ# 2 malyūn# junayh# مبلغ ٢ مليون جنيه **'the sum of £2 million'**

malyūnān# wa-400 'alf# 'usra # مليونان و ٤٠٠ ألف أسرة **'2,400,000 families'**

2.2 malyūn# 'āṭil# ٢,٢ مليون عاطل **'2.2 million unemployed'**

2 milyār# dūlār# ٢ مليار دولار **'\$2 billion'**

11 milyār# wa-800 malyūn# junayh#

١١ مليار و ٨٠٠ مليون جنيه

'£11,000,800'

2.12.13 Cardinal numbers in apposition (▷C2:372)

Cardinal numbers often follow the noun, in apposition to it. This is generally to emphasize the definiteness of the noun (although this structure may occur with indef. nouns too). As an apposition they will agree in all the usual ways with the noun they are modifying although the normal rules of polarity explained earlier (see 2.12.3) apply:

al-qārrātu l-ḥamsu

القارّات الخمس

‘the five continents’

wa-tazawwajat banātuḥu l-’arba’u

وتزوّجت بناته الأربع

‘and his **four** daughters got married’

- Defined cardinal numbers (▷C2:376):

It is quite common now for the number to be defined and to precede the noun. All previously described rules of agreement apply. Historically this was always the method used to render the ‘tens’ but the structure is now frequently used for the whole range of numbers:

qaryatun miṣriyyatun laysa fihā mā yumayyizuhā ‘an-i l-’arba’ati ‘ālāfi

qaryatin miṣriyyatin ‘uḥrā

قرية مصرية ليس فيها ما يميّزها عن الأربعة آلاف قرية مصرية أخرى

‘an Egyptian village that has nothing in it to distinguish it from the other
4,000 Egyptian villages’

al-sūqu l-’amrikiyyatu taksiru ḥājiza l-16 milyūna sayyāratin sanawiyyan

السوق الأمريكية تكسر حاجز الـ ١٦ مليون سيارة سنوياً

‘the American market [unmarked fem. see 1.12.2.1] breaks the barrier of
16 million cars a year’

irtifā’u darajati l-ḥarārati l-mutawaqqa’u fi l-mi’ati ‘āmin-i l-muqbilati

ارتفاع درجة الحرارة المتوقع في المائة عام المقبلة

‘the rise in temperature expected in **the next hundred years**’

fi fanādiqī l-qāhirati wa-l-’uqṣuri wa-’aswāna dāti l-ḥamsati nujūmin ‘aw

’arba’ati nujūmin

في فنادق القاهرة والأقصر وأسوان ذات الخمسة نجوم أو أربعة نجوم

‘in **the four or five star** hotels of Cairo, Luxor and Aswan’,

lit. ‘possessors of five stars or four stars’

nayyif (▷C2:381) ‘a few’:

Generally precedes the number and is followed by *wa-*:

’umruhu lā yazīdu ‘alā nayyifin wa-ḥamsīna ‘āman

عمره لا يزيد على نيف وخمسين عاماً

‘his age is no more than fifty odd’, lit. ‘**a few** and fifty years’

2.12.14 Miscellaneous

‘... and more’ (▷C2:379) etc.:

mundu ‘iṣrīna ‘āman ‘aw yazīdu

منذ عشرين عاما أو يزيد

‘20 years ago **or more**’

‘tens’, ‘dozens’, ‘scores’ usually all with ‘*aṣarāt* عشرات ‘tens’ (▷C2:380):

‘*aṣarāti l-marrāti* عشرات المرات ‘dozens of times’

(note dep. case as time qual., see 2.4.3.1)

‘*aṣarātun yadhūlūna wa-‘aṣarātun yahrujūna*

عشرات يدخلون وعشرات يخرجون

‘dozens go in and dozens come out’

‘a few’ and similar indeterminate expressions use *biḍ‘a* بضعة ‘some’ (see 2.9.1.5 for agreement, i.e., polarity rule applies):

lā yata‘addā ḥajmuhā biḍ‘a mi‘ātin min-a l-junayhāti

لا يتعدى حجمها بضع مئات من الجنيهات

‘the amount of which does not exceed **a few** hundred pounds’

bi-biḍ‘ati malāyīna min-a l-dūlārāti

ببضعة ملايين من الدولارات

‘for **some** millions of dollars’ (see *bi-* بـ of ‘price’, ‘value’ 2.6.4)

For names of decades either sound fem. plur. *-ātun* آت is used alone or with the *nisba* suffix, i.e. *-īyyātun* رِيَّات:

fī l-ṭalātīnāti في الثلاثينيات / *fī l-ṭalātīniyyāti* في الثلاثينيات ‘in the thirties’

2.12.15 Number and gender concord (▷C2:384)

Agreement of adjs with nouns after numbers is frequently with grammatical gender (see further 2.1.1.4):

17 maḥaṭṭatan ra‘īsiyyatan ١٧ محطة رئيسية ‘17 principal stations’

However, agreement of adjs (as well as verbs 3.8.4) can also be logical rather than grammatical:

‘*akṭaru min 30 ‘ārīdan ‘āḥarīna*

أكثر من ٣٠ عارضا آخرين

‘more than **30 other exhibitors**’

2.13 ORDINAL NUMBERS (▷C2:389) (see 2.1.1)

2.13.1 First (and last)

The ordinal numbers *'awwalu* أول [masc.], *'ulā* أولى [fem.] 'first' (both inflecting as elatives, see 1.8.6.2;C2:389) and also *'āḥīru* آخر [masc.], *'uḥrā* أخرى [fem.] 'last' (though not strictly an ordinal number) (both with sound plurals, see 1.5.3; for *'āḥaru* آخر 'other', 2.11.3, and *'awā'ilu* أوائل 'first part' etc. see below 2.14.7), occur as the 1st element of annexation, with variable gender agreement (although the masc. form would appear to be the default one – following superl. syntax, see 2.11.5) as in:

wa-hiya 'awwalu ziyāratin rasmiyyatin yaqūmu bihā

و هي أول زيارة رسمية يقوم بها

'it being **the first** official visit he carried out'

fi 'awwali ta'awunin lahu ma'ahum

في أول تعاون له معهم

'in **the first** cooperation he had with them'

wa-la-ḡad kānat-i l-mar'atu l-kuwaytiyyatu 'awwala man waqafa fi šuḡūfi l-muqāwamati

ولقد كانت المرأة الكويتية أول من وقف في صفوف المقاومة

'the Kuwaiti woman was **the first** to stand in the resistance ranks'

(see *man* من 5.4.1)

fi 'ulā maḥaṭṭātihī l-'arabiyyati

في أولى محطاته العربية

'in **the first of his** Arab stops'

'arsalat-i l-'irāqu 'ulā ba'tātihā 'ilā l-jazā'iri

أرسلت العراق أولى بعثاتها إلى الجزائر

'Iraq sent **the first** of its delegations to Algeria'

'First' may also be expressed as an adj.:

al-juz'u l-'awwalu الجزء الأول **'the first part'**

al-dawratu l-mi'awiyyatu l-'ulā

الدورة المئوية الأولى

'the **1st** centennial session'

'Last, final' may also be expressed as an adj. but the words *'aḥīrun* أخير [masc.], *'aḥīratun* أخيرة [fem.] are used:

ziyāratuhu l-'aḥīratu 'ilā l-minṭaqati

زيارته الأخيرة إلى المنطقة

'his **final** trip to the region'

For the conj. *'awwala mā* أول ما (▷C2:391) see 5.9.1.

2.13.2 2nd–10th (▷C2:391)

The units of the ordinal numbers from 2–10 take the *fā'il* فاعل pattern (see 1.11.1) and generally modify the noun as adjs (see 2.1.1). The polarity rule described above no longer applies and there is natural adj.agr.

al-malikatu 'ilizābīl al-tāniyatu

الملكة إليزابيث الثانية

‘Queen Elizabeth **the Second**’

al-juz 'u l-ḥāmisu الجزء الخامس ‘**the fifth** part’, lit. ‘the part [masc.] the fifth [masc.]’

al-‘ālamu l-tālītu العالم الثالث ‘**the Third** World’

al-dawratu l-tāminatu الدورة الثامنة ‘**the eighth** session’

However, the number can precede the noun when functioning as a noun itself (see annexation 2.3):

yuhrijū tālīta 'aflāmihi

يخرج ثالث أفلامه

‘he is producing **the third** of his films’

tānī 'akbar# iḥtiyāṭiyyin li-l-batrūli fī l-‘ālamī

ثاني أكبر احتياطي للبترول في العالم

‘**the second largest** oil reserve in the world’ (see 2.11)

Since pronouns cannot be adj. qualified they can only have their ordinals annexed to them:

talātu muškilātin ... 'awwaluhā – tānīhā – tālīhuhā

ثلاث مشكلات ... أولها—ثانيها—ثالثها

‘three problems ... **the first** – **the second** – **the third** of them’

2.13.3 11th–19th (▷C2:392)

Only the units take the *fā'il* فاعل ordinal form whilst the tens remain unchanged. As compound numbers (cf. their cardinal equivalents) they are indeclinable. Only the ‘units’ element takes def. art. when the number modifies a def. noun. Polarity rule no longer applies, i.e. these ordinals carry the gender marker on both parts:

madḥalu l-qismayni l-sādīsa 'ašara wa-l-sābi'a 'ašara

مدخل القسمين السادس عشر والسابع عشر

‘the entrance of **the sixteenth** and **seventeenth** departments’

(see split qual. by two adjs of one noun, 2.1.1.7.1)

2.13.4 20th, 30th, etc. (▷C2:392)

There are no ordinal numbers for the ‘tens’ from 20th on; rather the cardinals are used. There is no change for gender whether the noun they modify is masc. or fem.:

wa-yaḥḍuṭu kullu dālika wa-naḥnu fi ‘āḥiri l-qarni l-‘iṣrīna

ويحدث كلّ ذلك ونحن في آخر القرن العشرين

‘and all this happens when we are at the end of **the twentieth century**’

(see circ. quals 7.3.2), contrast the def. cardinal *al-qurūnu l-‘iṣrūna* القرون العشرون or *al-‘iṣrūna qarnan* قرنا العشرون ‘the twenty centuries’ (see also 2.12.3).

2.13.5 21st, 32nd, 43rd, etc. (▷C2:393)

For 2nd to 9th the regular ordinals are used, coordinated with *wa-* و; for -1st a special form *ḥādī* حادي (m.) / *‘iḥdā* إحدى (f.) is used (the same as in 11th), as well as the standard *wāḥid* واحد (see 2.12.1.1). Both elements take the def. art. when qualifying a def. noun.

wa-tuṣrafu l-ma‘āṣātu fi l-yawmi l-ḥāmisi wa-l-‘iṣrīna min-a l-ṣahri

و تصرف المعاشات في اليوم الخامس والعشرين من الشهر

‘pensions are paid on the **twenty-fifth** day of the month’

Note the variation for 21st:

fi l-qarni l-ḥādī wa-l-‘iṣrīna

في القرن الحادي والعشرين

‘in **the 21st** century’

naḥwa l-qarni l-wāḥidi wa-l-‘iṣrīna

نحو القرن الواحد والعشرين

‘towards **the 21st** century’

2.13.6 Higher ordinals, 100 and above

al-ḍikrā l-mi‘ātu li-ta‘ṣīsihi

الذكرى المائة لتأسيسه

‘**the hundredth** anniversary of its foundation’

2.14 MISCELLANEOUS NUMERICAL ITEMS

2.14.1 Distributives, *fu'āla* فَعَال form (semi. dec.)

Archaic CA, essentially Qur'anic, but may occur in very restricted contexts. No examples were found as part of this study: *maṭnā wa-tulāṭa wa-rubā'a* مَثْنَى وَثَلَاثَ وَرُبَاعَ 'in twos, in threes and in fours'. However, note the construction *tunā'i* ثَنَائِي 'bi-', 'di-' in *tunā'i# 'uksīd-i l-karbūn* ثَنَائِي أُكْسِيدِ الْكَرْبُون 'carbon dioxide', exhibiting this pattern (from the root for 'two', as for *maṭnā* مَثْنَى).

2.14.2 Fractions (▷C2:382), *niṣfun* نصف 'half' (▷C2:382), *ṭulṭun* ثُلُث — 'uṣrun عشر '3rd-10th' (▷C2:38)

niṣfun نصف precedes the noun as the 1st element of annexation whether it means 'one half' only, as in:

niṣfu malyūn niṣf نصف مليون نصف 'half a million'

'akṭaru min milyārin wa-niṣfi milyāri 'insānin

أَكْثَرُ مِنْ مِلْيَارٍ وَنِصْفٍ مِلْيَارٍ إِنْسَانٍ

'more than a **billion and a half** people'

or is an addition to a whole number. The following (annexed) noun may or not be def, and is often repeated:

istamarat šahrayni wa-niṣfa l-šahri

اسْتَمَرَّتْ شَهْرَيْنِ وَنِصْفَ الشَّهْرِ

'it lasted two months and a **half**' (see 2.4.3.1)

malyūn# wa-niṣf# l-milyūn# mustahlik#

مِلْيُونٌ وَنِصْفُ الْمِلْيُونِ مُسْتَهْلِكٌ

'a million and a **half** consumers'

bi-ḡiyābi niṣfi 'a 'dā'ihā

بِغِيَابِ نِصْفِ أَعْضَائِهَا

'in the absence of **half of** its members'

sawfa tartafi 'u talāṭa darajātin wa-niṣfa darajatin

سَوْفَ تَرْتَفِعُ ثَلَاثَ دَرَجَاتٍ وَنِصْفَ دَرَجَةٍ

'it will rise three and a **half** degrees'

Note the following idiomatic usage:

wa-fti niṣfi l-šahri taṣilu sayyāratu l-miyāhi

وَفِي نِصْفِ الشَّهْرِ تَصِلُ سَيَّارَةُ الْمِيَاهِ

'and in **the middle** of the month the water truck arrives'

When ‘half’ is part of a compound noun it may (cf. 12.7.1 on *niṣf* نصف = ‘semi-’) or may not take the def. art. and agrees in case with the noun it modifies, whilst the following noun is indef.:

al-’ištirāku l-niṣfu sanawiyyin

الاشتراك النصف سنوي [also recorded, however, is: *niṣfu l-sanawiyyi* نصف السنوي]

‘the **half**-year subscription’

For clock times the construction is fairly stable (see 2.14.6):

fī l-sā’ati l-sābi’ati wa-l-niṣfi

في الساعة السابعة و النصف

‘at **half** past seven’

tult ثلث *uṣr* عُشر ‘3rd–10th’

These numbers take the pattern *fu’l* فعل (plur. *af’āl* أفعال). They function as the first term of annexation and may be followed by a def. or indef. noun although the latter is more common:

tultu qarnin min-a l-zamani

ثلث قرن من الزمن

‘a **third** of a century in time’

sayyāra# rub# naql#

سيارة ربع نقل

‘a **quarter**-truck’

rub’a sā’atin

ربع ساعة

‘for a **quarter** of an hour’

Note the following examples:

rub’u sanawiyyin ربع سنوي

rub’u sanawiyyatin ربع سنوية

‘quarterly’ (i.e., ‘**every quarter** of the year’)

(note gender polarity agr, in second example)

al-tultu l-’aḥīru min hādā l-qarni

الثلث الأخير من هذا القرن

‘the last **third** of this century’

sayṭara ‘alā l-rub’i sā’atin-i l-’aḥīri

سيطر على الربع ساعة الأخير

‘dominated the last **quarter of an hour**’ (cf. 2.12.15)

For higher fractions see dates 2.14.7.

2.14.3 Percentages

Percentages are more often than not recorded in figures. The percentage sign usually follows the number in right to left order. When read out either *bi-* بـ (see 2.6.4) or *fī* في (see 2.6.5) are used:

mi'atun bi-l-mi'ati مائة بالمائة '100%'

wa-ṭab 'an tis'ūna fī l-mi'ati 'in lam yakun mi'atan fī l-mi'ati

وطبعا تسعون في المائة إن لم يكن مائة في المائة

'of course 90% if not 100%' (see 8.1)

9.4 fī l-mi'ati ٩،٤ في المائة '9.4%',

89% min-a l-'ummahāti l-miṣriyyāti

٨٩٪ من الأمهات المصريات

'89% of Egyptian mothers'

2.14.4 'Nil' (see football scores below)

wa-'aḥaḍa ṣifran fī l-'imlā'i

و أخذ صفرا في الإملاء

'and he got a zero in dictation'

2.14.5 Periods of time

Periods of time (▷C2:394) and 'times' (see 'awwalu أول 'first', 2.13.1.) For time phrases in dep. case when used as comps, see 2.4.3):

'awwalu marratin أول مرة 'the first time'

li-l-marrati l-'ulā للمرة الأولى 'for the first time'

li-l-marrati l-'alfi للمرة الألف 'for the thousandth time'

'aṣarāti l-marrāti عشرات المرات 'tens of times'

marratan kulla sanatin مرة كل سنة 'once a year'

marratayni wa-niṣfa l-marrati مرتين ونصف المرة 'two and a half times'

'ālāfa l-marrāti آلاف المرات 'thousands of times'

'iddata marrātin عدّة مرّات 'a number of times'

li-muddati 3 'asābī'a لمدة ٣ أسابيع 'for [the period of] three weeks'

Personalized time idioms with pron. suffix *sā'atahā* ساعتها, *yawmahā* يومها, *waqtahā* وقتها:

tamanu l-taḍkirati waqtahā kāna 50 junayhan

ثمن التذكرة وقتها كان ٥٠ جنيها
 'the price of a ticket **at that time** was £50'
yawmahā kāna l-ẓalāmu dāmisan
 يومها كان الظلام دامسا
 'on **that day** the oppression was in hiding'
sā'atahā naẓartu 'ilayhi bi-dahšatin
 ساعتها نظرت إليه بدهشة
 'at **that moment** I looked at him with surprise'

2.14.6 Clock times, etc.

In clock times the use of the word *sā'atun* ساعة 'hour' is optional.

With *sā'atun* ساعة 'hour':

fi l-sā'ati l-sādisati wa-l-nisfi
 في الساعة السادسة والنصف
 'at **half past six**'

Without *sā'atun* ساعة 'hour':

fi l-hādiyati 'ašara
 في الحادية عشر
 'at **eleven**'
'anā 'aṣḥū qabla l-tāminati ṣabāḥan
 أنا أصحو قبل الثامنة صباحا
 'I wake up **before eight** in the morning'
fi l-sādisati 'illā rub'an
 في السادسة إلا ربعا
 'at **a quarter to six**'
fi l-sādisati 'illā tulṭin min masā'i kulli yawmin
 في السادسة إلا ثلث من مساء كل يوم
 'at **twenty to six** in the evening of every day'

(the different case endings on *rub'un* ربع 'quarter' and *tulṭin* ثلث 'third' in the previous two examples signify uncertainty in MWA after 'illā [لا] (see Chapter 9)

Miscellaneous time expressions:

qabla l-nihāyati bi-ṭalāṭi daqā'iqa
 قبل النهاية بثلاث دقائق
 'three minutes before the end'

istağraqa sāl'atayni wa-nisfa l-sā'ati

استغرق ساعتين ونصف الساعة

'lasted two and a half hours', lit. 'two hours and half the hour'

naḥwa ṭulṭi l-sā'ati

نحو ثلث الساعة

'for about 20 minutes', lit. '1/3 of the hour'

fī l-daḡiqati 44

في الدقيقة ٤٤

'in the 44th minute'

fī 'āḡiri 60 tāniyatan

في آخر ٦٠ ثانية

'in the last 60 seconds'

'alā madā l-'arba'i wa-l-'iṣrīna sāl'atan yawmiyyan

على مدى الأربع والعشرين ساعة يوميا

'for twenty-four hours a day'

fī 'awwali rub'i sāl'atin min hādā l-ṣawṭ

في أول ربع ساعة من هذا الشوط

'in the first quarter of an hour of this half'

sayṭara 'alā l-rub'i sāl'atin-i l-'aḡiri

سيطر على الربع ساعة الأخير

'dominated the last quarter of an hour'

2.14.7 Dates and calendar (▷ C2:393)

The choice of whether to record a date as part of a prepositional phrase or as a pure dep. form would seem to be fairly arbitrary.

General dates, prepositional phrases: when months and specified time structures are written out in words, the numbers occur as ordinals, acting more as nouns than adjs, or possibly as adjs to an elided noun such as *yawm* 'يوم' 'day':

fī l-tāmini min fibrāyir# 1993

في الثامن من فبراير ١٩٩٣

'on the 8th Feb. 1993'

fī l-sābi' 'ašara min yanāyir-i l-jārī

في السابع عشر من يناير الجاري

'on the seventeenth of the current January'

fī l-ḥāmisa ‘ašara min-a l-šahri l-muqbili

في الخامس عشرة من الشهر المقبل
‘on the 15th of next month’

fī 1966

في ١٩٦٦
‘in 1966’

fī 3 nūfimbir# al-māḍī

في ٣ نوفمبر الماضي
‘on the 3rd of last November’

fī l-fatratī min 8 ‘ilā 19 yanāyir-i l-qādīmi

في الفترة من ٨ إلى ١٩ يناير القادم
‘in the period from the 8th to the 19th of next January’

ma‘a nihāyati l-šahri l-jārī

مع نهاية الشهر الجاري
‘by the end of the current month’

Dep. forms (see temporal qual. obj., 2.4.3.1):

yawma l-tāsi ‘# min māyū

يوم التاسع من مايو
‘on the 9th of May’, lit. ‘the day of’

yawma 23 dīsambir# al-ḥālī#

يوم ٢٣ ديسمبر الحالي
‘on the 23rd of this December’, lit. ‘the day of’

zalzālu 12 ‘uktūbar 1992

زلزال ١٢ أكتوبر ١٩٩٢
‘the earthquake of 12th October 1992’

ḥadaṭa dālīka l-‘arbi‘ā’a l-māḍīya

حدث ذلك الأربعاء الماضي
‘that happened last Wednesday’

al-sabta l-māḍīya

السبت الماضي
‘last Saturday’

al-‘usbū‘a l-‘aḥīra min yūlyū

الأسبوع الأخير من يوليو
‘the last week of July’

ṣabāḥa yawmi l-jum‘ati l-mādī

صباح يوم الجمعة الماضي

‘last Friday morning’, lit. ‘**the morning** of the day of’

‘awwala l-‘usbū‘i

أول الأسبوع

‘**at the beginning** of the week’

nihayata šahri yanāyir-i l-ḥālīyyi (*-i* on *yanāyir* يناير is juncture as it is assumed to be uninflected)

نهاية شهر يناير الحالي

‘**at the end** of this January’

Special forms *‘awā’il* أوائل, *‘awāḥir* أواخر: plur. forms of *‘awwal* أول ‘first’ namely, *‘awā’il* أوائل ‘first parts of’ and *‘āḥir* آخر ‘end’ namely, *‘awāḥir* أواخر ‘last parts of’ are used in specific constructions. They occur mainly as annexed nouns, cf. ‘first’, etc., **2.13.1**, and have no fem. form:

fi ‘awā’ili l-qarni l-išrīna

في أوائل القرن العشرين

‘in the **first few** years of the twentieth century’

fi ‘awāḥiri l-kitābi

في أواخر الكتاب

‘in the **last few** pages of the book’

yawman mā يوما ما (see indefiniteness and *mā* ما **1.12.4.1** ‘once upon a time’)

yawman mā kāna li-kulli muḥāfazatin firqatun masraḥiyyatun

يوما ما كان لكل محافظة فرقة مسرحية

‘**at one time** every governorate had a theatrical troupe’

Note how the thousands and hundreds can also be removed from dates as in English:

ba‘da ‘udwāni 56

بعد عدوان ٥٦

‘after the hostilities of [19]56’

fi ‘āmi ḥamsatin wa-sittīna

في عام خمسة وستين

‘in the year **sixty-five**’

There are two ways of writing years in full. Such dates are generally preceded by *‘āma* عام or *sanata* سنة ‘in [the year of]’ [dep. form] or *fi ‘āmi* في عام / *fi sanati* في سنة with the date being the 2nd element of annexation. The unit number follows

the gender polarity rule (see 2.12.3) with either *‘āmun* عام [masc.] or *sanatun* سنة [fem.] ‘year’:

‘āma ‘alfin wa-tis‘imi’atin wa-ṭalāṭatin wa-ṭamānīna

عام ألف وتسعمائة و ثلاثة وثمانين

‘in [the year of] **nineteen eighty-three**’, lit. ‘one thousand and nine hundred and three [fem.] and eighty’

sanata ‘alfin wa-tis‘imi’atin wa-ṭalāṭin wa-ṭamānīna

سنة ألف وتسعمائة و ثلاث وثمانين

‘in [the year of] **nineteen eighty three**’, lit. ‘one thousand and nine hundred and three [masc.] and eighty’

An alternative word order is also possible for such dates written out in full:

‘āma ṭalāṭatin wa-ṭamānīna wa-tis‘imi’atin wa-‘alfin

عام ثلاثة وثمانين وتسعمائة وألف

‘in [the year of] **nineteen eighty three**’, lit. ‘three [fem.] and eighty and nine hundred and one thousand’

or:

sanata ṭalāṭin wa-ṭamānīna wa-tis‘imi’atin wa-‘alfin

سنة ثلاث وثمانين وتسعمائة وألف

‘in [the year of] **nineteen eighty three**’, lit. ‘three and eighty and nine hundred and one thousand’

2.14.7.1 Days and months

- Days of the week

The days of the week are as follows (for convenience all phrases are vocalized in adverbial dep. form):

yawma l-‘ahadi يوم الأحد ‘Sunday’

yawma l-‘itnayni يوم الإثنين ‘Monday’

yawma l-ṭalāṭi‘i يوم الثلاثاء ‘Tuesday’

yawma l-‘arbi‘ā‘i يوم الأربعاء ‘Wednesday’

yawma l-ḥamīsi يوم الخميس ‘Thursday’

yawma l-jum‘ati يوم الجمعة ‘Friday’

yawma l-sabti يوم السبت ‘Saturday’

Other expressions involving ‘days’:

al-yawma اليوم ‘today’

fi l-ḡadi في الغد / *ḡadan* غدا ‘tomorrow’

'amsi أمس 'yesterday'

'awwala 'amsi أول أمس / 'amsi l-'awwali أمس الأول 'the day before yesterday'

ḥilāla l-'ayyāmi l-qalīlati l-qādīmatī

خلال الأيام القليلة القادمة

'in the next few days'

qabla yawmin min bad'i ...

قبل يوم من بدء ...

'a day before the beginning of ...'

qabla 'ayyāmin min muḥākamatihī

قبل أيام من محاكمته

'a few days before his trial'

- Months of the year

There are three different sets of names for months of the year, two of which mark the Christian year, and one which is used for the Islamic calendar.

Christian calendar (1)
[used mainly in Egypt
and Sudan]

Christian calendar (2)
[used mainly in the Levant and Iraq]

yanāyir يناير

fabrāyir فبراير

mars مارس

'abrīl أبريل

māyū مايو

yūniyō يونيو

yūliyō يوليو

'aḡuṣṭus أغسطس

sibtambir سبتمبر

oktōbir أكتوبر

nūfimbir نوفمبر

disembir ديسمبر

kānūn al-tānī كانون الثاني January

šubāṭ شباط February

āḍār آذار March

nīsān نيسان April

ayyār ايار May

ḥazīrān حزيران June

tammūz تموز July

āb آب August

aylūl ايلول September

tišrīn al-'awwal تشرين الأول October

tišrīn al-tānī تشرين الثاني November

kānūn al-'awwal كانون الأول December

Many of the above words are by nature invariable but in any case inflected forms hardly ever occur and so the months are listed here as uninflected:

Islamic calendar

In practice inflected forms hardly ever occur and so the months are listed here without case endings:

<i>al-muḥarram</i>	المحرّم January
<i>ṣafar</i>	صفر February
<i>rabī ‘ al- ‘awwal</i>	ربيع الأول March
<i>rabī ‘ al-tānī</i>	ربيع الثاني April
<i>jumādā l- ‘ūl ā</i>	جمادى الأولى May
<i>jumādā l- ‘āḥira</i>	جمادى الآخرة June
<i>rajab</i>	رجب July
<i>ša ‘bān</i>	شعبان August
<i>ramaḍān</i>	رمضان September
<i>šawwāl</i>	شوّال October
<i>ḏū l-qa ‘da</i>	ذو القعدة November
<i>ḏū l-ḥijja</i>	ذو الحجة December

2.14.7.2 Years and longer periods

ba ‘da ‘āmin wa-niṣfi l- ‘āmi بعد عام ونصف العام ‘after a year and a half’

kulla ‘āmayni كل عامين ‘every two years’

munḏu ‘ašarati sanawātin منذ عشرة سنوات ‘ten years ago’

li-muddati tnatay ‘ašrata ‘āman muttaṣilatin

لمدة اثنتي عشرة عاما متصلة

‘for twelve consecutive years’

ḥilāla l-sanawāti l-māḍiyati

خلال السنوات الماضية

‘during the past years’

ḥilāla l- ‘āmi l-munṣarimi

خلال العام المنصرم

‘during the past year’

ṭiwāla ‘aktara min ‘arba ‘īna ‘āman

طوال أكثر من أربعين عاما

‘for more than forty years’

munḍu ‘uqūdin ‘arba‘atin ‘alā l-‘aqalli

منذ عقود أربعة على الأقل

‘four decades ago at least’

munḍu rub‘i qarnin

منذ ربع قرن

‘a quarter of a century ago’

al-‘āma l-māḍiya العام الماضي / *fi l-‘āmi l-māḍī* في العام الماضي

al-sanata l-māḍiya السنة الماضية / *fi l-sanati l-māḍiyati* في السنة الماضية
‘last year’ (*al-qādima* القادم / *al-qādimata* القادمة ‘next’ etc.)

2.14.8 Age

balagat-i l-sābi‘ata ‘ašara

بلغت السابعة عشر

‘she reached 17’, lit. ‘she reached the seventeenth [year] [of her life]’

‘aqallu min ḥamsi sanawātīn

أقل من خمس سنوات

‘less than five years old’

ba‘da sinni l-‘arba‘īna

بعد سن الأربعين

‘after the age of forty’

‘indamā ‘adakat sinna l-tālīti

عندما أدركت سن الثالثة

‘when she reached the age of three’

yabluḡu min-a l-‘umri (55) ‘āman

(يبلغ من العمر) ٥٥ عاما

‘[who is (m.)] 55 years of age’

‘adībun taḥaṭṭā l-ḥamsīna min ‘umrihi

أديب تخطى الخمسين من عمره

‘a writer who had passed the age of fifty’

man hum dūna al-talāfīna

مَن هم دون الثلاثين

‘those who are under thirty’

min sinni 6 sanawātīn wa-ḥattā 16 sanatan

من سن 6 سنوات وحتى 16 سنة

‘from the age of 6 until 16’

2.14.9 Miscellaneous number items

nasama نسمة ‘person, soul’, is always used in counts, census etc.:

lā yazīdu ‘alā l-‘iṣrīna malyūna nasamatin

كانت أعداد المصريين في أواخر الخمسينيات لا يزيد على العشرين مليون نسمة
‘is no more than twenty million **people**’

‘arba ‘atu malāyīna nasamatin

أربعة ملايين نسمة
‘four million **people**’

2.14.9.1 Page references and misc. number references (▷ C2:396)

al-zinzānātu raqmu ‘arba ‘atin wa-tālāfīna

الزناينة رقم أربعة وثلاثين
‘cell no. **34**’ (see apposition 2.2.1.2)

fa-man sa-yakūnu l-‘aduwwa l-‘amīrkiyya raqma wāḥidin?

فمن سيكون ‘العدو’ الأميركي رقم واحد
‘so who will be the American ‘enemy’ number **one**?’

Cardinal:

fī ṣaḥḥati ‘iṣrīna min-a l-faṣli l-tānī

في صفحة عشرين من الفصل الثاني
‘on **page twenty** of the second chapter’

Ordinal:

fī l-ṣaḥḥati l-tālītati min-a l-‘adadi l-ḥāliyyi

في الصفحة الثالثة من العدد الحالي
‘on **the third page** of the current edition’

2.14.9.2 Soccer (and sports) scores (probably never fully inflected)

fawzu [team name] 2/ṣifr فوز... / \ ٢ صفر ‘the victory of [team name] 2-nil’

bi-hadaḥḥin wāḥidin li-kullin minhumā

بهدف واحد لكل منهما
‘with one goal each’

bi-hadaḥḥin li-lā-ṣay’in

بهدف لاشيء
‘by one goal to nothing’

bi-hadaḡayni muqābila lā-ṣay'in

بهدفين مقابل لاشيء

'by two goals to nothing'

5/9 li-ṣāliḡ

٩\٥ ... لصالح [team name]

'5 to 9 in favour of [team name]'

2.14.9.3 *Weights and measures*

These have a tendency to be invariable although some appear to adhere to CA rules:

16 mitran murabba'an

١٦ مترا مربعا

'16 square metres'

naḡwa 100 'alḡi qadamin murabba'in

نحو ١٠٠ ألف قدم مربع

'about 100 thousand square feet'

'alā masāḡatin qadruḡā 25 'alḡa mitrin murabba'in

على مسافة قدرها ٢٥ ألف متر مربع

'over an area amounting to 25,000 square metres'

'ālāḡu l-'amtāri l-murabba'ati

آلاف الأمتار المربعة

'thousands of square metres'

tab 'udu 'anhā 'ālāḡa l-'amyāli

تبعد عنها آلاف الأميال

'it is thousands of miles distant from it'

Invariable:

ḡawālā 2 ṡann min-a l-bārūdi حوالى ٢ طن من البارود 'about 2 tons of gunpowder'

7 ṡann yawmiyyan ٢ طن يوميا '7 tons daily'

25 ṡann ٢٥ طن '25 tons',

68 jirām ٦٨ جرام '68 grammes'

650 jirām ٦٥٠ جرام '650 grammes'

Compound units of measure are written as one or two words:

kilū mitr كيلو متر

kilū jirām كيلو جرام

millilitre مليلتر

kilū wāt وات كيلو is two words, but *kilūwāt* كيلوات *megawāt* مجوات and *mīgābāyt* ميغابايت are all one word.

Inflections on these nouns appear to be divisible into three categories:

CA, unambiguous:

75 *kilū mitran* ٧٥ كيلو مترا '75 km'

Not CA, unambiguous:

hawālā 7 *kilū mitr* حوالي ٧ كيلو متر 'about 7 km'

Ambiguous, inflection unknown:

3 *kilū jirāmāt*# ٣ كيلو جرامات '3 kg'

10 *kilū mitrāt*# ١٠ كيلو مترات '10 km'

Abbreviations (see 1.2.5)

These weights and measures are frequently abbreviated (see also 1.2.5):

km كم 'kilometre'; *kilū* كيلو 'kilogramme'; *m* م for *mitr* متر 'metre'

2.15 VOCATIVES (▷C2:216)

Vocatives are a part of direct speech, addressing someone or personified something who, or which, is present. The full written forms are recorded here, in keeping with the rest of the work, even if the examples would seldom, if ever, be pronounced in anything but pausal form (cf. 1.2.8, 1.2.9). The same applies to oaths and exclamations (see below).

2.15.1 *yā* يا (▷C2:217) 'O'

Sing. nouns after *yā* يا 'O' have indep. form, devoid of the *al-* ال def. marker. Additional adjs or nouns are syntactically equivalent to single nouns:

mā hādīhi l-sayyāratu l-jamīlatu yā 'aymanu?

ما هذه السيّارة الجميلة يا أيمن؟

'what is this fine car, Ayman?'

yā fatātī l-ṭayyibatu الطيبة يا فتاتي 'O my sweet young girl'

isma ' *yā hādā* اسمع يا هذا 'listen, you'

yā majnūnatu يا مجنونة 'you fool' [fem.]

Exceptions: *yā 'allāhi* يا الله 'By God'.

Variant of *ī* ي suffix for ‘my’:

māḍā ‘aqūlu laki yā ‘ummāh

ماذا أقول لك يا أمّاه

‘whatever can I say to you, **mother**’

If the first noun (or name) of the voc. is modified by annexation the 1st element occurs in the dep. case:

yā siyādata l-dukṭūrī M. S.

يا سيادة الدكتور م.س.

‘**Mr** Dr M. S.’

Often the CA dep. form rules are applied even with proper names normally uninflected (cf. 1.8.5):

yā ‘azīzī’abā ‘aḥmad#

يا عزيزي ابا احمد

‘my dear Abū Aḥmad’

The following examples are of the same type except that the case ending is impossible to ascertain owing to the presence of the pron.:

yā waladī يا ولدي ‘O my son’

‘aṣlu l-muṣkilati: yā ‘azīzati أصل المشكلة يا عزيزتي ‘the origin of the problem, **my dear [girl]**’

yā bnatī l- azīza# يا ابنتي العزيزة ‘my dear daughter’

wa-lākin māḍā ‘arā yā rabbī?

ولكنّ ماذا أرى يا ربي

‘but what shall I see, **O my Lord?**’

yā zamīlī l-muḥtaram#

يا زميلي المحترم

‘my esteemed colleague’

yā-‘ilāhī ‘ayna ‘aḍhabu wa-qad-i nsaddat jamī‘u l-‘abwābi ‘amāma wajhī

يا إلهي أين أذهب وقد انسَدَّت جميع الأبواب أمام وجهي

‘**oh my God** where am I going now that all doors have closed in my face’, lit. ‘have become locked before my face’ (see circ. quals 7.3.2)

li’anna l-zar‘a yā bunayya yaḥtāju ‘ilā l-ḍaw‘i

لأنّ الزرع يا بُنيّ يحتاج إلى الضوء

‘because plants, **my little son**, need light’ (see dim. 1.8.1.2)

2.15.2 'ayyuhā (m.) أَيُّهَا / 'ayyatuhā (f.) أَيَّتُهَا (▷C2:219)

This is a variant form of the voc. which is used when the following noun has the def. art.; the noun remains in the indep. case:

'ayyuhā l-qārī'u l-karīmu

أَيُّهَا الْقَارِئُ الْكَرِيمُ

'O good reader'

li-dālika 'ayyuhā l-'āmilu 'alayka 'an tufakkira

لِذَلِكَ أَيُّهَا الْعَامِلُ عَلَيْكَ أَنْ تَفَكِّرَ

'therefore, **worker**, it is incumbent on you to think'

'ayyuhā l-ḥuznu أَيُّهَا الْحُزْنُ 'O sadness'

2.15.3 yā 'ayyuhā يَا أَيُّهَا (▷C2:219)

Emphatic form of the previous ones. The same grammatical rules apply as for 2.15.2:

yā 'ayyuhā l-'i-lāniyyūna يَا أَيُّهَا الْإِعْلَانِيُّونَ 'O you publicists'

2.15.4 'a- أَ

This is a very archaic form of the voc. which was used mainly in Classical poetry. No examples were found as part of this study.

2.15.5 Zero marker (▷C2:217)

Vocative markers are not always used. With annexed voc., the first term of annexation is always in the dep. case as above, although in these two examples it is not visible:

sayyidī l-ṭabību

سَيِّدِي الطَّبِيبُ

'Doctor', lit. 'my master' (cf. *monsieur*)

al-'aslamu 'azīzī l-muštārik 'an

الْأَسْلَمُ عَزِيزِي الْمَشْتَرِكُ أَنْ

'the safest thing, **my dear subscriber**, is to'

2.15.6 *naḥnu l-muslimīna* نحن المسلمين variant (▷C2:80)

Occasionally one finds a personal indep. pron., either 1st or 2nd person, followed immediately by a noun in apposition in the dep. case. as a result of an elided verb such as 'a 'nī أعني 'I mean' (see dir. obj. 2.4.1):

'annanā *naḥnu l-miṣriyyīna wa-l-'araba* ...

أَنَّا نحن المصريين و العرب ...

'that we, **the Egyptians and the Arabs**, ...

2.16 EXCLAMATIONS

2.16.1 Vocative subvariety (▷C2:204)

yā ḥasratā يا حسرتا + pron: 'what sorrow'

yā ḥasratāhu 'alā šabābihi l-ḏā'i

يا حسرتاه على شبابه الضائع

'**what sorrow** surrounds his wasted youth'

yā lahu يا له type (▷C2:205) 'what a ...': prep. *li-* ل may occur with an attached pron. (therefore *la-* ل) anticipating a noun following the prep. *min* من; pron. agrees in gender with the following noun:

yā lahu min mawqifin يا له من موقف '**what** a position!'

yā lahā min hazīmatin يا لها من هزيمة '**what** a defeat!'

yā lahu min jiddin يا له من جد '**what** seriousness there was!'

yā la-l-'ajabi يا للعجب type: the following type may also occur with the particle *la-* ل followed by a noun in the obl. case:

yā la-l-dāhiyati يا للداهية '**what** a disaster!'

yā la-l-'ajabi wa-l-ġarābati wa-l-ġumūdi

يا للعجب والغرابة والغموض

'**how** amazingly strange and obscure it was!'

yā la-ḥajali l-falsafati yā la-ḥajali l-ši'ri 'aydan

يا لخجل الفلسفة يا لخجل الشعر أيضا

'**how** embarrassing for philosophy and poetry too'

yā layta- يا ليت 3.2.6. 'if only ..., would that' see under *layta* ليت

2.16.2 *waylun li-* ويل لي 'woe to' (▷C2:204)

waylun lī min hādā l-firāqi

ويل لي من هذا الفراق

'woe to me for this separation'

2.16.3 Dep. case exclamations (▷C2:206; cf. 3.29.9)

There is a class of interjectional phrases expressing warning, greeting and wish, etc. that take the dep. form. They are normally indef. and pronounced in pausal form. They may or may not take a particle of interjection:

wa-lākin ruwaydan ruwaydan taḥarraka l-qalaqu jārran warā'ahu l-ḥawfa

و لكن رويدا رويدا تحرك القلق جأراً وراءه الخوف

'but **slowly, slowly**, the anxiety moved, dragging fear behind it'

wa-šukran laka 'alā wuqūfika bi-jānibī

وشكراً لك على وقوفك بجانبني

'thank you for standing by me'

ḥamdan li-l-lāhi 'alā salāmatika

حمداً لله على سلامتك

'Praise God for your safety'

safaran sa'īdan

سفراً سعيداً

'happy travels!'

na'īman نعيمًا 'may you enjoy the bath/haircut you have just had'

(last two examples are elliptical, see 3.27.4)

2.16.4 'iyyāka إِيَّاكَ type (▷C2:207, 3:111)

'iyyāka 'an tatajāwaza ḥudūdaka

إِيَّاكَ أَنْ تَتَجَاوَزَ حُدُودَكَ

'I warn you not to exceed your limits' (see 7.5.1.2)

'iyyāka wa- وإِيَّاكَ 'do not' with noun in dep. case (see 3.29.8):

'iyyāka wa-l-kalāma fī hādā l-mawḍū'i

إِيَّاكَ وَالْكَلَامَ فِي هَذَا الْمَوْضُوعِ

'be careful not to talk about this subject'

2.16.5 Miscellaneous

hayhāta هيهات ‘out of the question’, ‘how preposterous!’ is normally followed by ‘an أن ‘that’ (see 7.5.1 and cf. 3.27.4):

lākin hayhāta 'an yatrukahū ḥuṣūmuḥu

لكن هيهات أن يتركه خصومه

‘but **there was no way** his opponents would leave him alone’

fa-hayhāta 'an tanfajira yanābī'u l- 'itā'i

فهيها أن تنفجر ينابيع الإغطاء

‘and **there was no way** the springs of generosity would burst forth’

'āhin آ ‘oh’ (var. *'awwah* أوّه):

wa-'āhin yā sādātu yā kirāmu

وآه يا سادة يا كرام

‘And **oh**, you gentlemen, you eminent ones’

fa-'āhin tumma 'āhin tumma 'āhin

فآه ثم آه ثم آه

‘so, oh dear [then] oh dear [then] oh dear’

(see 2.19.3 on *tumma* ثم ‘then’)

'āhin minka

آه منك

‘Oh, what trouble you are causing me!’

wa-'asafāh / wā-ḥasratāh وأسفاه واحسراته ‘what a pity/shame!’ (see 2.16.1)

wa-'asafāh wā-ḥasratāh ḍā'a l-ṣabābu wa-nqadā l-'umru

وأسفاه واحسراته ضاع الشباب وانقضى العمر

‘Oh dear ... Youth has gone and life is approaching the end’

A number of exclamations bear the suffix *-āh* اه indicating regret or lamentation:

rabbāh mādā janat yadayya!

ربّاه ماذا جنت يديّ

‘oh my God what have I done!’, lit. ‘what have my hands committed!’

wa-ḥattā l-'aṣāfiru tuḡarridu yā ḡawṭāh!!

وحَتَّى العصافير تغرّد يا غوْثاه!!

‘even the birds are singing **bless this rain!!**’, lit. ‘O rainfall-ah!’

(see *ḥattā* حَتَّى in 2.19.12)

ḥāšā [li-l-lāhi] (حاشا لله) (▷C3:111):

ḥāšā li-l-lāhi 'an 'aẓunna bika hāda l-ẓanna

حاشا لله أن أظن بك هذا الظن

‘God forbid that I would ever think that ill of you’ (see 7.5.1)

fa-dūnaki l-māla

فدونك المال

‘there you have the money [take it!]’ (see 2.7.11)

2.17 OATHS AND EXCLAMATIONS

(See 3.26, 3.27 for verbal oaths and exclamations.)

The exclamation *wa-* و occurs as an interjection or oath, followed by a noun (normally of reverence e.g., God) in the obl. case (▷C2:204). It may be placed between a noun and its adj., or two continuous parts of a sentence (▷C2:52):

wa-naḥnu – wa-llāhi – laysa lanā maṣlaḥatun fī 'an yuḥarraba lubnānu

و نحن-والله – ليس لنا مصلحة في أن يخرب لبنان

‘we – by God – have no interest in seeing Lebanon destroyed’

huwa wa-llāhu 'a 'lamu llaḍī 'aḥaḍa l-kitāba

هو والله أعلم الذي أخذ الكتاب

‘he is, and God knows best, the one who took the book’

fa-wa-llāhi فوالله ‘for by God’

‘sometimes (many a time) a chance meeting is better than a thousand appointments’

2.18 NEGATIVE NOUNS (CF. 12.6)

2.18.1 Cat. neg *lā šay'a* لا شيء (▷C1:168, 2:222) and its concomitants (see 4.1.2)

To negate an entire category the neg. *lā* لا is used, followed by dep. noun without *tanwīn*.

lā šay'a لا شيء

lā šay'a yahummu لا شيء يهم ‘nothing matters’

In the case of *lā šay'* لا شيء the two words have been combined to make a compound in sports terminology:

al-fawzu ... bi-hadaḥin li-lā-šay'a

الفوز ... بهدف لاشيء

‘victory ... by a goal to nothing’

In a nominal function:

al-lā-šay'u اللاشيء 'the nothing' (see compound nouns, 12.6)

lā maḥālata لا محالة 'inevitably' (▷C2:89) (see 4.1.3)

fa-huwa maḥṣūlun min-a l-šarikati lā maḥālata

فهو مَفْصُولٌ مِنَ الشَّرِكَةِ لَا مُحَالَةَ

'then he will **definitely** be fired from the company'

lā jarama لا جرم 'certainly', 'inevitably', archaic and Qur'anic, although it may occur in MWA in very restricted contexts:

lā jarama 'annī waqaftu bayna maylin 'ilayka wa-maylin 'alayka

لَا جَرَمَ أَنِّي وَقَفْتُ بَيْنَ مِيلٍ إِلَيْكَ وَمِيلٍ عَلَيْكَ

'**certainly** I hesitated between being favourably disposed towards you and prejudiced against you'

lā ba'sa لا بأس 'not bad, considerable' (▷C2:220) (see 4.1.2 and cf. 7.5.2.8):

wa-ft l-waqtī nafsīhi 'aḥraza najāḥan lā ba'sa bihi ka-muḥāmin

وَفِي الْوَقْتِ نَفْسَهُ أَحْرَزَ نَجَاحًا لَا بَأْسَ بِهِ كَمُحَامٍ

'and at the same time he acquired a **not inconsiderable** success as a lawyer'

2.18.2 *lā šakka* لا شك 'there is no doubt'

The following set tends to introduce sentences (see 4.1.2 and 7.5.2.8).

lā šakka لا شك 'there is no doubt':

wa-mimmā lā šakka fīhi ...

وَمِمَّا لَا شَكَّ فِيهِ ...

'one thing **there is no doubt** about is ...'

lā budda لا بدّ (▷C2:221, 3:110) 'it is inevitable/incumbent':

lā budda 'an tašila fī l-mī'ādi

لَا بَدَّ أَنْ تَصِلَ فِي الْمِيْعَادِ

'you **must** arrive on time'

lā ḥaraja لا حرج 'there is no limitation':

lā ḥaraja 'alā faḍli llāhi

لَا حَرْجَ عَلَى فَضْلِ اللَّهِ

'**there is no limit** to God's bounty'

lā ḥaraja 'alayka fī l-ḍahābi

لَا حَرْجَ عَلَيْكَ فِي الذَّهَابِ

'**there is no objection** to your going'

lā ġarwa لا غرو ‘no wonder’:

lā ġarwa wa- 'anta taḍḥaku fūla l-waqt

لا غرو و أنت تضحك طول الوقت

‘no wonder since you are laughing all the time’ (see circ. quals 7.3.2)

2.18.3 *lā, laysa ġayru* لا, ليس غير ‘nothing else’

(see 4.2.8.4) (▷C2:6, 147):

al-ḥurriyatu l-fardiyyatu lā ġayru

الحرية الفردية لا غير

‘personal freedom and **nothing else**’

laysa 'illā لا ليس ‘nothing but’:

lā ya 'dū 'an yakūna nuktatan laṭīfatan laysa 'illā

لا يعدو أن يكون نكتة لطيفة ليس إلا

‘it will be no more than a pleasant joke, **nothing but**’

2.19 COORDINATION (PHRASAL) (▷C2:495)

(Main treatment of sentence coordination under syntax, 6.0; see also 3.8 on coordination of pron. + noun agent.)

In phrasal coordination the second (coordinated) element takes the same inflection as the first element. There are a number of coordinating particles at the phrase level:

2.19.1 *wa-* و (▷C2:496; 6.2) ‘and’

Two nouns (or prons) or more in a sequence are generally coordinated by *wa-* و:

fī l-zirā 'ati wa-l-ta 'dīni wa-l-ṣaydi wa-l-binā 'i

في الزراعة والتعدين والصيد والبناء

‘in agriculture, [**and**] mining, (**and**) fishing (**and**) building’

fī rtiyāḥin 'amīqin wa- 'asan ḥafifin

في ارتياح عميق وأسى خفيف

‘in profound relief **and** slight sadness’

'alaynā wa- 'alayhim

علينا وعليهم

‘on us **and** on them’ (see also preps 2.6)

qurūdun mutawassiṭatun wa-ṭawīlatu l- 'ajli

قروض متوسطة وطويلة الأجل

'medium **and** long term loans' (see adj. 2.1.3.2)

'innahu wa-l-šamsa šinwānun

إنَّه والشمس صنوان

'indeed he **and** the sun are twin brothers'

hiya tuḥibbu l-walada wa-l-binta

هي تحبُّ الولد والبنت

'she loves **the boy and the girl**'

Elliptical *wa-*و:

*ḥadiṭu wālidi 'imān 'an-i l-iqtisādi wa-l-siyāsati wa-l-'awlamati wa ... wa ...
wa ...*

...حديث والد إيمان عن الاقتصاد والسياسة والعولمة و.. و.. و

'Iman's father talks about the economy, politics, globalization, **blah ... blah ... blah ...**' (see synd. adjs 2.1.1.7.1)

2.19.2 *fa-* ف (▷C2:497; 6.3) 'and', 'so', 'and [then]'

Coordinates any phrasal elements and sentences (see 6.3), always in a sequential (temporal or logical) manner:

wa-'alayhi 'an yantaẓira l-'aswa'a fa-l-'aswa'a

وعليه أن ينتظر الأسوأ فالأسوأ

'he has to expect the worst **and then** the worst'

al-ḥiqbatu l-mumtaddatu bayna qiyāmi l-nāziyyati fa-'ahwāli l-ḥarbi

l-'ālamīyyati l-tāniyyati fa-marḥalati mā ba'da l-ḥarbi

الحقبة الممتدة بين قيام النازية فأحوال الحرب العالمية الثانية فمرحلة ما بعد الحرب

'the period extending from the rise of Nazism **and** the horrors of the Second World war **and** the post-war stage' (see 2.1.1.11)

It often coordinates obj. qual. type expressions, e.g., *wāḥidan fa-wāḥidan* واحدا واحدا type (▷C2:498) (see abs. obj. 2.4.2.7).

2.19.3 *tumma* ثم (▷C2:498, 6.4) 'then'

Conveys a sequence, mainly temporal, between independent components. It implies a pause between the coordinated elements:

al-ḥarakatu l-'isti'māriyyatu l-'amrīkiyyatu bada'at bi-ḥarbi kūbā tumma l-filibbin

الحركة الاستعمارية الأمريكية بدأت بحرب كوبا ثم الفلبين

‘American imperialism began with the war [first] against Cuba **then** the Philippines’

*‘ummuka ‘awlā **tumma** ‘awlā*

أمك أولى ثم أولى

‘your mother is more deserving, **and then** more [deserving]’

2.19.4 *‘aw* (⤵C2:499; 6.7.1) ‘or’

Coordinates nouns or adjs in a disjunctive sense, implying an inclusive choice. Note how the part. must be repeated before each noun or adj.:

Nouns:

ḥuṣlatu ša‘rin ‘aw qulāmatu zufrin

خصلة شعر أو قلامة ظفر

‘a lock of hair **or** a fingernail clipping’

bi-sababi l-jinsi ‘aw-i l-‘aṣli ‘aw-i l-luġati ‘aw-i l-dīni

بسبب الجنس أو الأصل أو اللغة أو الدين

‘because of race **or** origin **or** language **or** religion’

li-murāja‘ati l-qarāri ‘aw ta‘dilihi

لمراجعة القرار أو تعديله

‘for revising the decision **or** adjusting it’

ḥilāla marḥalati l-‘intāji wa/‘aw marḥalati l-taṣḍiri

خلال مرحلة الإنتاج و/أو مرحلة التصدير

‘during the production **and/or** export stage’ (a calque; see also 11.7.1)

qaḍiyyatu ḥayātīn ‘aw mawtin

قضية حياة أو موت

‘a matter of life **or** death’

Adjs:

This example shows a string of coordinated adjs which also form part of an idiomatic structure (cf. 3.16.4):

musliman kāna ‘aw kāfiran ‘ābīdan ‘aw fāsiqan ṣaḍīqan ‘aw ‘aduwwan

مسلمًا كان أو كافرًا عابداً أو فاسقاً صديقاً أو عدوًّا

‘whether he be a Muslim **or** an unbeliever, devout **or** impious, friend **or** enemy’

2.19.5 'am أم 'or'

Generally used in MWA to imply an exclusive choice restricted to one of the alternatives, unlike 'aw أو :

bi-dāḥilī 'am ḥārījī?!'

بداخلي أم خارجي

'inside me **or** outside me?!'

'a-'anā dāhibun 'ilā 'abū qīr, rašīd 'am-i l-diḥīla?

أنا ذاهب إلى أبو قير رشيد أم الدخيلة

'am I going to Aboukir, Rosetta **or** Dakhila?

(for inflection of proper names, see 1.8.5)

ma'a jīlī mawlidī l-'awwalī 'am ma'a jīlī mawlidī l-tānī?

مع جيل مولدي الأول أم مع جيل مولدي الثاني؟

'with **the generation** of my first birth **or with that** of my second',

lit. 'or with the generation of my second birth?'

(note repetition of prep. after 'am أم; see also 11.7.1 for compulsory repetition of noun/pronoun/preposition(al) after wa- و)

Often with *sawā'un* سواء 'equal, same' in alternative conjunction, see next, and for 'am أم 'or' in alternative questions see 10.1.1.

2.19.6 sawā'un سواء 'equal, same'

sawā'un سواء 'equal, same', in combination with *wa-* و 'and', 'aw أو 'or' or 'am أم 'or' in the meaning of 'whether x or y, no matter whether x or y' (see 6:10; also ▷C2:500, C3:103). The structure of *sawā'un* سواء appears to be unstable. It is here vocalized as indep. indef. although adverbial status, i.e. *sawā'an* سواء [dep.indef.], is also possible:

With noun phrases, *sawā'un ... wa ... و ... سواء*:

al-ta'rīḥu l-fi'liyyu l-wāqī'yyu sawā'un-i l-siyāsiyyu minhu wa-l-fikriyyu

التاريخ الفعلي الواقعي سواء السياسي منه والفكري

'actual real, history, **whether** political **or** intellectual',

namely, 'same [is] political or intellectual'

sawā'un سواء + prep. phrase + 'aw أو or 'am أم 'or':

sawā'un fī 'atnā'i l-ḥamlati l-intiḥābiyyati 'aw ba'dahā

سواء في أثناء الحملة الانتخابية أو

'**whether during** the election campaign **or** after it'

sawā'un 'alā hādā l-mustawā 'aw dāka

سواء على هذا المستوى أو ذاك

'whether on this level or that'

sawā'un fī lubnāna 'am fī sāl'iri l-'aqtāri

سواء في لبنان أم في سائر الأقطار

'whether in Lebanon or in other countries'

sawā'un ka-rajulīn tawallā 'adadan min-a l-manāṣibi l-muhimmātī 'aw 'ālīmīn fī 'ilmi l-'idārati

سواء كرجل تولى عددا من المناصب المهمة أو عالم في علم الإدارة

'whether as a man who had held a number of important positions or an expert in administrative science'

2.19.7 'immā إما 'either' ▷C2:501; see 6.8 for 'immā إما coordinating sentences

Renders a disjunctive coordination. Repetition of the particle is common although not essential. Subsequent nouns or adjs are linked by *wa-* و 'and' or *'aw* أو 'or' followed by the optional repetition of the particle:

fa-hum 'immā 'aqribā'un 'aw jirānun 'aw zumalā'un

فهم إما أقرباء أو جيران أو زملاء

'they are either relatives, (or) neighbours or colleagues'

'immā fawra sti'mālihi li-tilka l-maḥālīlī 'aw 'alā l-madā l-ṭawīlī

إما فور استعماله لتلك المحاليل أو على المدى الطويل

'either immediately on his using those solvents or in the long term'

2.19.8 lākin لكن 'but' ▷C3:43; see 6.5.2 for lākin لكن coordinating sentences

Has adversative function, amending a previous element, and often preceded by *wa-* و 'and'. May be followed by noun, prepositional phrase, etc.:

naḥsu l-musalsalātī l-'āma al-māḍiya wa-lākin bi-'asmā'a 'uḥrā

نفس المسلسلات العام الماضي ولكن بأسماء أخرى

'the same [TV] series [as] last year but with other names'

lastu ḥazīnan wa-lākin mut'abun qalīlan

لست حزينا ولكن متعب قليلا

'I am not sad but a little tired'

2.19.9 *bal* بل ‘but rather’, ‘nay’ (▷C3:46; see 6.6 for *bal* بل coordinating sentences)

Also an adversative, occurring after pos. or neg. elements.

After positives:

min mi ‘āti bal min ‘ālāfi l-tafāṣili

من مئات بل من آلاف التفاصيل

‘from hundreds, **nay** thousands of details’

‘ilā l-qitā‘i l- ‘awsa ‘i min-a l-mutaqqafina wa-l-muta ‘allimīna bal ‘ilā ‘umūmi l-ša‘bi

إلى القطاع الأوسع من المثقفين والمتعلمين بل إلى عموم الشعب

‘towards the broader sector of the cultured and educated, **nay** more, towards the people at large’

After neg.:

lā tatajassamu fī ‘intāji l-jadīdi bal wa-fī ‘intāji l-qadīmi

لا تتجسّم في إنتاج الجديد بل وفي إنتاج القديم

‘is not embodied in the production of the new **but rather** in the production of the old’

2.19.10 Correlative neg. *wa-lā* ولا ‘and not’, ‘nor’

Resumes any previous neg. or neg. equivalent (such as *ḡayr* غير ‘other than’, see 2.9.2.3) with resulting sense of ‘neither ... nor’ (▷C2:501; for neg. generally see 4.2.7 and for *wa-lā* ولا coordinating sentences see 6.12.1):

lā ḥimāyata li- ‘ātīmīn wa-lā li-zālimīn

لا حماية لآثم ولا لظالم

‘**there is no** protection for a sinner **nor** for an oppressor’

laysa jarrāḥa qalbin wa-lā mutaḥaṣṣiṣan bi-jirāḥati l-tajmīli

ليس جراح قلب ولا متخصصا بجراحة التجميل

‘he **is not** a heart surgeon **nor** a specialist in cosmetic surgery’

lam yakun ḥāḍiran lā fī ḥiṭābi ‘aslāfinā wa-lā fī ḥaqli tafkīrihim

لم يكن حاضرا لا في خطاب أسلافنا ولا في حقل تفكيرهم

‘it was **not** present **either** in the discourse of our forebears **or** in their thinking’

‘ayqana ‘annahā ḡayru muwaffaqatin wa-lā jamīlatun

أيقن أنها غير موفقة ولا جميلة

‘he was certain that it was **not** successful **nor** beautiful’

Variant *wa-laysa* وليس ‘and [is] not’ (see 4.2.8.3):

mas ’ūliyyatun bi-l-fi ’li wa-laysa bi-l-ismi

مسؤولية بالفعل وليس بالاسم

‘responsibility in fact and **not** in name’

li-l-manfa ’ati l- ’āmmati wa-laysa l-ḥāṣṣati

للمنفعة العامة وليس الخاصة

‘for the public benefit and **not** the private’

naḥnu nurīdu ’an nakūna juz ’an min ḥalli l-muškilati wa-laysa l-sababa fihā

نحن نريد أن نكون جزءاً من حل المشكلة وليس السبب فيها

‘we want to be part of the solution of the problem and **not** the cause of it’

2.19.10.1 Subset: neg. with second *lā* لا ‘not’ replaced by other conjunctions

bi-lā manhajin ’aw ḥuṭṭatin muktafiyatin

بلا منهج أو خطة مكتفية

‘with **no** method **or** satisfactory plan’

Asyndetical:

lam yakun fī dīhnī hadafun muḥaddadun lā makānun lā raqmu hātifin lā smu ṣaḥṣin

لم يكن في ذهني هدف محدد لا مكان لا رقم هاتف لا اسم شخص

‘there was **no** definite purpose in my mind, **no** place, **no** telephone number, **no** person’s name’

2.19.10.2 *lā* لا with *bal* بل (▷C1:114)

lā bi- ’tibārihā siyāsatan ’amrīkiyyatan bal bi- ’tibārihā siyāsatan

‘arabiyyatan ḥāliṣatan

لا باعتبارها سياسة أمريكية بل باعتبارها سياسة عربية خالصة

‘**not** by considering it as an American policy **but** by considering it as a pure Arab policy’

(see *bi- ’tibār* باعتبار 2.5.8.5)

2.19.11 *lā* لا ‘not’ as a simple negative prefix

(Contrast *wa-lā* ولا 6.12.1, which is a neg. coordinating conjunction)

bi-waṣṣfihim 'afrādan lā bi-waṣṣfihim jamā'atan

بوصفهم أفرادا لا بوصفهم جماعة
'as individuals **not** as a group'

bi-waṣṣfika muhandisan lā bi-waṣṣfika qarīban lī

بوصفك مهندسا لا بوصفك قريبا لي
'in your capacity as an engineer **not** [in your capacity] as a relative of mine'
(see 2.5.8.2)

2.19.12 *ḥattā* حَتَّى 'even' (▷C3:93; ▷C2:296, for *ḥattā* حَتَّى 'up to', 'until' as a prepositional see 2.6.6 and for *ḥattā* حَتَّى 'so that', 'until' with subordinate clauses, see 7.6.7)

The case of the noun after *ḥattā* حَتَّى depends on the context.

Dep. case occurs where it coordinates two nouns, with agreement:

wa-huwa waja'un yuṣību jamī'a l-mafāṣili ḥattā l-daḡiqata minhā

وهو وجع يصيب جميع المفاصل حَتَّى الدقيقة منها
'and it is a pain that affects all joints, **even** the delicate ones [of them]'

lam yamtalik fī ḥayātihī ḥattā faddānan wāḥidan

لم يمتلك في حياته حَتَّى فداناً واحداً
'he did not own in his life **even** a single faddan [dir. obj., therefore dep.]'

However, the case is determined by function when *ḥattā* حَتَّى introduces elements directly:

ḥattā l-judrānu wa-l-'asqufu 'a'āda 'ilayhā zaḥārīfahā kamā kānat qabla l-ḥarīqi

حَتَّى الجدران والأسقف أعاد إليها زخارفها كما كانت قبل الحريق
'**even** the walls and ceilings [topic, therefore indep.] he restored their decorations as they were before the fire'

(see 3.3 on topicalization)

wa-lākin ḥattā fī ḥaḍīhi l-ḥālātī yaẓallu ma'nā l-kalimati faqīran jiddan

ولكن حَتَّى في هذه الحالات يظل معنى الكلمة فقيراً جداً
'but **even** in these situations [prepositional phrase, therefore no agreement arises] the meaning of the word remains very poor'

2.19.13 'ay 'anna hādīhi l-duwala ... (▷C2:70)

Introduces an explanatory phrase or clause, so there will be case agreement on the following noun if relevant:

'ay 'anna hādīhi l-duwala ...

أي أن هذه الدول ...

'i.e., that these states ...' (extended use followed by nominalized clause 7.5.2)

fa-huwa, 'ay hādā l-'amalu, lā yafqīdu ṭābi 'ahu l-'āmma 'ay šifatahu
l-'ālamīyyata

فهو، أي هذا العمل، لا يفقد طابعه العام أي صفته العالمية

'so it, **that is to say** this work [replaces *huwa* هو 'it' as subj., therefore indep.], does not lose its general character, **that is to say** its international quality'

2.20 OTHER PHRASAL UNITS

Other phrasal units: relative clauses, complementized clauses and verb phrases. With the exception of main verb phrases (see 2.20.3) these all function as nouns or quals and not as independent sentences, and are therefore briefly mentioned in this chapter for the sake of completeness. Their detailed syntax is dealt with in later chapters, as indicated. Note that the components of biclausal units such as conditionals (Chapter 8) and exceptives (Chapter 9) do not fall into the phrasal categories described here.

2.20.1 Adjectival relative clauses

(Adj.) relative clauses (see Chapter 5) have the structure of equational or verbal sentences (see 3.0) and either adjectival or nominal function:

Adjectival:

māddatun taqī l-jilda wa-tahmīhi

مادة تقي الجلد وتحميه

'a substance **which safeguards the skin and protects it**'

al-'ijrā'ātu llati tamma l-ittifāqu 'alayhā

الإجراءات التي تم الاتفاق عليها

'the procedures **on which agreement has been completed**'

Nominal:

istiḥdāmu mā yusammā bi-qā'imati l-faḥṣi

استخدام ما يُسمّى بقائمة الفحص

'the use of **what is called** the inspection list'

mā lladī taqūluhu

ما الذي تقوله؟

‘what is [it] **that** you are saying?’

2.20.2 Complementized clauses

Complementized clauses are sentences operated on by the complementizers *’anna* أَنْ ‘that’ (see 3.2 and especially 7.5.2) and *’an* أَنْ ‘that’ (see 2.20.4), and have nominal function.

Pred. in equational sentence:

wa-tālīṭuhā huwa ’annanī qad ḥaqqāqtu bi-l-fi’li l-kaṭīra min ’aḥlāmī

وثالثها هو أنني قد حققت بالفعل الكثير من أحلامي

‘and the third [thing] is **that** I have indeed achieved many of my dreams’

Operated on by a prep.:

dakkartuhā bi-’anna l-ṣayfa lan ya’tiya qabla ḥamsati ’aṣḥurin

ذكرتها بأن الصيف لن يأتي قبل خمسة أشهر

‘I reminded her of [the fact] **that** the summer would not be coming for five months’

Dir. obj. of a verb:

’aḥassat ’annahā qad-i nqaṭa’at ’an-i l-wujūdi

أحست أنها قد انقطعت عن الوجود

‘she felt **that** she had ceased to exist’

2.20.3 Verb phrases

Since the pron. ag. is incorporated into the verb (see 3.0 and 3.7.1), all verbs with their pron. ag. are morphologically single words, and at the same time verb phrases (V + ag.) in structure and function. Thus: *katabū* كتبوا ‘they [masc.] wrote’, *yaktubūna* يكتبون ‘they [masc.] write’, consist of V + ag., and can either stand alone as complete sentences or function as verb phrases in a larger unit.

Verb phrases are formally asyndetic or syndetic. Asynd. verb phrases include the adj. rel. clauses already illustrated above (2.20.1). They also include circ. quals (see 7.3); contrast: *yajlisu l-rajulu wa-yaktubu* يجلس الرجل ويكتب ‘the man is sitting **and** [he is also] writing’, i.e. two syndetically coordinated sentences, with *yajlisu l-rajulu yaktubu* يجلس الرجل يكتب ‘the man is sitting writing’, lit. ‘the man is sitting he is writing’, where the asyndetic second sentence is a circ. qual. in turn equivalent to a noun phrase in the same function (see 2.4.6), namely, *yajlisu l-rajulu kātiban* يجلس الرجل كاتباً ‘the man is sitting **writing**’, lit. ‘the man is sitting as a writer’.

2.20.4 Syndetic verb phrases

Syndetic verb phrases are introduced by a subordinating conjunction, of which 'an أن 'that' will serve as the example here (see **Chapter 7** for full treatment). It acts as a complementizer with dep. verbs, yielding a noun phrase (hence it is called 'an al-maṣdariyya المصدرية أن 'the verbal noun 'an أن 7.5.1.1), which may have any nom. function, e.g. dir. obj.:

ḥāwalat 'an tafhama

حاولت أن تفهم

'she tried **to understand**', lit. 'that she understand',

= *ḥāwalat-i l-fahma* حاولت الفهم 'she tried **understanding**'

The 2nd element of an annexation unit after a prepositional (see 2.6; 2.7):

dūna 'an taqūma bi-'ayyi dawrin fa''ālin

دون أن تقوم بأي دور فعال

'without **carrying out** any effective role', lit. 'without of that it carry out'

= *dūna l-qiyaṃi bi-* دون القيام بـ 'without the carrying out of'

The rel. clauses in 2.20.1 with rel. nouns at their head could also be considered syndetic, except that the rel. noun is never part of the clause and has no effect on its internal syntax.

2.20.5 Verbs in apposition

Verbs can be in apposition (see 2.2 for nom. apposition) with other verbs. It is largely a stylistic option, but can be distinguished from asyndet. coordination (see 6.1) by the fact that the apposed verbs are synonymous and do not represent a progression of events:

kānat ta'tihā min-a l-maṭbaḥi ḍaḥkātu zawjihā wa-l-filibbīniyyati l-samīnati tu'dī 'uḍunahā, tajraḥu karāmatahā, tuhīnuhā

كانت تأتيها من المطبخ ضحكات زوجها والغلبينية السمينة تؤذي أذنها، تجرح كرامتها، تهينها

'the [sounds of] laughter of her husband and the fat Filipino woman came to her from the kitchen, **hurting** her ears, **wounding** her honour, **humiliating** her'

(cf. 1.11.2 on *ḍaḥkātu* ضحكات 'individual acts of laughing')

3 THE BASIC SENTENCE

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The kernel or basic sentence in Arabic is either subject + predicate or verb + agent. In the case of subj. + pred. sentences a further subdivision can be made according to the structure of the predicate, yielding three basic types of sentence:

- 1 The equational sentence (3.1). This consists of subj. + pred. only, and contains no verbal copula or any other verbal element. It asserts that the subj. is identical with the pred. or belongs to the class of entities denoted by the pred. (which cannot therefore be a verb).

An equational sentence may thus consist of only two words, either noun + noun, e.g. *al-qunṣulu ṭabībun* القنصل طبيب 'the consul is a doctor' or noun + adj., e.g. *al-šamsu ḥāriqatun* الشمس حارقة 'the sun is burning' (i.e. in the class of something which burns). This basic structure can be subordinated by sentence modifiers such as *'inna* إِنَّ 'verily', 'indeed', etc. (see 3.2), but for all modalities of existence, past, present, future, conditional, probable, habitual, 'almost', 'hardly', etc., the statement is expressed through the verb *kāna* كان 'be' and its related modal and auxiliary verbs (see 3.16), now in the form of a verbal sentence, see 3 below.

- 2 The topic + comment sentence (3.3). This also contains no verbal copula, but the comment is an entire clause (either an equational or verbal sentence) anaphorically linked to the topic. It thus differs fundamentally from the single term predicate of the equational sentence in that the comment is always compound, a complete sentence in fact, of any of the three types (i.e. the comment can even consist of another topic-comment sentence).

Both of these are traditionally labelled 'nominal sentence' (*jumla ismiyya* جملة اسمية), because they begin with nouns, i.e. as subject or topic, but this term will only be used here when there is a need to contrast them purely formally with the 'verbal sentence' (*jumla fi'liyya* جملة فعلية), particularly when distinguishing the sequence verb + agent from topic + verb.

- 3 The verbal sentence (3.7). This consists of a verb, always in first position (disregarding any verbal modifiers), accompanied by its agent, either a noun (usually in second position) or a bound pronoun. The various complements, objects, predicates of existential verbs, etc., are usually in third position (hierarchically, though not always positionally) after the binary unit of verb + agent, though they are relatively mobile (3.7.4). Since the agent pronoun is a

bound morpheme, verbal sentences can consist of a single word, e.g. *katabtu* كُتِبْتُ ‘I wrote’, *yaktubūna* يَكْتُبُونَ ‘they [masc.] write’.

The terms ‘subject’ and ‘predicate’ will be used when dealing with predication generally, and ‘topic’ and ‘comment’ when the emphasis is on the three-member structure, contrasting with the two-member ‘equational sentence’ (Arabic has no specific term for the latter: it falls under ‘nominal sentence’).

The English terminology is chosen in order to emphasize that a subject (*mubtada*’ [bihi] مبتدأ [به] lit. ‘the [word] started [with]’) and an agent (*fā’il* فاعل lit. ‘doer’) are syntactically two entirely different entities. When an ‘agent’ (in the Arabic sense) is fronted it automatically becomes a ‘subject’, with major consequences for the agreement of the verb (see further 3.3.2.1).

3.1 EQUATIONAL SENTENCE

For time and modality in equational sentences see *kāna* كان in 3.16.2 and the related modal and auxiliary verbs in the ensuing sections; for the explicit expression of ‘existence’ see *yūjadu* يوجد in 3.18.

The subj. of an equational sentence is nearly always definite and the pred. indefinite, and both have the indep. case by default (see 3.2 and 3.16.2 for exceptions).

There is no copula verb: the subject is stated and the predicate merely juxtaposed, and it is the change from def. to indef. which is the boundary marker between subj. and pred. (but see further below in this section). See 3.1.1 for number and gender agreement.

The subj. may be simple or compound; (▷C1:15 and see further 3.1.2):

al-mas’alatu basīṭatun

المسألة بسيطة

‘the question [def. subj.] is simple [indef. pred.]’

al-zawāju mas’ūliyyatun

الزواج مسؤوليّة

‘marriage [generic art.] is a responsibility [indef. pred.]’

The pred. may also be simple or compound; (▷C1:15 and see further 3.1.2):

al-ḥādīṭatu zāhiratun tāriḥiyyatun

الحادثة ظاهرة تاريخيّة

‘the event [def. subj.] is a historical phenomenon [indef. pred.]’

al-ṣiḥḥatu li-l-jamī’i

الصحة للجميع

‘health is for all’ [prepositional phrase]

ḥayātī fī l-šī‘ri

حياتي في الشعر

‘my life is **in poetry**’ [prepositional phrase]

In the case that the subj. and pred. are the same word English uses a dummy replacement (‘one’) for the second occurrence, but in Arabic the noun is repeated (see 11.7.1):

al-ḥājatū ‘ilā l-‘ibdā‘i ḥājatun tatajaddadu bi-stimrārīn

الحاجة إلى الإبداع حاجة تتجدد باستمرار

‘the **need** for creativity is **one** which constantly renews itself’,
lit. ‘the need ... is a need ...’

Indefinite subjects may occur when the subject is an adjectival or other phrase, or rel. clause, and is then considered definite enough to make sense as a subj. (often generic or proverbial):

‘ilmun nāfi‘un ḥayrun min mālin mawrūṭīn

علم نافع خير من مال موروث

‘**useful knowledge** is better than inherited wealth’

zawjun yuḥibbuki wa- ‘awlādun yamla‘ūna ‘alaykumā l-bayta ḥayrun laki min kulli waṣā‘ifi l-dunyā

زوج يحبك وأولاد يملؤون عليكما البيت خير لك من كل وظائف الدنيا

‘a husband **who loves you** [fem. sing.] and children **who fill** your [dual] house are better for you [fem. sing.] than all worldly employments’

But inversion (3.1.3) and the *tamma* ثم option (3.1.3.1) are far more common with indef. subjects.

Definiteness is gradable (cf. 1.12.3), so that sentences of the type ‘*anta l-‘ustādu* أنت الأستاذ ‘**you** are the professor’; *huwa ‘aḥī* هو أخي ‘**he** is my brother’, are possible because the pron. is more def. than the overt noun (and see separating pronoun, 3.5, for cases where the border between formally def. subj. and pred. is marked).

Similarly, in *al-ṭabī‘atu dā‘imatu l-‘aṭā‘i* الطبيعة دائمة العطاء ‘nature is **always giving**’, lit. ‘permanent of giving’, the pred. is grammatically indef. even though formally def., because it consists of an unreal annexation (see 2.1.3.2).

Equational sentences often occur after *wa-* و ‘and’ (cf. 6.2.6) in the function of circumstantial qualifiers (see 7.3):

yastaṭī‘u l-zurrā‘u wa-l-ḥālatu ḥāḍiḥi ‘an yuqāḍū l-wizārata

يستطيع الزراع والحالة هذه أن يقاضوا الوزارة

‘the farmers, **while the situation is such**, can sue the ministry’,
lit. ‘and the situation is this’

wa-yu 'linu ttiḥādu l-kuttābi taḍāmunahu ma 'a l-kātibi wa-huwa mā sabaqa
'an 'akkadahū l-wazīru 'ayḍan

ويعلن اتحاد الكتاب تضامنه مع الكاتب وهو ما سبق أن أكدّه الوزير أيضاً
 'the Writers' Union announces its solidarity with the author, **this being** what
 the minister had also supported'

3.1.1 Predicate agreement

Predicates agree in number and gender with their subjects (>C1:22), and the agreement rules are the same as those for adjectival modifiers regarding human, non-human plurals and collectives (2.1).

Regular agreement:

al-waqtu šatawiyyun

الوقت شتوي
 'the time **is** wintry'

al- 'ijrā 'ātu al- 'ulā dīblūmāsiyyatun

الإجراءات الأولى دبلوماسية
 'the first procedures **are** diplomatic'

naḥnu šadīdātu l- 'ināyati bi-hāḍihi l- 'ašyā 'i

نحن شديداً العناية بهذه الأشياء
 'we **are** intensely concerned about these things'

(fem. plur. assumed in *naḥnu* نحن 'we', and see 2.1.3.2 for this type of adj. phrase)

al-idṭihādu wa-l-ta'ḍību fī kaṭīrin min duwali l- 'ālamī muntaširāni

الاضطهاد والتعذيب في كثير من دول العالم منتشرة
 'oppression and torture in many countries of the world are **widespread**
 [masc. dual]'

Collectives usually have natural number/gender agreement:

al-nāsu jamī'an min 'ašlin wāḥidin wa-hum jamī'an 'iḥwatun

الناس جميعاً من أصل واحد وهم جميعاً أخوة
 'people are all of one origin and **they are** all brothers'

(see 2.9.2.4 for invariable *jamī'an* جميعاً 'all')

'ammā l-nāsu fa-hum 'akṭaru min mustahlikina

أما الناس فهم أكثر من مستهلكين
 'as for the **people**, they are more than consumers'

(see 3.3.4 for 'ammā أما)

Attraction (C1:26): especially with quantifiers (see 2.1.3.4), agreement may be with either the logical or the grammatical antecedent.

Grammatical agreement:

ba‘ḍu l-’afkāri manqūlun ‘an ’ūrubbā

بعض الأفكار منقول عن أوربّا

‘some [masc. sing.] of the ideas are **imported** [masc. sing.] from Europe’

pred. agrees with *ba‘ḍ* ‘a number of’ (see 2.9.1.4)

Logical agreement:

mu‘ẓamu ma’ākilihim šarqiyyatun

معظم مآكلهم شرقيّة

‘most [masc. sing.] of their eating places are **eastern** [fem. sing.]’

pred. agrees with broken plur. *ma’ākilihim* ‘eating places’.

3.1.2 Types of subject and predicate

Any sufficiently def. noun phrase may function as subject: (see 7.5.1 for ‘*an* أن ‘that’ and 3.2.2 and 7.5.2 for ‘*anna* أنّ ‘that’ clauses as subjects):

baqā’i fī l-bayti mumriḍun mūji ‘un

بقائي في البيت ممرض موجه

‘my staying in the house is debilitating and painful’

(see 2.1.1.7.1 for asyndetic coordination of adjectives)

al-ḥadīṭu fī ḥādā sābiqun li-’awānihi

الحديث في هذا سابق لأوانه

‘talking about this is premature’

3.1.2.1 Pronouns as subj. (▷C2:423)

huwa ḥā’irun هو حائر ‘he is confused’

naḥnu fallāḥūna نحن فلاحون ‘we are farmers’

’anā l-nabtatu wa-l-nasīmu wa-l-’ašjāru

أنا النبتة والنسيم والأشجار

‘I am the plant, the breeze and the trees’

hiya jamī’uhā ‘awāmilu muhimmatun

هي جميعها عوامل مهمّة

‘they are all important factors’

(with fem. sing. agreement for broken plur. see 2.1.1, and see 2.9.2 on quantifier *jamī* ‘جميع’ ‘all’)

Pronouns occasionally appear as both subj. and pred., usually as paired items (C2:440):

*ka-’annamā ’uḥissu ’anna l-ru’yā ḡayru l-’iyāni fa-**hiya hiya** bi-lā šakkin*

كأنما أحس أن الرؤيا غير العيان فهي هي بلا شك

‘it was as if I felt that the vision was different from seeing with my own eyes, but **that is what it was** without doubt’, lit. ‘and **it is it**’

*al-bašaru **hum hum** lā yataḡayyarūna*

البشر هم هم لا يتغيرون

‘people are what they are, not changing’, lit. ‘people, **they are they**’

(see 3.3 for the topicalization here)

For pronouns reinforcing the subj. see 3.5.2:

*li-’annahu **huwa** ’taqada ’annahu ’afḍalu lahā*

لأنه هو اعتقد أنه أفضل لها

‘because **he** [emphasized] thought it was better for her’

3.1.2.2 Demonstratives as subj. agree with their pred. (▷C2:32–9)

hāḍā wahmun هذا وهم ‘this [masc. sing.] is fantasy’

kullu hāḍā mu’aqqatun كل هذا مؤقت ‘all this is temporary’

(see 2.9.1 on *kull*)

hāḍihi mulāḥaḏatun šakliyyatun

هذه ملاحظة شكلية

‘**this** [fem.] is a pro forma observation’

tilka ’ādātī

تلك عاداتي

‘**that** is my habit’

hāḍihi namāḍiju ’ayniyyatun

هذه نماذج عينية

‘these [fem. sing.] are specimen models’ [broken plur.]

*’a-**hā’ulā’i** šurakā ’uka fī l-jarīmatī?*

أهؤلاء شركاؤك في الجريمة؟

‘are **these** [masc. plur.] your partners in crime?’

When the pred. is definite it is usually separated from the demonstrative by a congruent pronoun (*ḍamīr al-faṣl* الضمير الفصل, see 3.5), an item usually left untranslated (here in square brackets):

hāḍā huwa sirru l-taqaddumi l-ġarbiyyi wa-miftāḥu tafawwuqihi

هذا هو سرّ التقدم الغربي ومفتاح تفوّقه

‘this [it] is the secret of western progress and the key to its superiority’

wa-ḍālika huwa mā sa-tuṭālī ‘uhu fī hāḍā l-kitābi

وذلك هو ما ستطالعّه في هذا الكتاب

‘that [it] is what you will be reading in this book’

hā’ulā’i hunna banātī

هؤلاء هنّ بناتي

‘these [they] are my daughters’

However, this pronoun is not inserted if the predicate is such that it cannot be mistaken, particularly with rel. clauses attached:

hā’ulā’i llaḍīna yuṣawwihūna wajha l-’arḍi

هؤلاء الذين يشوهون وجه الأرض

‘these are the ones who pollute the face of the earth’

hāḍihi l-tasā’ulātu llatī lam tajid jawāban fī l-māḍi

هذه التساؤلات التي لم تجد جواباً في الماضي

‘these are the questions which have not found an answer in the past’

(see 5.0.1)

3.1.2.3 Noun clauses as subj. (see ĩan أن 7.5.1, and ĩanna أنّ 7.5.2)

‘alā l-nisā’i ‘an yanalna l-’i jāba

على النساء أن ينلن الأعجاب

‘[a duty] upon women is that they accept admiration’

an inverted sentence with the ‘an-clause as subj. (see 2.6.3 for ‘alā على = ‘must’ and note that clauses are regarded as indef., hence the inversion, see 3.1.3

min ġayri l-ma‘qūli ‘an ta‘malā ma‘an

من غير المعقول أن تعملوا معاً

‘it is unreasonable that they two [fem.] should work together’

For other examples see the partitive *min* من phrases in 3.1.4, where the pred. is inverted.

Noun clauses as predicates:

hāḍā mā sami'tuhu min 'ahli l-ḥibrati

هذا ما سمعته من أهل الخبرة

'this is **what I have heard** from people of experience'

'anti llati taqūlīna hāḍā l-kalāma?

أنت التي تقولين هذا الكلام؟

'are you [fem. sing.] **the one who is saying** this?'

al- 'āru 'an lā yakūna ladaynā falsafatun wa-lā falāsifatun

العار أن لا يكون لدينا فلسفة ولا فلاسفة

'the shame is **that there should be** no philosophy with us and no philosophers' i.e. 'that we do not have'

(cf. 2.6.9) and note default masc. *yakūna* يكون because the verb is separated from its agent noun (3.8.1: and see 3.16.2 on the syntax of *kāna* كان 'to be')

kullu mā kunnā na'rifu 'anhu 'annahu ṭālibun

كل ما كنا نعرف عنه أنه طالب

'**all** we knew about him was **that he was a student**'

Prepositional phrases are common as predicates (traditional grammar assumes an elided verb or participle on which the phrase would normally depend):

al-salāmu 'alaykum

السلام عليكم

'peace [be] **upon you**'

al-tawḍīḥu fīmā ba'du

التوضيح فيما بعد

'the clarification is **in what follows**'

zawjatī 'inda 'ahlihā wa-'anā bi-mufradī

زوجتي عند أهلها وأنا بمفردي

'my wife is **with her family** and I am **by myself**'

When the subj. is indef., inversion occurs, see 3.1.3:

'inda l-jamāhīri 'as'ilatun

عند الجماهير أسئلة

'there are questions **among the public**', lit. 'with the masses'

3.1.3 Inversion (▷C1:27; 2:507)

True inversion is infrequent and highly rhetorically motivated:

kaḍālika malābisuhu

كذلك ملابسه

‘such are **his clothes** [subj.]’

maṭlūbun ʔa-ʔāmun li-kulli fāmin

مطلوب طعام لكل فم

‘**what is needed** [pred.] is food for every mouth’

jamīlun hāḍā l-kalāmu

جميل كلامه

‘**beautiful** is this speech’

wa-qaṭīlātun hiya l-dirāsātu llatī tatawajjahu ʔilā minṭaqati l-naṭri li-kaṣṣfi ʔawāhirihi l-ʔqā-ʔiyyati

وقليلات هي الدراسات التي تتوجه إلى منطقة النثر لكشف ظواهره الإيقاعية

‘and **few** are the studies which have been directed at the area of prose to explore its rhythmical features’

But inversion is the norm when the subj. is indef. and the pred. is a prepositional phrase containing a def. noun or pronoun:

bihi ṣabiyyun ṣaḡīrun

به صبي صغير

‘there is **a small boy** in it’, lit. ‘in it [is] **a small boy**’

This is especially frequent with the idiomatic *li-* لِـ ‘for’ denoting possession (see 2.6.10):

li-ʔayyāmī ʔalāmātun

لأيامي علامات

‘my days have **signs**’, lit. ‘to my days are signs’

lahu bnun fī l-jāmiʔati

له ابن في الجامعة

‘he has **a son** in the university’

lī ḥurriyatu l-ʔaqīdati

لي حرية العقيدة

‘I have **freedom of belief**’

Also with partitive phrases (see further 3.1.4 and 2.6.12):

min 'injāzātihi fī hādā l-ṣadadi 'inšā'u firaqin masraḥiyyatin

من إنجازاته في هذا الصدد إنشاء فرق مسرحية

'among his achievements in this connection is the foundation of some theatrical companies'

It also occurs under the same conditions with the sentence modifiers 'inna إن, 'anna أن, etc. (see 3.2):

ša'ara bi-'anna fī l-'amri sirran

شعر بأن في الأمر سرا

'he felt that there was some secret in the matter'

Inversion is frequent with complementized clauses (3.2.2) as subj., perhaps as a calque of 'it is ... that ...', in which form they are most easily translated:

'amrun badḥiyyun 'anna ...

أمر بديهي أن ...

'[it is] a self-evident matter that ...', lit. 'a self-evident matter [pred.] is the fact that ... [subj.]'

jadīrun bi-l-dikri 'anna ...

جدير بالذكر أن ...

'[it is] worth mentioning that ...', lit. 'worth mentioning [pred.] is the fact that ... [subj.]'

wa-lākin mustaḥīlun 'an yataḥaqqqa kullu hādā

ولكن مستحيل أن يتحقق كل هذا

'but it is impossible that all this should be achieved'

wa-lākin ṣaḥīḥun 'aydan 'anna ...

ولكن صحيح أيضا أن ...

'but true also is that ...', i.e. 'but it is also true that'

This set is to be distinguished from such regular and therefore uninverted patterns as:

al-ḡarību 'anna l-ḥulma takarrara bi-ḥaḍāfīrihi fī l-laylati l-tāliyyati

الغريب أن الحلم تكرر بحذافيره في الليلة التالية

'the strange thing [subj.] is that the dream repeated itself in its entirety the next night [pred.]'

Other examples:

al-ḥaqqu 'anna

الحق أن

‘the truth is that’

al-ḥāṣilu 'anna

الحاصل أن

‘the result is that’

al-mulāḥaẓu 'anna

الملاحظ أن

‘what is observed is that’

and see the *min* من phrases below in 3.1.4.

3.1.3.1 A very common method for dealing with indefinite subjects is to introduce the sentence with *hunāka* هناك or *tammata* ثمّة ‘there’ (C1:7). It is not necessarily a calque, as this construction occurs also in medieval Arabic, but it is now used to reproduce ‘there is’ and ‘il y a’ regularly:

hunāka qalaqun هناك قلق ‘**there is** anxiety’

hunāka falāsifatun dafa‘ū ‘a‘mārahum

هناك فلاسفة دفعوا أعمارهم

‘**there are** philosophers who have paid with their lives’

fā-tammata waqtun fāṣilun bayna l-wuṣūli wa-l-‘iqālā‘i l-tānī

فثمّة وقت فاصل بين الوصول والإقلاع الثاني

‘**and there is** a time separating between arrival and the second departure’

Generic and definite articles are also found with *hunāka* هناك:

hunāka ‘ayḍan-i l-taṣrīḥu bi-...

هناك أيضا التصريح بـ...

‘**there is** also **the** licence to ...’

tumma hunāka l-baytu wa-l-madrasatu

ثمّ هناك البيت والمدرسة

‘then **there is** **home** and **school**’

In the following the meaning is probably literal:

hunā l-ḥurriyyatu wa-hunāka l-isti‘bādu

هنا الحرية وهناك الاستعباد

‘[over] here is **freedom** and [over] there is **slavery**’

It is also common with sentence modifiers (see 3.2 and note that the dep. case remains even with inversion):

qāla 'inna hunāka ḥājatan li-'inšā'i mustašfan jadīdin

قال إن هناك حاجة لإنشاء مستشفى جديد

'he said **that there was** a need to establish a new hospital'

kamā huwa ma'lūmun 'anna hunāka rukūdan bayyinan

كما هو معلوم أن هناك ركوداً بيننا

'just as it is well-known **that there is** an obvious stagnation'

ṭālamā 'anna hunāka mandūban

طالما أن هناك مندوباً

'as long as **there is** a representative'

Similarly, with *kāna* كان and other verbs in this family (see 3.16):

kāna ṭammata jtimā'un

كان ثمة اجتماع

'**there was** a meeting', lit. 'a meeting was there'

(with inversion of pred. as in non-verbal sentences)

ḥattā lā yakūna hunāka 'ayyu naqṣin

حتى لا يكون هناك أي نقص

'so that **there should not be** any deficiency'

lam ta'ud hunāka ḥājatan li-...

لم تعد هناك حاجة لـ...

'**there is no longer** a need for ...'

(see 3.21.1 for 'āda عاد)

Since the subject of *kāna* كان is no longer immediately next to the verb, gender agreement may default to masculine (see 3.8.1 for this general principle):

kāna hunāka muḥāwalātun li- '**there were** attempts to'

'an yakūna hunāka mas 'ūliyyatun 'that **there should be** responsibility'

3.1.4 Inverted predicates with *min*

An extremely common inverted predicate is the partitive *min* من 'of' phrase (C1: 30, 2:265, and see 2.6.12). The archetype may be considered to be the vague nominal rel. clause *mimmā* مما 'something which' (see 5.6.2):

wa-mimmā yu'akkidu hādā 'anna

ومما يؤكّد هذا أنّ

'and **something which** confirms this **is** [the fact] that'

or the truly partitive phrase (see 2.6.12) such as:

min-a l-ẓulmi 'an من الظلم ان 'it is a crime to'

min haqqi ... 'an من حق ان 'it is the right of ... to'

There are now very many phrases of the *min* من + adjective or participle type followed by inverted subjects or noun clauses. Some will take *'anna* أنّ (see 3.2.2 and 7.5.2) if the clause is factual or verifiable, others take *'an* أن (see 7.5.1) if the clause is dependent on an opinion or belief, and a few are found with both. The following list is merely a selection, some of which are already listed in Wehr's *Dictionary*, 4th edn.

Adjectives and active participles followed by *'an* أن:

m. al-mustaḥīli المستحيل 'impossible'

m. al-muḥimmi من المهمّ 'important'

m. al-'afḍali من الأفضل 'best'

m. al-ḍarūriyyi من الضروري 'necessary'

m. al-nādiri من النادر 'rare'

m. al-wājibi من الواجب 'obligatory'

m. al-ṣa'bi من الصعب 'difficult'

m. (ḡayri) l-manṭiqiyyi المنطقي (غير) 'logical'

m. ḡayri l-jā'izi من غير الجائز 'not allowed'

min ḡayri l-manṭiqiyyi 'an yatimma 'arḍu mu'assasāt li-l-bay'i bi-si'rin lā ya'ḥuḍu fī l-i'tibāri mardūdiyyatahā

من غير المنطقي أن يتم عرض مؤسسات للبيع بسعر لا يأخذ في الاعتبار مردوديتها

'it is **not logical** to offer institutions for sale at a price which does not take their returns into account'

Followed by *'anna* أنّ:

m. al-mulḥiti li-l-naẓari من الملفت للنظر 'what attracts attention'

m. al-tābiti من الثابت 'certain'

m. al-ṭabī'iyyi من الطبيعي 'natural'

Passive participles followed by *'an* أن:

m. ḡayri l-ma'qūli من غير المعقول 'unreasonable'

m. al-muntaẓari من المنتظر 'expected'

m. (ġayri) al-mu 'tādi المعتاد (غير) من (in)habitual

m. al-muftaraḍi من المفترض 'supposed'

min ġayri l-murajjaḥi 'an yaḥṣula 'alā 'aġlabiyyatin muṭlaqatin

من غير المرجح أن يحصل على أغلبية مطلقة

'it is unlikely that he will obtain an absolute majority'

min ġayri l-ma'qūli 'an tunfiqa 'amwālaka bi-hāḍihi l-ṣūrat

من غير المعقول أن تنفق أموالك بهذه الصورة

'it is unreasonable to spend your money in this way'

Followed by 'anna أن:

m. al-mulāḥaẓi من الملاحظ 'observed', 'noted'

m. ġayri l-mutaṣawwari من غير المتصور 'inconceivable'

min ġayri l-mutaṣawwari 'anna l-'amra waṣala 'ilā hāḍihi l-darajati

من غير المتصور أن الأمر وصل إلى هذه الدرجة

'it [was] inconceivable that the matter would reach this degree'

min-a l-maškūki fihi 'anna maḥṣūla l-qamḥi sa-yakūnu 'aḥḍala hāḍā l-'āma

من المشكوك فيه أن محصول القمح سيكون أفضل هذا العام

'it is doubtful that the wheat crop will be better this year'

Expansions of the above:

ba'da 'an kāna min-a l-muntaẓari 'an

بعد أن كان من المنتظر أن

'after it had been expected that'

lākin min ġayri l-muḥtamili 'an

لكن من غير المحتمل أن

'but it is improbable that'

min al-jadīri bi-l-mulāḥaẓati 'anna

من الجدير بالملاحظة أن

'it is worthy of remark that'

No conjunction is required in the following type, where the partitive phrase is the pred. of the verb 'aṣbaḥa أصبح 'become' (see 3.17.2):

kamā 'annahu 'aṣbaḥa min-a l-mu'tādi qiyāmu l-jamā'āti l-mutaṭarrifati

bi-'iṣḍāri l-manšūrāti

كما أنه أصبح من المعتاد قيام الجماعات المتطرفة بإصدار المنشورات

'just as it became the practice for extremist groups to issue publications',

lit. 'of that which was habitual'

For the idiom *min ša'nihi* من شأنه 'part of its concern' see 11.8.1.

3.2 EQUATIONAL SENTENCE MODIFIERS

Equational sentence modifiers *'inna* إِنَّ and complimentizers *'anna* أَنَّ, etc. (traditionally ‘*'inna* and its sisters’, إِنَّ وَأُخَوَاتُهَا).

Subjects of equational sentences (also topics, see 3.3.3) may be introduced by the following particles, all of which require dep. form of the subj., even in inversion (see 3.1.3), and serve either as emphasizing elements or subordinating conjunctions.

3.2.1 Sentences introduced by *'inna* إِنَّ

'inna إِنَّ (C2:227, 232) introduces independent sentences with emphasis or focus on the subject, which is a dep. noun. The basic structure is *'inna* إِنَّ + equational sentence, but the pattern *'inna* إِنَّ + topic + verbal sentence is also very common (no cases were found of the comment being a nom. sentence; however this is seen with the other complementizers, see 3.3.3). Since the emphasis is often not lexically represented in English an *ad hoc* translation ‘indeed’ will be used to bring it out:

'innahumā najmatāni lāmi 'atāni

إنهنا نجمتان لامعتان

‘[indeed] they are two shining stars’

'inna ḍağṭa l-dami fī l- 'ahdi l-jadīdi fī l-taṣā 'udi

إن ضغط الدم في العهد الجديد في التصاعد

‘[indeed] blood pressure in the new age is on the rise’, lit. ‘in the act of rising’

'inna hādā l- 'ihfāqa mutawaqqa 'un munḍu bidāyati l-qimmati

إن هذا الإخفاق متوقع منذ بداية القمة

‘indeed this failure has been expected since the beginning of the summit [conference]’

See 2.6.13 for *munḍu* منذ ‘since’, which imposes a past tense on the English translation.

With verbs in the predicate:

'inna l- 'amra yata 'allaqu bi-ṣāhiratin maraḍiyyatin

أن الأمر يتعلق بظاهرة مرضية

‘[indeed] the matter is connected with some pathological phenomenon’

'inna l-nisā 'a lā yaksibna ṣay 'an min la 'bi dawri l-ḍaḥāyā l-dā 'imāti

إن النساء لا يكسبن شيئاً من لعب دور الضحايا الدائمة

‘[indeed] women do not gain anything by playing the role of permanent victims’

With variant 'innī إني for 'innanī إنني:

'innī jā 'i 'atun

إني جائعة

'[indeed] I am hungry' (fem. sing.)

3.2.1.1 'in al-muḥaffafa المخففة 'in' (C2:233): this is a variant of 'inna إِنْ which does not affect the case of the following noun and whose pred. is always introduced by the emphatic prefix la- لَ (see 1.6.7). Although it would always be recognized by a literate reader (it is familiar from the Qur'ān) no examples were found in MWA.

The emphatic prefix la- لَ, however, is still found with the full form of 'inna إِنْ:

'innahu la-mawqifun ṣa 'bun

إنه لموقف صعب

'indeed it is **certainly** a difficult position'

'innanī la- 'aš 'uru l-yawma bi-l-instinkāri li-hāḍiḥi l-fikrati

إنني لأشعر اليوم بالاستنكار لهذه الفكرة

'indeed I **certainly** feel today a disapproval of this idea'

3.2.2 Clauses introduced by 'anna أَنْ

'anna أَنْ (C2:227, 234, 3:114) is a true complementizer with dep. noun, hence it introduces only subordinate clauses, which may have any noun phrase function (see 7.5.2 for details). The clauses themselves are identical in structure with those introduced by 'inna إِنْ; however, it should be noted that 'inna إِنْ clauses are independent and never have the function of noun phrases.

As subject:

'anna l-nāḥiba l- 'arabiyya lā ya 'rifu ḥuqūqahu qaḍiyyatun lā taḥtāju 'ilā 'iḥbātin kaṭīrin

أن الناخب العربي لا يعرف حقوقه قضية لا تحتاج إلى إثبات التعبير

'that the Arab voter does not know his rights is an issue which does not need much proof'

As pred.:

muṣkilatu hāḍā l-naw 'i min-a l-tabrīri 'annahu wāḥī l-ṣilati bi-l-ta 'rīḥi

مشكلة هذا النوع من التعبير أنه واهي الصلة بالتاريخ

'the problem with this kind of justification is that it is [only] weakly connected with history', lit. 'weak of connection', see 2.1.3.2

wa-l- 'aḥṭaru min hādā 'annanā fī bilādinā nanfī ...

والأخطر من هذا أننا في بلادنا ننفي ...
'and the thing which is more dangerous than this is **that we in our country deny ...**'

As dir. obj.:

ṣarraḥa 'anna wiṣārata l-ṣiḥḥati sa-tadruṣu 'imkāniyyata ...

صرح أن وزارة الصحة ستدرس إمكانية ...
'[he] declared that the ministry of health would study the possibility of ...'

lā 'ataḍakkaru 'annī 'alqaytu naẓarī 'alayhi marratan

لا أتذكر أنني ألقيت عليه نظري مرة
'I do not remember **that I ever once cast a glance at him**'

In annexation:

'alā 'asāsi 'annahumā ḥāṣṣāni bi-l-māli

على أساس أنهما خاصان بالمال
'on the basis [of] **that they are both** specific to wealth'

li-darajati 'annahā tatasarrabu

لدرجة أنها تتسرب
'to the extent [of] **that it** leaks'

The '*an al-muḥaffafa* المخففة' is a variant of '*anna* أن' with a restricted range: as a particle introducing direct speech it is occasionally found in MWA (C3:113; and see 7.5.1.6, 'explanatory '*an*' المفسرة'), and it occurs regularly before negative complementized clauses (C3:114–16, and see 7.5.1.10):

min yawmihā 'arafat 'an lā ḥayāta lahā taḥta saqfi hādā l-bayti

من يومها عرفت أن لا حياة لها تحت سقف هذا البيت
'from that day she realized **that** there was **no** life for her under the roof of this house'

3.2.3 Sentences introduced by *lākin[na]* لكن

lākin[na] لكن 'but' (C2:235), mostly prefixed with *wa-* و 'and' (but never with any other conjunction). It also has 'light' form and 'heavy' alternants. The 'light' form [*wa*]-*lākin* ولكن, with no syntactic effect, contrasts entire sentences ('[not] S but [instead] S') and thus functions as a simple conjunction (cf. 2.19.8, 6.5), and the 'heavy' form [*wa*]-*lākinna* ولكن (cf. 2.19.8) requires dep. form in its noun, and focuses on the subject of the sentence.

wa-lākin ولكن (no syntactic effect):

wa-lākin ṣaḥīḥun 'aydan 'anna

ولكن صحيح أيضا أن

‘but true also is [the fact] that’

wa-lākin 'anā man yanbaḡī 'an yulāma fī hādā l-ša'ni

ولكن أنا من ينبغي أن يلام في هذا الشأن

‘but I am the one who should be blamed in this matter’

lākin mā huwa ma'rūfun li-l-dānī wa-l-qāṣī 'annahu lam tabqa jihatun

fī l-'ālamī 'illā ramat fihā 'ūda tiqābi l-'išti'ālī

لكن ما هو معروف للداني والقاصي أنه لم تبق جهة في العالم إلا رمت فيها عود ثقاب الاشتعال

‘but what is known to [anyone] near and far is that there is no agency in the world at which it has not thrown an incendiary match’

wa-lākinna ولكن (with dep. nouns):

wa-lākinna l-mustašāra laḥiqa bihā muṣirran 'alā l-ṣulḥi

ولكن المستشار لحق بها مصرا على الصلح

‘but the counsellor caught up with her intent on reconciliation’

wa-lākinna l-'āḥarīna 'aydan sa-yaqūlūna ...

ولكن الآخرين أيضا سيقولون ...

‘but the others also will say ...’

lākinnahā btasamat bi-riqqatin

لكنها ابتسمت بركة

‘but she smiled gently’

3.2.4 Sentences introduced by *ka-'anna* كأن

ka-'anna كأن introduces sentences with the sense of ‘[it is] as if’, ‘[it] is like’ or, according to context, ‘[it was, had been etc.] as if, like’, with dep. head noun. For comparative clauses generally, including *ka-'anna* كأن, see 5.9.9.

ka-'anna ṣaḥṣan wāḥidan qad 'a'addahumā

كأن شخصا واحدا قد أعدهما

‘as if a single person had prepared both of them’

ka-'annahu šāhadahu wa-kāna ḥāḍiran

كأنه شاهده وكان حاضرا

‘it was as if he had seen it and had been present’

ka-'annahu ta'kīdun li-ma'rifatin sābiqatin

كأنه تأكيد لمعرفة سابقة

'it is as if it was a confirmation of previous knowledge'

With inversion (cf. 3.1.3.1):

ka-'anna hunālika 'amaliyyata tadmīrin muta'ammadatan

كأن هنالك عملية تدمير متعمدة

'it is as if there was a deliberate operation of destruction'

For the variant *wa-ka-'anna* وكأن with circumstantial clauses, see 5.9.9.4.

3.2.5 Sentences introduced by *la'alla* لعل

la'alla لعل 'maybe, perhaps' (C2:238), introduces sentences with dep. head noun; it differs from *rubbamā* ربما 'perhaps' (see 3.30.2) in that *rubbamā* is now a free adverbial and therefore not always at the head of a clause, and in addition need not be followed by whole clauses, while *la'alla* لعل occurs only as the head of complete sentences. The difference in meaning is not easy to state as the dictionary represents them as synonymous: it may be that *la'alla* لعل is a means of setting a whole statement in a framework of uncertainty while *rubbamā* ربما serves, perhaps, to introduce a notion of probability at any point. It is at least clear that while *la'alla* لعل can express a hope or expectation, ربما does not:

la'alla 'ahammahā ḥāṣṣiyyatāni 'asāsiyyatāni

لعل أهمها خاصيتان أساسيتان

'perhaps the most important of them are two basic features'

la'alla 'awwala mā yanbaḡi 'ibrāzuhu hunā ...

لعل أول ما ينبغي إبرازه هنا ...

'perhaps the first thing which ought to be brought out here is ...'

fī zamanin la'allahu l-'arba'inātu

في زمان لعله الأربعينات

'at a time which may perhaps have been the forties'

lit. 'perhaps it [was] the forties', cf. rel. clauses in 5.1

Sometimes *la'alla* لعل has the rhetorical force of a subordinating conjunction meaning 'so that perhaps' or 'in the hope that perhaps':

yuhāwilāni 'an yuṣbi'āhu darsan wa-taḥlilan la'allahumā yaḥḥamāni

يحاولان ان يشيعاه درساً وتحليلاً لعلهما يفهمان

'they [dual] try to saturate it in study and analysis [so that] perhaps they will understand'

tubāriku hādā l-nawma la'allahu yumidduhu bi-l-rāḥati

تبارك هذا النوم لعله يمدّه بالراحة

'she blesses this sleep [in the hope that] perhaps it will provide him with rest'

A reduced form 'alla عل is also seen in this sense:

yuhriju zafarātin 'allahā taqša'u bi-tilka l-'alwāḥi ba'idan

يخرج زفّرات عليها تقشع بتلك الألواح بعيدا

'he lets out deep sighs [that] perhaps they will chase those boards far away'

taṭalla'tu 'allanī 'almaḥu wāḥidan min riḥāqī

تطلعت علني ألمح واحدا من رفاقي

'I looked around [in the hope that] perhaps I might see one of my companions'

istaslamtu lahu 'allahu yaḡsilunī wa-yuḍī'u l-rā'iḥata

استسلمت له عله يغسلني ويضيع الرائحة

'I submitted to it [in the hope that] perhaps it would cleanse me and remove the smell'

The following show an alternative structure, with 'an أن clause (7.5.2) as pred.:

la'alla llāha 'an yanfa'a bihā

لعل الله أن ينفع بها

'perhaps God will find some use for her', lit. 'be of some use by means of her'

la'alla hādihī l-dirāsātī 'an tušakkila naḡman jadīdan

لعل هذه الدراسات أن تشكل نغما جديدا

'perhaps these studies will form a new melody'

When prefixed to the first person pronoun, the form *la'allī* لعلّي (possessive suffix) alternates with *la'allanī* لعلني (C2:240):

la'allī btasamtu lahu

لعلّي ابتسمت له

'I may perhaps have smiled at him'

la'allī 'unaffīdu mā turīdu

لعلّي أنفّز ما تريد

'I may perhaps carry out what you wish'

la'allanī waṣaltu ma'ahā 'ilā nuḡṭati l-lā-'awdati

لعلني وصلت معها إلى تقطه اللا عودة

'perhaps I have reached the point of no return with her'

For another method of indicating 'perhaps' see the impersonal verb 'asā عسى 'maybe' in 3.15.4.

3.2.6 Sentences introduced by *layta* ليت

layta ليت (C2:241) precedes sentences denoting wishes, with dep. agreement, ‘would that’, ‘if only ...’, often preceded by *yā* يا ‘O’ (2.16):

wa-layta l-’amra tawaqqafa hunā

وليت الأمر توقف هنا

‘if only the matter would stop there’

layta l’araba yatanabbahūna ’ilā mā ḥawlahum min-’aḥtārin!

ليت العرب يتنبهون إلى ما حولهم من أخطار!

‘if only the Arabs would be aware of the dangers which surround them!’

(see 5.4.4 on *mā ... min* ما ... من)

With *yā* يا ‘O’:

yā laytanā nu’idu l-naẓara fī

يا ليتنا نعيد النظر في

‘if only we would take another look at’

yā laytanā nuwājihu l-’umūra bi-wuḍūhin

يا ليتنا نواجه الأمور بوضوح

‘if only we would face matters clearly’

This one is used elliptically:

wa-ḥuṣūṣan ’idā kānat ’irānu sa-tuṣāriku ... wa-yā layta turkiyā

وخصوصا اذا كانت ايران ستشارك ... ويا ليت تركيا

‘especially if Iran was going to take part ... and if only Turkey [would do so]’

For *’a-lā layta* ألا ليت as a rhetorical question see C2:243, 10.13.1.

3.3 TOPIC-COMMENT SENTENCES (C2:455)

The topic is a noun with the same required definiteness as the subject of an equational sentence (3.1). The comment is always a clause (except with *’ammā* أما see 3.3.4) and this clause is always linked anaphorically to the topic by a pronoun, mostly called the *rābiṭ* رابط in Arabic theory, lit. the ‘binding’ element, and which will accordingly be termed here the ‘binding pronoun’. The internal structure of the comment clause is thus identical with that of adjectival (relative) clauses, see 5.0.1 and circumstantial qualifying clauses (7.3).

The resemblance to western ‘topicalization’ is strong, especially since in both cases the grammatical and logical subjects may be different, but it is important to emphasize that the topic-comment sentence in Arabic is a basic structure and not

the result of any movement, fronting or extraction, still less a simple inversion of the kind ‘that film I have seen before’. Only *‘ammā* أما ‘as for’ (see 3.3.4) may be considered close to a topicalizer in the western sense.

There are almost no restrictions on what may appear in topic position, but note that the first element of an annexation unit cannot occur as a topic. Thus (the examples are made up) **al-mudīru sami‘tu ṣawtaḥu* المدير سمعت صوته ‘the **director** [topic], I heard **his** voice [comment]’ is a possible sentence, but not **al-ṣawtu sami‘tu [?] l-mudīri* ‘the **voice** [topic], I heard the director’s [comment]’ because pronouns cannot be annexed to a following noun to give, in this hypothetical case, **‘the it of the director’*.

Topic-comment sentences can rarely be reproduced in natural English in their original word order, so the examples below are translated quite literally to clarify the structure. Coincidentally this reproduces the much less frequent English equivalent with topicalization as in, for example, ‘that **film**, I have seen **it** before’, but there will be no attempt in the translations to reproduce this or any of the other English strategies for this type of utterance.

They are here listed by the class of comment, equational or verbal sentence, with the topic and the binding pronoun in bold, and the logical subject italicized in the translation, since this is likely to become the grammatical subject in a non-literal translation. In 3.3.1–3.3.3 only, the boundary between topic and comment is signalled by | (cf. rel. clauses in 5.0.1 and ‘inverted’ verbal sentences in 3.7.2.1).

3.3.1 Equational sentence as comment

Equational sentence as comment (C2:458), i.e. topic + [comment = subj. + pred + binding pron.]:

al-ḥujratu llatī ya‘malu fihā bi-l-wizāratī | jawwuhā ḥāniqun

الحجرة التي يعمل فيها بالوزارة جوها خانق

‘**the room** in which he works at the ministry | **its** air is suffocating’,
i.e. ‘*the air* of the room in which he works at the ministry is suffocating’

al-ḥadāṭatu min ‘ajli l-ḥadāṭati | lā ma‘nā lahā

الحدثة من أجل الحادثة لا معنى لها

‘modernism for the sake of modernism | no *meaning* is in **it**’, i.e.
‘modernism has no *meaning*’

(see 4.1.2 for cat. neg. and 2.6.10 for *li-* ل expressing possession)

In the following examples the equational sentences have indef. subj. with prepositional phrases as pred. and are therefore inverted (see 3.1.3):

hal ta 'rifu 'anna al-'ālama | bihi 700 milyūni sayyāratin

هل تعرف أن العالم به ٧٠٠ مليون سيارة

'do you know that **the world** | in **it** are 700 million *cars*?',
i.e. 'that there are 700 million *cars* in the world?'

hādā l-mujalladu llaḏī tatajāwazu ṣafahātuhu l-ḥamsamī'ati | maktūbun 'alayhi l-si'ru

هذا المجلد الذي تتجاوز صفحاته الخمسمئة مكتوب عليه السعر

'**this volume, whose pages exceed five hundred** | *the price* is written on **it**',
i.e. '*the price* of this volume ... is written on **it**'

al-masraḥiyyatu l-ši'riyyatu | lahā ḥaṣā'īṣu tumayyizuhā

المسرحية الشعرية لها خصائص تميزها

'**poetic drama** | to **it** are *characteristics* which distinguish it',
i.e. 'poetic drama has *characteristics*'

(see 2.6.10 for *li-* لـ expressing possession)

hādīhi l-'iṣābātu | min-a l-ṣa'bi mu'ālatuhā

هذه الإصابات من الصعب معالجتها

'**these wounds** | of the difficult is **their treatment**', i.e. 'the *treatment* of these wounds is difficult'

(see 3.1.4 on the *min* من + adj. construction)

An indef. topic can occur if the noun phrase is qualified in the same manner as described for indef. subjects above (3.1):

šāy'un jadīdun | huwa mā naṣbū 'ilayhi

شيء جديد هو ما نصبو إليه

'**something new**, [**it**] is *what we are yearning for*'

'ilājūn bi-lā mutāba'atin ṭibbiyyatin | lā fā'idata fihi

علاج بلا متابعة طبية لا فائدة فيه

'**treatment without medical follow-up** | there is *no use* in **it**',
i.e. 'there is *no use* in treatment without medical follow-up'

(see 4.1.2 for cat. neg.)

3.3.2 Verbal sentence as comment

Verbal sentence as comment (C2:460), i.e. topic + [comment = verb + agent + binding pronoun]. In these it is the agent of the verb which is the logical subject.

To clarify the structure the literal translation is given first, again with binding pron. in bold and the logical subj. in italics and the topic-comment boundary marked with |, together with a possible natural English equivalent:

sayyāratu l-duktūri R.D. ... | takallafat ṣiyānatuhā 23 'alfa junayhin!

سيارة الدكتور ر. د. ... تكلفت صيانتها ٢٣ ألف جنيه!

'the car of Dr R.D. ... | its maintenance cost £23,000!',
i.e. 'the maintenance of Dr R.D.'s car cost £23,000'

hāḍihi l-mihnatu | tuqābiluhā 'iddatu ṣu'ūbātīn

هذه المهنة تقابلها عدة صعوبات

'this profession | a number of difficulties are facing it',
i.e. 'a number of difficulties are facing this profession'

al-ṭabībatu l-'amrīkiyyatu | lā yabdū 'alā wajhihā 'ayyu ta 'bīrin

الطبيبة الأمريكية لا يبدو على وجهها أي تعبير

'the American doctor | any expression does not appear on her face',
i.e. 'no expression appears on the American doctor's face'

(see 4.2.1 on negating agents)

Indef. agents in topic position are not rare (see 3.7.2.2) but given the structural identity of comment and rel. clauses (see 5.0.1), it is probably better to analyse them as predicates of elided subjects, followed by a rel. clause, e.g.:

mā huwa ṭamanu l-ḥurriyati? su'ālun | taṭraḥuhu l-ṭaqāfatu l-'arabiyyatu 'alā naṣsihā

ما هو ثمن الحرية؟ سؤال تطرحه الثقافة العربية على نفسها

'what is the price of freedom? [This is] a question [pred.] which Arab culture poses itself [rel.]', rather than 'a question [indef. topic] | Arab culture poses it to itself [comment]'

šay'un hāmmun | ṭaraqathu l-tajribatu l-miṣriyyatu wa-huwa ...

... شيء هام طرقته التجربة المصرية وهو ...

'[there is] one important thing [pred.] which the Egyptian experiment touched upon [rel.], and that is ...', rather than 'one important thing [indef. topic] | the Egyptian experiment touched upon it [comment], and that is ...'.

'amaliyyatu ḥasmin ta 'aḥḥarat 'an mī 'ādihā

عملية حسم تأخرت عن ميعادها

'[it is] an act of decisiveness that came too late', lit. 'came after its appointed time'

3.3.2.1 When the topic is the same as the agent of the comment clause, the structure will have the appearance of an inverted verbal sentence, i.e. agent + verb (see 3.7 for the normal verb + agreement sequence). However, simple inversion of agent and verb cannot occur in Arabic: when it precedes its verb the agent automatically becomes a topic, and the comment retains its regular

components, namely, a verb, an agent and a binding pronoun (see further in 3.7.2.1). Thus in:

al-muhandisūna yuhaddidūna bi-l- 'idrābi

المهندسون يهددون بالإضراب

‘the engineers **are threatening** to strike’

the structure is ‘the engineers [topic], **they are threatening** to strike [comment]’, with the incorporated agent **they** being both the logical agent of the whole sentence and the binding pronoun connecting the comment to the topic.

In the following example the topic is not the same as the agreement of the verb in the comment, although it is difficult to avoid giving that impression in the English:

al-rajulu lladī yataḥaddatu ‘an wuqū‘i ba‘ḍi l-fatayāti fī ġarāmihi yajibu ‘an yuḥtaqara

الرجل الذي يتحدث عن وقوع بعض الفتيات في غرامه يجب أن يحتقر

of which the natural translation is:

‘the man who talks about some girls falling in love with him **must be despised**’

but the actual structure is ‘the man who talks about some girls falling in love with him [topic], that **he** [binding pron.] be despised [agent] **is necessary** [verb]’

The binding pronoun is incorporated in the subordinate verb *‘an yuḥtaqara* أن يحتقر ‘that **he** be despised’, itself the agent of the comment verb *yajibu* يجب ‘is necessary’, which is an impersonal verb (see 3.15.2), hence the topic noun ‘the man’ is not the agent of ‘is necessary’, and the topic and the grammatical agent of the comment cause are different.

3.3.3 Topic-comment structures

Topic-comment structures occur with sentences of all kinds.

Within subordinate clauses:

yušīru ‘ilā ‘anna l-sukkara | kāna yaqtaṣīru stīrāduhu min qablu ‘alā wizāratī l-tamwīni

يشير إلى أن السكر كان يقتصر استيراده من قبل على وزارة التموين

‘he points to the fact that sugar | *the import of it* was previously restricted to the Ministry of Supply’, i.e. ‘that the import of sugar was restricted’

li- ‘anna l-tayyāra l-dīniyya l-mu‘tadila | min-a l-ṣa‘bi ḥidā‘uhu

لأن التيار الديني المعتدل من الصعب خداعه

‘because the moderate religious **current** | *deceiving it* is difficult’

i.e. ‘because it is difficult to deceive the moderate religions current’

(cf. 3.1.4 on the *min* من construction here)

min ḥayṭu kānat qulūbu l-bašari wa-‘uqūluhum | lā sulṭāna li-‘aḥadin ‘alayhā

من حيث كانت قلوب البشر وعقولهم لا سلطان لأحد عليها
‘since the **hearts** and minds of mankind | no-one has *authority* over **them**’,
i.e. ‘since no-one has authority over’

With conditional sentences (C2:463):

ša‘ruki | ‘in-i ‘tanayti bihi yuṣbiḥ tājan ‘alā ra’siki

شعرك إن اعتنيت به يصبح تاجا على رأسك

‘**your hair** | if you take care of it, **[it]** will become a crown on your head’

(reading apoc. *yuṣbiḥ* يصبح as an apodosis, though the mixture of tenses here is somewhat clumsy, cf. 8.1, and an alternative would be to read indep. *yuṣbiḥu* يصبح as the comment, ‘becomes’ with the conditional clause ‘if you take care of it’ as elliptical and parenthetical)

With interrogatives:

najmātu l-‘āmi 1999 | hal yalma‘na qabla l-‘āmi 2000?

نجمات العام ١٩٩٩ هل يلمعن قبل العام ٢٠٠٠؟

‘**the stars** of 1999 | **will they glow** before 2000?’

(topic and agent identical, cf. 3.3.2.1)

‘awlāduka, | hal fakkarta fī mustaqbalihim?

أولادك، هل فكرت في مستقبلهم؟

‘**your children**, | **have you** thought about **their future**?’,
i.e. ‘have you thought about the future of your children?’

With indirect questions:

wa-hāḍihi l-maṣāni‘u llati daḥalat fī l-ḥuṭṭati | matā zahara ‘intājuhā fī l-sūqi fa-sa-yasuddu ḥājata l-bilādi

وهذه المصانع التي دخلت في الخطة متى ظهر إنتاجها في السوق فسيسد حاجة البلاد

‘**these factories** which have joined the scheme | when **their output** appears on the market, **it** will satisfy the country’s need for’, i.e. ‘when the output of these factories which have joined the scheme appears on the market, it will satisfy the country’s need’

In the above example (which had no punctuation) the logical subj. is ‘the output of these factories’ but it has been split between the formal topic (‘factories’) and an internal grammatical subj. connected by the binding pronoun (‘their output’).

3.3.4 'ammā ... fa- ف... أما 'as for ...'(C3:196)

This is probably the closest to a topicalizing element in Arabic (contrast 3.3), since it normally precedes a noun phrase presented with some emphasis as the topic (mostly in contrast to some previous assertion), followed by a comment introduced by *fa-* ف 'and so'. The comment is mostly a complete sentence containing an anaphoric pronoun, and thus has the same structure as the comment clauses described above. Like them, the comment may be an equational, nominal or verbal sentence.

As for the translation, the English 'as for' is a conveniently close equivalent, but is by no means the only way to render it. To replicate the Arabic structure here a comma will indicate the position of the *fa-* ف before the comment, whether or not this results in natural English (to use 'well' to introduce the comment would be illuminating but cumbersome, however, the reader may try inserting it after the comma).

Uniquely 'ammā أما can also be superimposed on the simple equational sentence (3.1) and thus have a single noun phrase as its comment (unless an ellipse is to be supposed):

'ammā l-mustahlika fa-**maḡlūbun** 'alā 'amrihi

أما المستهلك فمغلوب على أمره

'as for the consumer, [he is] **helpless**', lit. 'beaten in **his** own affair'

'ammā hadiyyatī fa-**ṣakkun** 'alā bayāḍin tamla'īnahu bi-raqmin yurḍiki

أما هديتي فصك على بياض تملئينه برقم يرضيك

'as for my present [it is] a blank **cheque** which you [fem. sing.] can fill in with any number that pleases you'

'ammā jaddatuka fa-**'amrun** lā yaqūlu bihi l-qānūnu

أما جدتك فأمر لا يقول به القانون

'as for your grandmother [it is] **a matter** which the law does not speak of'

With full equational sentence as comment:

'ammā l-'arīsu fa-**huwa** salīlu l-ḥasabī wa-l-nasabī

أما العريس فهو سليل الحساب والنسب

'as for the bridegroom, **he** is pure of repute and lineage'

'ammā 'amal fa-**lahā** qīṣṣatun 'uḥrā

أما أمل فلها قصة أخرى

'as for Amal, **she has** another story', lit. 'to her [is] another story'

(note the inversion with indef. subj., 3.1.3)

More commonly the comment clause will itself be a nested topic-comment (3.3.2.1).

Nominal sentence as comment, either containing an equational sentence:

'ammā wizāratu al-ṣiḥḥati fa-mas'ūliyyatuhā lā ṣākkā fihā

أما وزارة الصحة فمسؤوليتها لا شك فيها

‘as for the Ministry of Health, there is no doubt about its responsibility’,
lit. ‘**its responsibility** [topic], there is no doubt about it [comment]’

or topic + verbal comment:

'ammā l-ḥamru fa-ta'īruhā 'alā l-'aqli lā yaḥtāju 'ilā bayānin

أما الخمر فتأثيرها على العقل لا يحتاج إلى بيان

‘as for wine, **its effect** [topic] on the mind needs no explanation [comment]’

(note unmarked fem. *ḥamr* خمر ‘wine’, see 1.12.2.1)

'ammā muntijū l-taqāfati fa-huwa lā yasma'u 'ismahum (sic) *'illā marratan kulla sanatin*

أما منتجو الثقافة فهو لا يسمع إسمهم إلا مرة كل سنة

‘as for the producers of culture, he only hears **their** name once a year’

'ammā l-ṭuruqu l-'uḥrā fa-kulluhā yu'addi 'ilā l-maqbarati

أما الطرق الأخرى فكلها يؤدي إلى المقبرة

‘as for the other roads, **all of them** lead to the grave’

(see 3.8.4 on agreement of *kull* كل)

With verbal sentence comment:

'ammā l-'itābu l-ḥāmisu fa-yaḥuṣṣu mas'alata l-tamwīli l-'ajnabiyyi

أما الأعتاب الخامس فيخص مسألة التمويل الأجنبي

‘as for the fifth [point of] censure, **it concerns** the question of foreign financing’

'ammā l-bāqūna 37% fa-lam yakun lahum ra'yun

أما الباقيون ٣٧٪ فلم يكن لهم رأي

‘as for the remaining 37%, **they had** no opinion’

(sic: see numbers in 2.14.3)

'ammā l-wālidu fa-kāna yaṣḥabunī fi l-bidāyāti 'ilā maḥaṭṭati miṣra

أما الوالد فكان يصحبني في البداية إلى محطة مصر

‘as for my father, **he used to accompany me** at first to Cairo Station’

The topic may also be a pronoun:

'ammā 'anta fa-qad waṣalta muta'aḥḥiran

أما أنت فقد وصلت متأخرا

‘as for **you**, you have arrived late’

'ammā 'anta fa-mā zilṭa ḥadīṭa l-'ahdi

أما أنت فما زلت حديث العهد

'as for **you**, you are still new [here]'

or an adverbial expression:

kalāman? na'am. 'ammā 'amalan fa-lan tarā minhu kaṭīran

كلاماً؟ نعم. أما عملاً فلن ترى منه كثيراً

'In words? Yes. But as for **in action** you will not see much of it'

Prepositional phrases are often topicalized, and anaphora is, if necessary, replaced by externalizing the previously elided head of the phrase:

'ammā fī l-'ālamī l-'arabiyyi fa-l-waḍ'uh yaḥtalifu

أما في العالم العربي فالوضع يختلف

'as for [the situation] **in the Arab world**, the **situation** differs'

'ammā bi-l-nisbati li-l-miyāhi fa-yaqūlu l-'ustaḍu 'A 'A.

أما بالنسبة للمياه فيقول الأستاذ ع. ع.

'as for [what is said] **with respect to** the waters, Prof. A. A. **says**'

'ammā 'alā l-jānibi l-'atyūbiyyi fa-qad kānat-i l-taḥarriyātu 'aḳṭara 'ijābiyyatan

أما على الجانب الإثيوبي فقد كانت التحريات أكثر إيجابية

'as for [the inquiries] **on the Ethiopian side**, the **inquiries** were more positive'

Almost any subordinate clause or sentence type can be topicalized by 'ammā invariably with *fa-* ف or *fa-qad* فقد introducing the comment clause:

'ammā matā zahara l-duktūru 'iṣām 'amāma ḡāda fa-qad kāna luḡzan muḥayyiran lahā

أما متى ظهر الدكتور عصام أمام غادة فقد كان لغزاً محيراً لها

'as for **when** Dr 'Isam appeared before Gada, it was a perplexing riddle to her'

(see 1.8.5 on inflection of proper names)

'ammā 'anna hādīhi l-infirādiyyata qad takūmu li-fatratin mu'aqqatatin fa-'inda l-ittayni tafsīrātun mutaqāribatun

أما أن هذه الانفرادية قد تكون لفترة مؤقتة فعند الاثنين تفسيرات متقاربة

'as for **the fact that** this isolationism will probably be only for a limited period, both have closely related explanations'

'ammā **kayfa** naẓara 'ilā l-turāṭi min hādāyini l-mawqī 'ayni **fa-** 'alā l-naḥwi l-tāli

أما كيف نظر إلى التراث من هذين الموقعين فعلى النحو التالي
'as for **how** he looked at the heritage from these two positions, it is in the following way'

'ammā **wa-qad darastu** l-mawḏū'a 'alā jawānibihi, **fa-wajadtu** 'anna l-'ilma l-hadīṭa yaqūlu 'inna

أما وقد درست الموضوع على جوانبيه، فوجدت إن العلم الحديث يقول
'as for **having studied** the subject from [all] its sides, I have found that modern science says'

(cf. 7.3.1 on perf. circ. qual.)

Clauses may be introduced by *fa-qad* فقد if the sense requires *qad* قد (see 3.10.4):

'ammā šu'ūnu l-fikri wa-l-ṭaqāḫati **fa-qad** kānat ḡā'ibatan tamāman

أما شؤون الفكر والثقافة فقد كانت غائبة تماماً
'as for matters of thought and culture, **they were** completely absent'

The presence of 'an عن 'about', 'concerning' in such examples as:

'ammā '**an-i** l-nisā'i l-ḥawāmili fa-yata'attarna šihḥiyyan

أما عن النساء الحوامل فيتأثرن صحياً
'as for pregnant women, they will be affected in health'

or:

'ammā '**an** 'ilmi l-wabā'iyyāti fa-huwa ...

أما عن علم الوبائيات فهو ...
'as for epidemiology, it is ...'

may be accounted for as an attempt to combine 'ammā أما 'as for' with 'an عن in the sense of 'concerning'.

Cases of 'ammā أما without *fa-* ف are rare. Here the absence of *fa-* ف may be an oversight:

'ammā l-ḥuṭṭatu l-qaṣīratu l-madā **tatamattalu** fī 'ihlālī wa-stikmālī šabakātīn

أما الخطة القصيرة المدى تتمثل في إحلال واستكمال شبكات
'as for the short-term plan [0] **it consists** of establishing and completing networks'

(see 2.3.7 on the binomial annexation 'ihlāl wa-stikmāl إحلال واستكمال)

The connective *fa-* ف ‘well’ is lacking in the next example, probably because the syntax of the temporal conjunction overrides it (cf. ‘*indamā* عندما ‘when’ in 5.9.8):

'ammā 'indamā nfataḥat 'abwābu l-hijrati ... fašalat būtaqatu l-ṣahri
 أما عندما انفتحت أبواب الهجرة ... فشلت بوتقة الصهر
 ‘as for **when** the doors of immigration opened ... [0] the melting-pot **broke**
 down’

Topicalization with *fa-* ف but without *'ammā* أما has been noted (C3:30) but no examples were found in the data.

3.3.4.1 As a subset of the *'ammā* أما construction, we may consider the common practice of introducing sentences with adverbial phrases followed by *fa-* ف (see further under discourse in **Chapter 11**):

wa-li-dālika fa-'inna hāḍihi l-rihlāti qāma bihā 'aṣḥābuhā ḍimna zurūfin
tārīḥiyatin muḥaddadin
 ولذلك فإن هذه الرحلات قام بها أصحابها ضمن ظروف تاريخية محددة
 ‘and because of that, these journeys, they were carried out by those who
 made them in [clearly] defined historical circumstances’
wa-'alā kullin .. fa-la-qad ṭalaba minhu l-muḥaqqiqūn
 وعلى كل .. فلقد طلب منه المحققون
 ‘anyway, the investigators asked him to’

(note the ‘..’ in the text after the introductory phrase, see punctuation, **1.3**)

3.3.5 Presentatives

Presentatives with *hā* ها ‘here!’ (C2:30,36, 3:356) are used with a free pronoun followed by a predicate, which may in turn be amplified by an appositional or circumstantial phrase or clause:

hā huwa l-šāṭi'u wāḍiḥun jaliyyun
 ها هو الشاطئ واضح جلي
 ‘here’s the beach [it being] clear and bright’
hā huwa yafti bi-wa'dihi
 ها هو يفي بوعده
 ‘here he is, [he] keeping his promise’
hā huwa muḥammad šukrī yanšuru l-juz'a l-tāniya
 ها هو محمد شكري ينشر الجزء الثاني
 ‘and there is M. S. [he] publishing the second part’

(note that proper names are read as uninflected, see 1.8.5)

wa-hā hiya l-ḥasratu taskunu fī 'a'māqī

وها هي الحسرة تسكن في أعماقي

'and **here is despair** taking up residence in my depths'

with fem. *hiya* هي 'it' in agreement with *al-ḥasratu* الحسرة 'despair'

The predicate may be a prepositional phrase:

hā nahnu fī mtiḥānāti l-faṣli l-tānī

ها نحن في امتحانات الفصل الثاني

'here **we are** [being] **in the** second term **exams**'

The variant with *hā* ها + pron. + *dā* ذا (cf. *hādā* هذا 'this', see 1.7.2) incorporates the subj. pronoun between the two demonstrative elements:

hā 'anā dā fī muwājahatihi

ها أنا ذا في مواجهته

'**there I was** facing him', lit. 'lo I that one [being] facing him'

3.4 ANTICIPATORY PRONOUN, *ḍamīr al-ša'n* ضمير الشأن

After the sentence modifiers 'inna إِنَّ, 'anna أَنْ, etc. (see 3.2) a default masc. sing. pronoun suffix *-hu* هـ 'it' (rarely fem.) must be used when the modifier is followed by a verbal sentence instead of the usual equational sentence (the selection of a verbal sentence is an arbitrary choice of the speaker). Since this *-hu* هـ is construed as an anticipatory pronoun representing the sentence to come, it is called the 'pronoun of the matter' *ḍamīr al-ša'n* ضمير الشأن in the Arab tradition (C2:430 denies its existence). The translation emphasizes this function at the expense of elegance:

tumma 'innahu laysa li-l-dumū'i ṭamanun, baḥsun 'aw ḡālin

ثم إنه ليس للدموع ثمن، بخس أو غال

'furthermore, **the fact is that there is no** price for tears, low or high'

'ašāra 'ilā 'annahu tamma taklīfu farīqi 'amalin

أشار إلى أنه تم تكليف فريق عمل

'he pointed to **the fact that** the commissioning of a working group **had been completed**', i.e. 'a working party had been commissioned'

(see 3.23.1 on *tamma*)

'ilman bi-'**annahu lan tatamakkana** l-'ummu min 'irḡā'i mawlūdiḥā
ṭabī'īyyan

علما بأنه لن تتمكن الأم من إرضاع مولودها طبيعياً

'in the knowledge **of the fact that** the mother **will not be able to** suckle her
baby naturally'

Adverbial phrases may intervene as always (see 3.7.4):

'akkada 'annahu **fī l-marḥalati l-muqbilati** sa-yakūnu al-tarkīzu 'alā
marākizi l-ṭibbi l-wiqā'īyyi

أكد أنه في المرحلة المقبلة سيكون التركيز على مراكز الطب الوقائي

'he stressed the fact that **in the next stage** the concentration would be on
preventative medical centres'

wa-'aḏāfa 'annahu **ba'da dirāsati l-'anṣimati l-muḥtalifati li-zir'ati**
l-'asnāni l-mutawaffirati 'ālamīyyan tamma ḥtiyāru niṣāmin suwaydiyyin
dī šuhratin 'ālamīyyatin

وأضاف أنه بعد دراسة الأنظمة المختلفة لزراعة الأسنان تم اختيار نظام سويدي ذي
شهرة عالمية

'he added the fact that **after studying the various systems of teeth**
transplanting globally available a Swedish system of world fame had been
selected'

(see 3.23.1 on *tamma* paraphrasing passive)

The same pronoun is also found with cat. negs (see 4.1.2):

hāḏā kulluhu yu'akkidu '**annahu lā ḥājata** 'ilā l-tasarrubi

هذا يؤكد أنه لا حاجة إلى التسرب

'this all confirms **the fact that there is no need for** the leakage'

The unusual occurrence of a fem. pron. here: *qultu 'innahā sa-ta'ti l-tafāṣīlu* قلت
إنها ستأتي التفاصيل 'I said **that they** the details will be forthcoming' is possibly by
attraction to the broken plur. *tafāṣīl* تفاصيل 'details', itself grammatically fem.
sing. (see 2.1.1). In the following example, however, the fem. is simply
cataphoric:

la'allahā kānat laḥzata l-ṣidqi l-waḥīdata fī ḥayātihi l-siyāsiyyati

لعلها كانت لحظة الصدق الوحيدة في حياته السياسية

'perhaps **it** [fem. anticipating 'moment'] was the only moment of truth in his
political life'

3.5 SEPARATING PRONOUN *ḍamīr al-faṣl* ضمير الفصل

When both subj. and pred. of an equational sentence are def., the transition from
def. subj. to indef. pred. is no longer clearly marked (but see 3.1), and so they are

usually separated by a congruent pronoun (C1:34, 2:432), termed *ḍamīr al-faṣl* ضمير الفصل, originally ‘the pronoun which distinguishes [predicates from attributive adjectives]’, and often mistakenly labelled ‘copula’ in western sources. It is also common with the sentence modifiers ‘inna إنا etc. (3.2) and the *kāna* كان verb set (3.16, 3.17), even though with these the subj. and pred. are in different cases. This may have been encouraged by the loss of inflections in MWA, perhaps also by a desire to signal the arrival of the pred. after a long subj. regardless of case (see further 3.5.2).

As will appear from the examples below, this pronoun is no longer used exclusively in its original separating function, but also can be used to give emphasis to the predication itself (see further 3.5.2).

It is still possible for def. subj. and pred. to occur without sep. pron., especially with the generic article and in proverbial expressions:

al-ḥayātu l-ḥubbu الحياة الحب ‘life is love’

both with generic article.

3.5.1 Regular examples of the *ḍamīr al-faṣl*:

al-‘amūdu l-fikriyyu llaḍi yajibu ‘an yantaẓima fihi jamī‘u maẓāhirihi huwa l-‘aqlāniyyatu wa-l-dimuqrāṭiyyatu

العمود الفكري الذي يجب أن ينتظم فيه جميع مظاهره هو العقلانية والديمقراطية
‘the intellectual paradigm [def.] in which all its phenomena must
be organized is rationalism and democracy [both def., with generic
article]’

al-hadaḡu huwa fahmu maṣādirihī bi-ṣaklin ‘awḡaḡa

الهدف هو فهم مصادره بشكل أوضح
‘the goal [def.] is the understanding [def. by annexation] of his sources in a
clearer way’

kullu mā yuhimmunī wa-yaṣḡalunī hiya ḡurriyatu l-kuttābi fī l-duḡūli wal-ḡurūji

كل ما يهمني ويشغلني هي حرية الكتاب في الدخول والخروج
‘all that concerns me and occupies me [def. as subj.] is the freedom [def. by
annexation] of writers [generic] to come in and out’

(note the attraction of *hiya* هي to the fem. noun following instead of the masc. *kullu* كل)

With demonstratives the sep. pron. is nearly always used because the constituent dem. + single noun (*hāḡā l-raḡulu* هذا الرجل ‘this man’, an appositional unit, see 2.2.6) would otherwise be indistinguishable from subj. + pred.:

hāḍihi hiya l-ma'sātu

هذه هي المأساة

'this is the tragedy'

(contrast *hāḍihi l-ma'sātu* هذه المأساة 'this tragedy')

tilka hiya l-ḥaqīqatu kullu l-ḥaqīqati

تلك هي الحقيقة كل الحقيقة

'that is the truth, the whole truth'

(contrast *tilka l-ḥaqīqatu* تلك الحقيقة 'that truth')

If the sense is already clear enough, however, no sep. pron. is used:

hāḍā l-junūnu bi-'aynihi

هذا الجنون بعينه

'this is madness itself'

In the following example the pron. is not strictly required, however, since the dem. cannot form an appositional unit with a following annexed phrase:

hāḍā huwa 'aḥadu 'abrazi mabādi'inā

هذا هو أحد أبرز مبادئنا

'this is one of our most outstanding principles'

which could not mean 'this most outstanding one of' even without the sep. pron.

The subj. or the pred. may be a nominal rel. clause (C2:436 and see 5.4.2):

mā 'urīdu 'an 'unabbiha 'ilayhi huwa: 'anna l-zamana lam ya'ud yasmaḥu bi-'an ...

ما أريد أن أنبئه إليه هو: أن الزمن لم يعد يسمح بأن ...

'what I want to point out is the fact that time no longer permits ...'

(the colon after *huwa* هو is in the original text)

huwa wa-llāhu 'a'lamu 'idā kāna mā sami'a huwa l-ḥaqīqatu 'am lā

هو والله أعلم إذا كان ما سمع هو الحقيقة أم لا

'he, by God, knows best whether what he has heard is the truth or not'

(see 2.17 on oaths)

This pron. is commonly used for emphasis with sentence modifiers of the 'inna إن (3.2) and kāna كان type (3.16 and 3.17) even though as a separating pron. it would be technically redundant, since the case of subj. and pred. is different.

With 'inna etc.:

li- 'anna al-hadafa huwa ḥidmatu l-muḥāmīna

لأن الهدف هو خدمة المحامين

'because the aim [dep.] is the service [indep.] of the lawyers'

bi- 'anna l-istiqlālā l-kāmila huwa l-ḥallu l-ṣaḥīḥu l-waḥīdu li-l-muškilati

بأن الاستقلال الكامل هو الحل الصحيح الوحيد للمشكلة

'that complete independence [dep.] is the only sound solution [indep.] to the problem'

allatī tanuṣṣu 'alā 'anna dīna l-dawlati huwa l-'islāmu

التي تنص على أن دين الدولة هو الإسلام

'which stipulates that the religion [dep.] of the state is Islam [indep.]'

'inna barāmija l-tadrīsi l-nājiḥata hiya fī l-wāqi 'i nitāju tafā 'uli 'awāmila muta'addidatin

إن برامج التدريس الناجحة هي في الواقع نتاج تفاعل عوامل متعددة

'successful education programmes [dep.] are actually the product [indep.] of the interaction of numerous factors'

yabdū 'anna l-majmū'ata l-mutarjamata hiya muḥtārātun min majmū'ātin ṣadarat li-l-šā'iri fī fatarātīn muḥtalīfatin

يبدو أن المجموعة المترجمة هي مختارات من مجموعات صدرت للشاعر في فترات مختلفة

'it appears that the translated collection [dep.] is selections [indep.] from collections which appeared by the poet at various times'

With *kāna* كان 'be', etc.:

wa-kānat 'āḥiru l-ḍaḥāyā hiya ṭiflatan

وكانت آخر الضحايا هي طفلة

'and the last [indep.] of the victims was a little girl [dep.]'

wa-mundu dālika l-ta'rīḥi 'aṣbaḥa qānūnu 1950 huwa l-ma'mūla bihi fī l-taqāḍi fī miṭli ḥāḍiḥi l-'umūri

ومنذ ذلك التاريخ أصبح قانون ١٩٥٠ هو المعمول به في التقاضي في مثل هذه الأمور

'since that date the law [indep.] of 1950 has become the one acted on [dep.] in litigation in such matters'

wa-'aṣbaḥa l-silāḥu l-maqbūlu faqat fī l-minṭaqati huwa silāḥa l-siyāsati

وأصبح السلاح المقبول فقط في المنطقة هو سلاح السياسة

'and the only acceptable weapon [indep.] in the region became the weapon [dep.] of politics'

(cf. 3.12.4 on the idiomatic passive particle *maqbul* مقبول ‘accepted’ for ‘acceptable’)

3.5.2 Redundant and emphatic use

In other contexts the pron. is commonly found where it would undoubtedly be redundant as a separating pron., given that the pred. is visibly indef., which means that it has now acquired a new function as a kind of resumptive pronoun to emphasize the content of the predicate (C2:434) rather than simply mark its onset. It is not to be confused with the appositional pron. in 2.2.7 which simply emphasizes its antecedent:

al-mawqifu llaḍi yattaḥiduhu l-raʿīsāni ... huwa mawqifun ʿijābiyyun

الموقف الذي يتخذه الرئيسان ... هو موقف إيجابي

‘the position [def.] which the two presidents are taking ... is a **positive one** [indef.]’

ʿinna l-ʿamjāda llati ḥaḡḡaḡa lahum hiya šayʿun šaḡṣiyyun jiddan

إن الأمجاد التي حقق لهم هي شيء شخصي جدا

‘the honours [def.] he has achieved for them are a very **personal matter** [indef.]’

(note loss of referential. pron. in rel clause, see 5.0.2)

In some cases where no sep. pron. is required, the intention is clearly to emphasize the pred.:

al-ʾahammu huwa ʾalāqatunā kullinā bihā

الأهم هو علاقتنا كلنا بها

‘the most important [thing] is our relationship, all of us, to it’

(reading *kullinā* كلنا ‘of all of us’ in apposition to the obl. suffix pron. *-nā* نا ‘of us’, cf. 2.9.1 on corroboratives)

ʾalā kulli ḥālīn ḥādā huwa ʾunwānī l-iliktirūniyyu

على كل حال هذا هو عنواني الإلكتروني

‘anyway, this is my e-mail address’

kānat šanʾāʾu hiya ḥājisahu l-jadīda

كانت صنعا هي هاجسه الجديد

‘San’a was his new concern’

which may be compared with the regular use of a pron. to emphasize the agreement of the verb (see 3.9.2) with verbs of being/not being:

bi- 'tibāri 'anna raf'a l-rusūmi l-jumrukiyyati laysat hiya l-'adāta l-waḥīdata li-ḥimāyati l-'intāji

باعتبار أن رفع الرسوم الجمركية ليست هي الأداة الوحيدة لحماية الإنتاج
'in consideration of the fact that the raising of customs duties **is not itself** the only device for protecting production'

(note the attraction of *hiya* هي to *rusūm* رسوم 'duties' not to *raf'* رفع 'raising')

yakfī 'an naqūla 'inna kalimata 'muḥābarāt' laysat hiya l-tarjamata l-ṣaḥīḥata

يكفي أن نقول إن كلمة 'مخابرات' ليست هي الترجمة الصحيحة
'it suffices that we say that the word 'intelligence services' **is not itself** the right translation'

In its fully developed form this resumptive/emphatic use is no longer dependent on the definiteness of subj. and pred., as the following example shows:

tu 'akkidu l-dirāsātu l-naḥsiyyatu 'anna zuḥūra mā yusammā 'bi-l-mar'ati l-mustarjilati' huwa daḥilun 'alā 'adami l-nuḍūji l-naḥsiyyi

تؤكد الدراسات النفسية أن ظهور ما يسمى 'بالمرأة المسترجلة' هو دليل على عدم النضج النفسي

'psychological studies confirm that the emergence of what is called the 'manly woman' is **an indication** of a lack of psychological maturity'

(indef. pred., therefore no sep. pron. actually required)

In the following type the pron. is perhaps necessary to ensure that the rel. clauses are recognized as the pred.:

lākinna huwa llaḍi 'awḥā lī bi-smihi

لكنه هو الذي أوحى لي باسمه
'but **he** is the one who revealed his name to me'

wa-lākinna rā'idāti ḥarakati taḥrīri l-mar'ati hunna llawāfī...

ولكن رائدات حركة تحرير المرأة هن اللواتي ...
'but the pioneers of the women's liberation movement **are the ones who ...**'
and not 'pioneers of the women's lib. movement who ...'

However, the traditional syntax still occurs, and quite long, but still def. subjects can be followed immediately by indef. predicates:

lā budda min-a l-'iṣārati mujaddadan 'ilā 'anna sti'māla lafzi l-turāṭi bi-hāḍā l-ma'nā llaḍi 'abraznāhu l-'āna sti'mālun nahḍawiyyun

لا بد من الإشارة مجدداً إلى أن استعمال لفظ التراث بهذا المعنى الذي أبرزناه الآن استعمال نهضوي

'it must yet again be pointed out that the use of the term heritage in this sense which we have just now brought out [def.] **is a Nahda usage** [indef.]'

(Nahda = nineteenth-century literary renaissance, see 12.3.1 for this new *nisba*.)

3.6 NEGATIVE EQUATIONAL SENTENCES

When the subj. of an equational sentence has to be negated, it is either done categorically with *lā* لا ‘no’ or periphrastically with one of the verbs for not existing.

Categorical neg. *lā* لا (see details in 4.1):

lā ‘asāsa lahā

لا أساس لها

‘it has no foundation’, lit. ‘no foundation [is] to it’

Verbal paraphrase (see 3.19 for non-existence):

wa-l-wāqī ‘u ‘annahu laysat hunāka ḥadāṭatun muṭlaqatun

والواقع أنه ليست هناك حداثة مطلقة

‘and the fact is that there is no absolute modernity’

3.7 VERBAL SENTENCE (▷C1:41)

The basic pattern is verb + agent, with adverbial and other complements normally in third position (i.e. after verb + agent have been expressed) but also mobile, occurring initially and between verb and object as well; the Arabic terms are *fi’l* فعل ‘act[ion]’, i.e. ‘verb’, *fā’il* فاعل ‘actor’, ‘doer’, i.e. ‘agent’, and *maf’ūl* مفعول ‘thing acted on’, ‘thing done to’, which covers all the complements, see 3.29. Arabic is thus a verb-agent-comp. language (‘VSO’ in some conventions).

Since the agent normally follows the verb, there are special problems of agreement in number and gender, see 3.8.

Simple sentences, pronominalized agents:

‘abarnā l-ṭarīqa l-‘arīḍata

عبرنا الطريق العريضة

‘we crossed the wide street’

(note *ṭarīq* طريق ‘street’ is unmarked fem., see 1.12.2.1)

yuhra ‘ūna ‘ilā šu ‘ūnihim

يهرعون إلى شؤونهم

‘they [masc.] go rushing about their business’

(cf. 3.12.4 on the idiomatic passive *yuhra ‘ūna* يهرعون)

Overt noun agents (see 3.8):

'awma 'at nānsī

أومأت نانسي

'Nancy **pointed**'

ya'qīdu l-fariqāni jtimā'an

يعقد الفريقان اجتماعا

'the two groups **will hold** a meeting'

For negation of all types in verbal sentences see 4.2.

3.7.1 Word order

Pronominalized agents are bound morphemes (see 1.5.2.2) and are either suffixed or incorporated into the verb:

qarrartu قررت 'I decided'

jalasā جلسا 'they two [masc.] sat down'

tartabītu ترتبط 'it [fem.] is connected'

yunāḍilūna يناضلون 'they [masc.] struggle'

Overt noun agents follow the verb, which is always 3rd person singular and either masc. or fem. (see 3.8 for full agreement details):

'akkada waẓīru l-ḥārijīyyati

أكد وزير الخارجية

'the Foreign **Minister** confirmed'

tafattaḥat 'aynāhā

تفتحت عيناها

'her **eyes** [dual] opened'

yatawaqqa'u ḥubarā'u l-'aḥwālī

يتوقع خبراء الأحوال

'meteorologists **expect**'

Unlike subjects (3.1) and topics (3.3.1), there are no restrictions on indef. agents:

'a' lana bāḥiṭūna fī kullīyyati l-zirā'ati

أعلن باحثون في كلية الزراعة

'**researchers** in the College of Agriculture announced'

When a verb has two agents, one incorporated pron. and one overt noun, the pron. agent must be externalized and coordinated (see 6.2.2):

fariḥtu 'anā wa-jaddatī

فرحت أنا وجدتي

'I and my grandmother rejoiced', lit. 'I rejoiced, **I and my grandmother**'

This is to be contrasted with agent emphasis in 3.9.2.

3.7.2 Inversion

Inversion (C1:87, 2:511–21) with verbal sentences is rare and mostly restricted to preposing of direct and other objects or phrases in highly rhetorical contexts:

ḡayraki lā 'uḥibbu

غيرك لا أحب

'**none but you** [dep. dir. obj.] I love'

(see 2.9.2.3 'other than')

miṭla jamālihā lam 'ara fī ḥayātī

مثل جمالها لم أر في حياتي

'the **like** of her beauty I have never seen in my life'

(see 2.9.2.1 for *miṭl*- مثل 'like')

Preposed free object pronouns are slightly less rare (see 3.11.1.1):

'iyyāki 'a'nī

إياك أعني

'**you** I mean', i.e. 'you are the one I mean'

In all the above the verbal clauses contain no anaphora or binding pronoun (e.g., **ḡayruki lā 'uḥibbuḥā* غيرك لا أحبها 'other than you [topic, indep.] I do not love **her** [comment]').

3.7.2.1 What appears to be inversion of agent and verb is actually a variety of topic-comment sentence (see 3.3 and 3.3.2.1), in which the topic, the agent of the comment-verb and the binding pronoun all happen to be identical (coreferential). In other words, there is no true inversion of agent and verb on the western pattern. This is confirmed by the fact that the verb + agent sequence contains only two elements while its apparent inversion comprises three, a noun (= topic), a verb, and a pronoun agent (acting as both logical agent and binding pronoun). As with all topic-comment sentences, the binding pronoun can seldom be translated, but will be shown here in bold italic, with | marking the boundary between topic and comment:

al- 'aṭibbā' u | qālū

الطباء قالوا

‘the doctors [topic, plur.] | **they said** [comment: verb + plur. pron.]’,
i.e. ‘the doctors **said**’

contrast:

qāla l- 'aṭibbā' u

قال الأطباء

‘the doctors said’ (with default masc. sing. verb) (see 3.8)

hādāni l- šarṭāni | lam yatawāfarā lī

هذان الشرطان لم يتوافرا لي

‘these two conditions [top., dual] | **they two were not available** to me
[comment: verb + dual pron.]’

contrast:

lam yatawāfar lī hādāni l- šarṭāni

لم يتوافر لي هذان الشرطان

‘these two conditions were not available to me’ (with default masc. sing. verb)

wa kullu hādīhi l- 'aḥdāṭi | kānat tusabbibu tadahwuran faṣī' an fī ṣiḥḥatī

وكل هذه الأحداث كانت تسبب تدهورا فظيعا في صحتي

‘**and all these events** [topic, broken plur.] | **they were causing** a disastrous decline in my health [comment: verb + fem. sing. pron.]’

(see 2.1.1 on fem. sing. agreement with plurals)

'aqāribu l- sā'ati | ta'ūdu 'ilā l- warā' i min jadīdin

عقارب الساعة تعود إلى الوراء من جديد

‘the hands of the clock [topic] | **they are going backwards** [comment] again’

al- šu' ūbu | qad taṣīlu 'ilā taswiyyātīn silmiyatin fīmā baynahā

الشعوب قد تصل إلى تسوية سلمية فيما بينها

‘peoples [topic] | **they do reach** peaceful settlements about matters between them [comment]’

Sentence modifiers and emphasizees (3.2) often have verbal sentences as their predicates:

bal 'inna bawādira l- ḥilāfātī sur' āna mā ṣaharat

بل إن بوادر الخلافات سرعان ما ظهرت

‘but indeed **the first signs** of disagreements [topic, broken plur.],
how quickly **they appeared** [comment: verb + fem. sing. pron.]’

Note the great flexibility this mechanism allows: in most cases the topic is not in fact the agent of the comment clause, hence a topic/noun may be followed by a verb which has no agreement with it at all:

wizāratu l-'awqāfi yus'iduhā 'an tuqaddima hādā l-kitāba

وزارة الأوقاف يسعدها أن تقدم هذا الكتاب

'the Ministry of Bequests [topic], **pleases** [masc. verb] **it** [binding pron.]

that it [fem., the Ministry] present this book [agent]',

i.e. 'the Ministry of Bequests is pleased to present this book'

See further in 3.3.2, 3.3.3.

Free pronoun agents are frequently found as the topics in embedded comment clauses with *'ammā* (see 3.3.4), probably because the pron. more explicitly connects the clause anaphorically to the topic than an incorporated agent pron. would:

'ammā l-talāmiḍatu fa-hum yahfaẓūna mā yuqaddamu lahum bi-dūni fahmin fi kaṭīrin min-a l-ḥālāti

أما التلامذة فهم يحفظون ما يقدم لهم بدون فهم في كثير من الحالات

'as for the pupils, **they** memorize what is given to them without understanding in many cases'

3.7.2.2 With indef. agents the same topic-comment structure occurs, though it is also possible to analyse them instead as an elliptical construction such as 'there is' (cf. 3.1.3.1):

itnāni lā yanfaṣilāni 'an ba'ḍihimā

اثنان لا ينفصلان عن بعضهما

'[there are] **two things** [which] cannot be separated from each other' or

'**two things** are never separated from each other'

kaṭīrātun yudrikna 'anna ...

كثيرات يدركن أن ...

'[there are] **many people** [fem.][who] **realize** that ...' or

'**many people** [fem.] realize that ...'

but the rel. option is hardly likely in the following case, where the topic is itself operated on by an introductory particle (see 3.2.3 for *lākinna* 'but'):

lākinna šay'an yabqā hunāka

لكن شيئاً يبقى هناك

'but **something** remains there'

In the following more complex examples the indefinite heads are qualified in various ways (by adjective, rel. clause or appositional phrase), and so become def. enough to function as topics under the same conditions as the formally indef. subj. of an equational sentence (see 3.1), and an elliptical rel. reading becomes unnecessary:

'asbābun 'adīdatun 'addat 'ilā l-'irjā'i

أسباب عديدة أدت إلى الإرجاء

'numerous reasons led to the postponement'

ša'yun šayṭāniyyun kāna 'aqwā min ma'āsīhim dafa 'ahum 'an yaḡhabū

شيء شيطاني كان أقوى من مآسيهم دفعهم أن يذهبوا

'something diabolical which was stronger than their tragedies impelled them to go'

zāhiratāni jīmā'īyatāni l-faqr wa-l-'intiḡāru taḡtallāni ḡayyizan

ḡayyiqan fī naṣṣi l-riḡlati

ظاهرتان اجتماعيتان الفقر والانتحار تحتلان حيزا ضيقا في نص الرحلة

'two social phenomena, poverty and suicide, occupy a narrow place in the account of the journey'

luḡaymatun takfī ḡāḡā l-jasada l-nāḡila

لقيمة تكفي هذا الجسد الناحل

'a small morsel suffices for this emaciated body'

(as a dim., see 1.8.1.2, *luḡaymatun* لقيمة is marked enough to function as topicalized agent)

3.7.3 Headline word order

An extremely widespread phenomenon in newspapers is for the headline to observe the order agent (now in topic position)-verb-comp. while the body text reverts to the verb-agent-comp. order, still using the same words.

In the headline topic-verb-comp.:

'iṣābatun musallaḡatun ta'siru waḡdata ṣawārīḡa rūsiyyatan

عصابة مسلحة تأسر وحدة صواريخ روسية

'armed band **captures** Russian rocket unit'

In the text verb-agent-comp.:

'asarat 'iṣābatun musallaḡatun fī ṡāḡikistāna qā'ida wa-'afrāda waḡdati

ṣawārīḡa rūsiyyatin

أسرت عصابة مسلحة في تاجيكستان قائد وأفراد وحدة صواريخ روسية

'an armed band in Tajikistan **captured** the commander and men of a Russian rocket unit'

(see 2.3.7 for binomial annexation)

Under these circumstances there are no restrictions on indef. agents/topics.

3.7.4 Adverbs and adverbials

Adverbs and adverbials (2.4, 2.5) normally occur in third position, i.e. after verb and agent have been expressed:

'a'rifuḥu jayyidan أعرفه جيداً 'I know him/it **well**'

lam 'ataqaddam kaṭīran لم أتقدم كثيراً 'I have not progressed **much**'

However, adverb(ia)ls and prepositional phrases may occur in any position:

'abaṭan ḥāwaltu taḍakkura 'aḥlāmī

عبثاً حاولت تذكر أحلامي

'in vain I tried to remember my dreams'

qarīban yaṣīlūna

قريباً يصلون

'shortly they will arrive'

fī al-mamarrāti kuntu 'arā l-'aṭibbā'a wa-l-mumarridīna

في الممرات كنت أرى الأطباء والممرضين

'in the corridors I would see the doctors and nurses'

wa-bi-ntiḏāri ḥuḍūri 'aḥmada 'ilayhā fī l-manzili fī l-rābi'ati 'aṣran hādā

l-yawma tatamaddadu maryamu 'ālā firāṣihā

وبانتظار حضور أحمد إليها في المنزل في الرابعة عصراً هذا اليوم تتمدد مريم على فراشها

'and while waiting for Ahmad to come home at 4 in the evening on this day, Maryam is stretched out on her bed'

wa-lākin nahā 'abadan lam tanjaḥ

ولكنها أيداً لم تنجح

'but they did not **ever** succeed'

ba'da 'an saḥaba min-a l-'aswāqi jamī'a l-nusaḥi l-qadīmati

بعد أن سحب من الأسواق جميع النسخ القديمة

'after he had withdrawn **from the market** all the old copies'

Apart from reasons of emphasis, word order is also noticeably affected by the tendency for def. (namely, 'heavy') to precede indef. (namely, 'light') elements regardless of function (cf. inversion in nom. sentence for the same reason, 3.1.3 and word order with transitive verbs, 3.11.1):

jarat fī baġdāda 'amsi jināzatun jamā 'iyyatun

جرت في بغداد أمس جنازة جماعية

'in Baghdad yesterday a communal funeral took place'

kānat tasrī fī l-maḥaṭṭati l-fasīhati rūḥun min-a l-ṣamti wa-l-taraqqubi

كانت تسري في المحطة الفسيحة روح من الصمت والترقب

'through the spacious station a spirit of quiet and expectation was flowing'

Subordinate clauses also have some freedom of order:

wa-li-'annah takrahu l-ḥaḥalāti l-ḥayriyyata qarrarat 'ilēynā 'an tuwajjiha juḥūdahā li- ...

ولأنها تكره الحفلات الخيرية قررت إلينا أن توجه جهودها ل...

'and because she detests charity parties Elina decided she will direct her efforts towards ...'

Some inversions, e.g. obj. before agent, etc., may be due to the influence of foreign word order:

fa-'innahā lan tanjaḥa fī taḥqīqi mā turīdu 'illā 'idā ḥtallat 'askariyyan ḥāḍiḥi l-dawlata

فإنها لن تنجح في تحقيق ما تريد إلا إذا احتلت عسكريا هذه الدولة

'and it will only succeed in achieving what it wants if it **militarily** occupies this country', lit. 'occupies **militarily** this country'

ba'da 'an kāna muqarraran 'iḥlā'u l-mabnā

بعد أن كان مقررا إخلاء المبنى

'after was **decided** [pred.] the evacuation [subj.] of the building', perhaps reflecting 'after it had been decided to evacuate ...'

Inversion is also found with the other dep. complements (see 3.29):

murtabikatan tasīru 'iṣrīna mitran fī kulli ittijāhin

مرتبة تسير عشرين مترا في كل اتجاه

'embarrassed [circ. qual.] she walks 20 metres in every direction'

tarsīḥan li-l-huwiyyati l-tūnisiyyati ... tamma ttiḥāḍu qarārāt

ترسيخا للهوية التونسية ... تم اتخاذ قرارات

'in order to firmly establish [purposive obj.] the Tunisian identity ... decisions have been taken'

3.8 VERBAL AGREEMENT IN NUMBER AND GENDER (▷C1:45, 83–4)

Agreement follows the same principles as adj. agreement (see 2.1), i.e. natural number and gender for humans, grammatical number and gender for non-humans, with some inconsistency with collectives. This applies to all verbs, active or passive, regardless of tense or aspect.

The form of the verb, however, depends on whether it has a pronominalized or an overt noun agent. The pron. agent (cf. 3.7) is always incorporated in the verb, active or passive: *ḥarajtu* 'خرجتُ' 'I went out', *ḥarajū* 'خرجوا' 'they [masc. plur.] went out', *ḥarajtunna* 'خرجتن' 'you [fem. plur.] went out', *fūji 'at* 'فوجئت' 'she was surprised', *fūji 'atā* 'فوجئتا' 'they [fem. dual] were surprised', *fūji 'tum* 'فوجئتم' 'you [masc. plur.] were surprised' and similarly for imperf. verbs.

With an overt noun agreement in normal verb + agent word order the verb always remains singular and is marked only for the gender of the agent, natural or grammatical:

- Masc. overt agents, all verbs are masc. sing. regardless of number:

ḥaraja l-rajulu

خرج الرجل

'the man **came out**'

min-a l-muqarrari 'an yaḥḍura baṭalā l-filmi

من المقرر أن يحضر بطلا الفيلم

'it is decided that the two heroes of the film **will attend**'

i'taraḍa l-iṭnāni 'alā ṣarāmati l-qawānīna

اعترض الاثنان على صرامة القوانين

'the two [men] **objected** to the harshness of the laws'

yaltamisū l-luḡawīyyūna tafsīran

يلتمس اللغويون تفسيراً

'the linguists **are seeking** an explanation'

- Fem. overt agents, all verbs are fem. sing. regardless of number:

laḥḥatnī l-ḥayratu

لفتني الحيرة

'confusion **has enveloped** me'

tafattaḥat 'aynāhā

تفتحت عيناها

'her two eyes **opened**'

(grammatical fem., see 1.12.2.1)

ittafaqat-i l-wilāyātu l-muttaḥidatu

اتفقت الولايات المتحدة

‘the United States **agreed**’

taḥduṭu taḡayyurātun

تحدث تغيرات

‘changes **are happening**’

In coordinated verbal sentences (see 6.2.1) the second verb must always formally indicate its agent: in other words, Arabic cannot coordinate two verbs but only two verbal sentences. Since the verb in the second sentence does not have to have the same agent as the first, its agent must always be explicitly indicated, and there can be no question of pro-drop.

Here the agents are both different, overt nouns, so the problem does not arise:

qutla sittatu ‘aṣḥāsin wa-juriḥa 65 ‘āḥārūna

قتل ستة أشخاص وجرح ٦٥ آخرون

‘**six people** were killed [masc. sing.] and **another 65** were injured [masc. sing.]’

but in the following examples the agents are the same and thus appear as pron. in the second verb (marked in bold italic):

‘aḥassa bihi ḥurrāsu l-ḥudūdi fa-‘aṭlaqū ‘alayhi l-nāra

أحس به حراس الحدود فأطلقوا عليه النار

‘the border guards **noticed** [masc. sing.] him and [**they**] **fired** [masc. plur.] on him’

tumma ṣa‘īdat-i l-sajīnātu wa-nḥašarna dāḥila sayyarati l-tarḥīlati

ثم صعدت السجناء وانحشروا داخل سيارة الترحيلة

‘then the female prisoners **climbed up** [fem. sing.] and [**they**] **were squeezed** [fem. plur.] into the transport vehicle’

It follows that a 3rd sing. verb with no following overt agent will have the default reading ‘he’ or ‘she’ on the assumption that it has the same agent as the previous verb:

qāla ‘inna al-muttaḥama qad kaḍaba wa-dda‘ā milkiyyatahu li-l-darrājati

قال إن المتهم قد كذب وادعى ملكيته للدراجة

‘he said that the accused **had lied and [he] claimed** [his] ownership of the bicycle’

lam tuḡḡir salmatu ḥawfahā ‘amāmahu, kānat taḍḥaku dā‘iman

وا-تأسألوه ‘ان ḥayātihī fī ‘ūrūbbā

لم تظهر سلمة خوفها أمامه ، كانت تضحك دائما وتسأله عن حياته في أوروبا

‘Salma **did not show** her fear in front of him, **she laughed** all the time and [**she**] **asked** him about his life in Europe’

When a verb has two agents, one pronominal and one overt, the bound pronoun must be externalized as a free pronoun in order for the overt agreement to be coordinated with it (cf. 6.2.1):

taraššaha huwa wa-waladāhu

ترشح هو وولده

‘he and his two sons stood as candidates’

‘innanī ‘a‘rifu kaṭīran min-a l-rijālī yuba ‘tirūna hum wa-nisā’uhum-u l-‘amwāla

إنني أعرف كثيرا من الرجال يبعثون هم ونسأؤم الأموال

‘I know many men who, they and their wives, squander money’

(note the masc. plur. default agreement, see 3.8.3)

3.8.1 Default masculine verb

Gender usually defaults to masc. when the overt agent does not immediately follow the verb, especially with non-humans (cf. ▷C1:85):

wa-lākin yanquṣuhā jamī ‘ān lamsatu l-wāqī ‘i

ولكن ينقصها جميعا لمسة الواقع

‘but what is missing [masc.] in them all is the touch [fem.] of reality’

fī yawmin lam yaṭlu ‘ lahu šamsun

في يوم لم يطلع له شمس

‘on a day when no sun [unmarked fem., see 1.12.2.1] rose [masc.] for him’

3.8.2 Agreement with collective nouns

There is a tendency for collective nouns to take plural verbs (▷C1:89):

li-naḍkur jamā‘atan min-a l-masīḥiyyīna wa-ḡayrihim mimman balagū

l-ḥuṣwata ‘inda ḥulafā ‘i l-muslimīna

لنذكر جماعة من المسيحيين وغيرهم ممن بلغوا الحظوة عند خلفاء المسلمين

‘let us mention a group of Christians and others who found [masc. plur.] favour with the Muslim caliphs’

(note *min* من + *man* مَن ‘of those who’ orthographically united to *mimman* مِمَّن, see 5.4.1, and see 3.24.2 for the indirect imperative *li-naḍkur* لنذكر ‘let us mention’)

‘inna ‘adadan min al-wuzarā ‘i l-suwaydiyyīna ... sawfa yazūrūna

miṣra qarīban

إن عددا من الوزراء السويديين ... سوف يزورون مصر قريبا

‘a number of Swedish ministers ... will visit [masc. plur.] Egypt shortly’

But singular agreement is also found:

šāhadtu ‘adadan laysa qalīlan min al-marḍā yantaẓiru dawrahu

شاهدت عددا ليس قليلا من المرضى ينتظر دوره

‘I saw not a small **number** of sick people **waiting** [masc. sing.] their [lit. ‘his’] **turn**’

wujida ‘anna l-‘ağlabiyyata taškū min ḍīqi tanaffusin

وجد أن الأغلبية تشكو من ضيق تنفس

‘it was found that **the majority** [fem. sing.] **complained** [fem. sing.] of difficulty in breathing’

And agreement may change in mid-sentence:

istaṭā‘at majmū‘atun min-a l-‘udabā’i l-‘irāqīyyīna ... ‘an yaqūmū bi-tarjamatin

استطاعت مجموعة من الادباء العراقيين ... ان يقوموا بترجمة

‘a group of Iraqi writers **was able** [fem. sing.] ... to **produce** [masc. plur.] a translation’

Also attraction may have an influence:

šāhīhun ‘anna ‘ahla ‘ā’išata lam yakūnū malā’ikata

صحيح أن أهل عائشة لم يكونوا ملائكة

‘true [it is] that ‘A’isa’s family **were** [masc. plur.] not angels’

The word *nās* ‘people’ fluctuates between masc. and fem. sing. when the verb precedes, but masc. plur. is also common when the verb follows (>C1:92, and cf. adj. agreement 2.1).

Masc. verbs:

‘an ya‘rifahu l-nāsu

أن يعرفه الناس

‘that the people **know** [sing.] him’

lam yatasā‘al-i l-nāsu li-māḍā

لم يتساءل الناس لماذا

‘the people did not **wonder** [sing.] why’

uḥrujī ma ‘īlā l-nāsi li-kay yaraw

اخرجني معي إلى الناس لكي يروا

‘come out with me to the people so that **they can see** [plur.]’

Fem. verbs:

māḍā sa-taqūlu l-nāsu

ماذا ستقول الناس

‘what will the people **say**’

Sometimes both genders are found in the same sentence:

wa-lākinna l-nāsa tufakkiru, wa-tufakkiru kaṭīran, wa-naḥnu ḥīna nuṭālibu l-nāsa bi-l-tafkiri wa-l- ta’ammuli lā nujbiruhum ‘alā ḥtiyāri wijhati nazarinā

ولكن الناس تفكر، وتفكر كثيرا، ونحن حين نطالب الناس بالتفكير والتأمل لا نجبرهم على اختيار وجهة نظرنا

‘but people **think** [sing.], and they **think** [sing.] a lot, and when we challenge the people to think and contemplate we cannot force **them** [switched to masc. plur.] to choose our own point of view’

wa-qad-i ntaqala ḥubbu l-nāsi lahu min-a l-mudarrajāti ‘ilā l-šāri ‘i ḥayṭu tunādī ‘alayhi wa-tuḥayyīhi wa-’in kāna l-ba ‘ḍu minhū ya’ību ‘alayhi ‘annahū zamlakāwī

وقد انتقل حب الناس له من المدرجات إلى الشارع حيث تنادي عليه وتحبيه وإن كان البعض منهم يعيب عليه أنه زملكاوي

‘the people’s affection for him has moved from the stands to the street, where they **call out** [fem. sing.] to him and **greet** [fem. sing.] him even though some of **them** [masc.] **criticize** [masc. sing., agreement with *ba’ḍ*, بعض see 3.8.4] him because he is a Zamalek supporter’

Broken plur. masc. human agents usually take masc. verbs and anaphora (▷C1:86):

yataqaddamu l-ṭalabatu bi-šakwāhum ‘ilā l-’asātidati

يتقدم الطلبة بشكواهم إلى الأساتذة

‘the **students** [broken plur.] **present** [masc. sing.] **their** [masc.] complaints to the professors’

ḥāwala l-jamāhīru ḥtirāqa kurdūni l-būlīsi

حاول الجماهير اختراق كردون البوليس

‘the **crowds** [broken plur.] **tried** [masc. sing.] to break the police cordon’

but may also alternate with fem. verbs and anaphora, so the above can appear as:

tataqaddamu l-ṭalabatu bi-šakwāhā ‘ilā l-’asātidati

تتقدم الطلبة بشكواها إلى الأساتذة

‘the students [broken plur.] **present** [fem. sing.] **their** [fem. sing.] complaints to the professors’

ḥāwalat-i l-jamāhīru ḥtirāqa kurdūn al-būlīsī

حاولت الجماهير اختراق كردون البوليس

‘the **crowds** [broken plur.] **tried** [fem. sing.] to break the police cordon’

Similar inconsistencies are reported with *nīsā* ‘نساء’ ‘women’ (▷C1:86):

ḥaraja l-nīsā ‘u yaḥtajijna ‘alā muḥāwalāti mā yusammā bi-l- ‘iṣlāḥi

خرج النساء يحتجن على محاولات ما يسمى بالإصلاح

‘the women **went out** [masc. sing.] **protesting** [fem. plur.] against attempts at so-called reform’

3.8.3 Agreement with mixed genders (▷C1:96)

With mixed genders the default is masc.:

442 rajulan wa-mra’atan yabluḡūna min-al- ‘umri 65 ‘āman

٤٤٢ رجلا وامرأة يبلغون من العمر ٦٥ عاما

‘442 men and women **will reach** [masc. plur.] the age of 65’

rajulun wa-zawjatuhu yamūtāni fī ḥādīti sayyāratin

رجل وزوجته يموتان في حادث سيارة

‘a man and his wife **die** [masc. dual] in a car accident’

(note the newspaper headline word order, see 3.7.3)

But there may be strict agreement with the nearest agent:

mā fa’alathu l-ḥaylu wa-rākībūhā

ما فعلته الخيل وراكبوها

‘what the cavalry horses [fem. sing. collective] and its riders **did** [fem. sing.]’

3.8.4 Attraction and other agreement issues

Quantifiers, e.g. *kull* كل ‘all’ (2.9.1), *qalīl* قليل ‘few’ *mu’zām* معظم ‘most’ (2.9.3) *ba’d* بعض ‘some’, (2.9.1.3) are grammatically masc. sing. and annexed to their nouns, but the verb may agree either with them or the grammatical number and gender of the word to which they are annexed.

Strict agreement with the quantifier, i.e. masc. sing.:

‘ammā l-ṭuruqu l- ‘uḥrā fa-kulluhā yu’addī ‘ilā l-maqbarati

أما الطرق الأخرى فكلها يؤدي إلى المقبرة

‘as for the other ways, **all** [masc. sing.] **of them lead** [masc. sing.] to the cemetery’

ba‘ḍuhā ttajaha ‘ilā l-musalsalāti l-dīniyyati

بعضها اتجه إلى المسلسلات الدينية

‘some [masc. sing.] of them turned [masc. sing.] to the religious serials’

qatīlun minhum yalṭaḡu ḥarfā l-rā‘i

قليل منهم يلثغ حرف الرءاء

‘a small number [masc. sing.] of them mispronounces [masc. sing.] the letter “r”’

fa-‘inna mu‘ṣamahum yalfiḏuhā bi-ṭarīqatin muḥtalifatin ‘an-i l-faransiyyi l-‘aṣīlī

فإن معظمهم يلفظها بطريقة مختلفة عن الفرنسي الأصل

‘so most of them pronounce it [masc.sing] differently from the native Frenchman’

Agreement with the number and gender of the quantified item:

kulluhum yaṣkūna

كلهم يشكون

‘all of them are complaining’

kānat lī ba‘ḍu l-ṣilāti bi-‘ā‘ilatihā

كانت لي بعض الصلات بعائلتها

‘there were [fem. sing.] to me certain connections with her family’, i.e. ‘I had certain connections’, see *lī-* in 2.6.10

ḡayra ‘anna hādā lā yamna ‘u ‘an takūna hunāka ba‘ḍu l-iḥtilāfāti fi l-siyāsati l-ḥārījīyyati

غير أن هذا لا يمنع أن تكون هناك بعض الاختلافات في السياسة الخارجية

‘however this does prevent there being [fem. sing.] certain differences in foreign policy’

wa-kaṭīrun min-a l-nāsi kānū qabla l-ḥarbi yastadīnūna li-yaqḏū laylata l-sabti fi maṭ‘amin ‘aw makāni laḥwin

وكثير من الناس كانوا قبل الحرب يستدينون ليقضوا ليلة السبت في مطعم أو مكان لهو

‘many [masc. sing.] people before the war used to get into debt [masc. plur.] so that they could spend a night in a restaurant or night-club’

Agreement with counted nouns follows their natural number, not their grammatical form, which is frequently singular (▷C1:95, and see 2.12 for numeral syntax):

13 tājiran ‘uḥlū li-l-niyābati l-ṣahra l-māḍiya

١٣ تاجرا أحيلوا للنياية الشهر الماضي

‘13 merchants [sing.] were taken [masc. plur.] to court last month’

20 marīḍan-i *stafādū* min taqniyati zirā‘ati l-‘asnāni

٢٠ مريضاً استفادوا من تقنية زراعة الأسنان

‘20 patients [sing.] **have benefited** [masc. plur.] from the technique of tooth implants’

3.9 AGENT EMPHASIS

Agent emphasis is usually effected by a free pronoun after the verb (see 3.9.2). For emphatic pronouns in other cases see 2.8.5, and compare the free pronoun in nominal sentences, 3.5.

3.9.1 Preposed agent pronouns

The occurrence of preposed pronouns (▷C2:423) is highly restricted to purely emphatic contexts; structurally it mirrors the syntax and purpose of the topic-comment sentence in giving prominence to any word regardless of its logical function (see 3.3), hence its use is not so much to emphasize the agent function but to assert more strongly the identity of the agent:

naḥnu nurīdu ‘an nakūna juz‘an min ḥalli l-muškilati wa-laysa l-sababa fiḥā

نحن نريد أن نكون جزءاً من حل المشكلة وليس السبب فيها

‘we want to be part of the solution of the problem and not the cause of it’,
i.e. ‘what we want to do is be part of the solution’

naḥnu lam na‘ud narāḥā

نحن لم نعد نراها

‘we never see her any more’

‘idā *hiya* raḡibat fī dālika

إذا هي رغببت في ذلك

‘if **she** [and not someone else] desires that’

fa-‘anā lam ‘ansa l-fatrata llatī ḡanantu sū‘an bi-sam‘āna

فأنا لم أنس الفترة التي ظننت سوءاً بسمعان

‘and **I** have not forgotten the time I thought ill of Sam‘an’

(rel. pron. drops with antecedents denoting time, see 5.0.2)

3.9.2 Postposed emphatic agent pronouns

Postposed emphatic agent pronouns are in apposition to the incorporated pronoun (cf. the emphatic pron. in nom. sentence, 3.5.2), and are placed immediately after the verb, emphasizing that the action is performed only by that particular person or entity:

fa-nsalla huwa li-yaṣ'ada daraja l-dāri

فانسل هو ليصعد درج الدار

'and **he** [by contrast] slipped away to go up the staircase of the house'

raja'tu 'anā li-l-'amali

رجعت أنا للعمل

'I [on the other hand] went back to work'

kamā yaqūlu huwa nafsuhu

كما يقول هو نفسه

'as **he himself** says'

(cf. 2.8.1 on corroborative *nafs* 'self')

kamā 'annahā tuwajjahu li-l-dawlati .. ḥaytu tuḥaddidu hiya l-'awlawiyyāti

كما أنها توجه للدولة .. حيث تحدد هي الأولويات

'just as it is directed to the state .. where **it** [and not some other body] determines the priorities'

The same mechanism is used with appositional qualifiers of the agent:

ittafaqnā nahnu l-talātatu 'alā 'anna

اتفقنا نحن الثلاثة على أن

'**we three** agreed on the fact that'

though the pronoun is not always found.

These pronouns are always emphatic, unlike the pronouns used to coordinate an overt to a pronominal agent, see 3.7.1.

3.9.3 Emphasis with *al-'āḥaru* الآخر

For emphasis of the 'he too' type *al-'āḥaru* 'the other' is commonly used:

fa-huwa yaškū huwa l-'āḥaru

فهو يشكو هو الآخر

'and **he too** complains'

kānat hiya l-'uḥrā ḥtafat qablahā bi-biḍ'ati 'a 'wāmin

كانت هي الأخرى اختفت قبلها ببضعة أعوام
'she too had disappeared some years before her'

fa-qad-i nšaḡaltu 'anā l-'āḥaru bi-hāḡā l-su'ālī

فقد انشغلت أنا الآخر بهذا السؤال
'and I too was occupied with this question'

ḥattā 'aṣbaḥat hiya l-'uḥrā tuṣakkilu marākiza quwā

حتى أصبحت هي الأخرى تشكل مراكز قوى
'until they too came to form centres of power'

(agent is a non-human plur., hence fem. sing. Note the double plur. *marākiza* *quwā* 'centres of powers', sing. *markaz quwwatin* 'centre of power', cf. 12.5.1)

3.9.4 Indefinite agents

Unlike topics, agents may be indef. nouns:

saqaṭa ṭiḡḡun fī ḥammāmi l-sibāḡati

سقط طفل في حمام السباحة
'a child fell into the swimming pool'

inṭalaqa ṣārūḡun min-a l-qā'idati

انطلق صاروخ من القاعدة
'a rocket took off from the base'

iḥtajjat bilādun 'adīdatun 'alā niḡāmi l-'awlamati l-jadīdi

احتجت بلاد عديدة على نظام العولمة الجديد
'numerous countries have protested against the new globalization system'

'a 'lana mas'ūlun 'amrīkiyyun

أعلن مسؤول أمريكي
'a responsible American announced'

Non-specific agents can be expressed by any of the periphrastic indefinite structures (see 1.12.4.1), especially *ba'ḡ* 'يعض' 'some':

yaqūlu ba'ḡ l-nāsi 'innahum qad šāhadū man kāna yaqūdu l-sayyarata

يقول بعض الناس إنهم شاهدوا من كان يقود السيارة
'some people say they witnessed who was driving the car'

min-a l-'umūri llatī yad'ū lahā ba'ḡ l-kuttābi wa-ba'ḡ l-qaṣṣāšīna

من الأمور التي يدعو لها بعض الكتاب وبعض القصاصين
'among the things that some writers and some novelists are calling for'

Now often *al-ba‘du* البعض with def. art.:

wa-’idā kāna l-ba‘du yabḥaṭu ‘an-i l-ḥalli
 إذا كان البعض يبحث عن الحل
 ‘and if **some** are looking for the solution’

The same effect can also be achieved by using the participle as the agent of its own verb (see paranomasia in 11.7.3 and cf. vague dir. objects below, 3.11.1.2):

lā yašgaluhum šāgilun ‘aw yarbiṭuhum bi-l-ḥayātī rābiṭun
 لا يشغلهم شاغل أو يربطهم بالحياة رابط
 ‘nothing bothers them or binds them to life’,
 lit. ‘a **preoccupier** does not **preoccupy** them, or a **binder** bind them’

(see neg. agents in 4.2)

’idā mā ‘araḍa lahum ‘arīḍun min ‘udwānin wa ḡayrihi
 إذا ما عرض لهم عارض من عدوان وغيره
 ‘if some aggression or other should chance to happen to them’,
 lit. ‘if some **happening** of aggression **should happen**’

(see 2.6.12 on explanatory *min* من)

rubbamā yu‘alliqu ba‘du l-mu‘alliqāna
 ربما يعلق بعض المعلقين
 ‘perhaps someone may comment’, lit. ‘perhaps **someone of the commentators** will comment’

(note the vagueness is reinforced by *ba‘d* بعض ‘some’)

or with *mā* (see 5.4.3 on rel. *mā*):

ḥadaṭa mā ḥadaṭa
 حدث ما حدث
 ‘**what** happened happened’
li-’anna l-’irāqa qad nālahu mā nālahu
 لأن العراق قد ناله ما ناله
 ‘because [with] Iraq, the damage has been done’,
 lit. ‘there has damaged it **what** damaged it’

3.10 ASPECT AND TENSE

MWA formally retains the CA dual aspectual system, perfect v. imperfect, and these terms will be used for the verb forms as such, but it has now also a complete three tense structure replicating that of western languages, (signs of which were already apparent in CA). Although there are only two paradigms,

perfect and imperfect, they can, alone and in combination with modals, express the same range of tenses, moods and voices that are found in the more complex and explicit western systems.

3.10.1 The perfect verb (▷C1:59; and see tables 1.9.1)

There is only one perfect stem, with no moods; compound tenses and modalities are created with the perfect and imperfect forms of *kāna* كان ‘to be’ and its related verbs, see 3.10.6, and see the other modal verbs in subsequent sections.

The perf. generally indicates elapsed events, corresponding roughly to the English simple past and perfect, and in some verbs it can have a performative significance (cf. 3.10.4). It is also used in both clauses of conditional sentences, to indicate that the hypothetical events are considered as having happened, as in English ‘if you did that you would be wrong’, contrasting with imperf. in both languages, namely, ‘if you do that you will be wrong’ (see further in 8.2).

For much the same reason the perf. is used for the expression of wishes (optative, see 3.25).

The various semantic aspects, e.g. event, process, state, and the time references, e.g. speech time, event time and reference time, will not be considered in detail. The main aim here is to present the usage of the verbs purely formally, and there will often be more than one possible translation.

Examples of the simple perf.:

rafaḍathu l-wizāratu

رفضته الوزارة

‘the Ministry **rejected/has rejected** it’

‘aṣbahū ‘aktara qudratan ‘alā l-ta’aqlumi

أصبحوا أكثر قدرة على التأقلم

‘they **became** more able to acclimatize’

Verbs of knowing may have an inchoative sense:

fīmā ba‘du ‘arafu ‘annahu rafaḍa

فيما بعد عرفت أنه رفض

لم تجد توا با

‘subsequently I **found out** that he refused’

Neg. past is mostly expressed by *lam* لم and apoc., see 4.2, e.g. *lam tajid* ‘jawāban لم تجد جوابا ‘**have not found** an answer’

3.10.2 The imperfect verb

The imperfect verb (C1:63; and see tables 1.9.1) generally indicates an incomplete action, continuous or habitual, with the exact time reference depending on context. Like the perf., it also forms compound tenses and modalities with *kāna* كان and its related verbs (see further 3.10.6). Unlike the perf., however, the imperf. is inflected for three moods, with the following range of functions:

- Independent (*marfūʿ* مرفوع, also denoting the corresponding nominal case), for main verbs of all kinds.
- Dependent (*manṣūb* منصوب, also denoting the corresponding nominal case), for verbs dependent on subordinating conjunctions of all kinds (see Chapter 7) except conditionals.
- Apocopated (so-called until 1831, when it was displaced by the unhelpful term ‘jussive’, *majzūm* مجزوم). This is unique to verbs, namely. for verbs in conditional sentences (8.0), various imperatives and prohibitives (see 3.24) and after the particle *lam* لم ‘not’ etc. (see 4.2).

The unmarked imperf. is capable of a wide range of nuances, according to context, hence translation may often be subjective:

nasmaʿu min ḥīnin ʾilā ʾāḥara

نسمع من حين إلى آخر

‘we hear from time to time’

ʾakūnu ʾukkāzaki?

أكون عكازك؟

‘shall I be your walking stick?’ or ‘may I be?’

māḍā ʾafʾalu...hal ʾatruku maqʾadī l-ʾāna...?

ماذا أفعل؟ ... هل أترك مقعدي الآن...؟

‘what should I do? ... Should I leave my seat now...?’

ʾuqaddimu ʾilaykum nafsi

أقدم إليكم نفسي

‘may I introduce myself?’ or ‘let me introduce myself’

kaḍālika yaḥzanu l-ṭiflu ʾindamā yajidu ʾannahu yuʾāmalu bi-ṭarīqatin

muḥtalifatin ʾan bāqī ʾiḥwatihi

كذلك يحزن الطفل عندما يجد أنه يعامل بطريق مختلف عن باقي إخوته

‘likewise the child will be unhappy when it finds out that it is being treated in a different way from the rest of its brothers’

wa-min jihatīn ʾuḥrā, li-ma yumāris l-ʾarabu l-zirāʾata ʾaw-i l-mihana

l-ʾuḥrā wa-qad-i nhālat ʾalayhim-i l-ʾamwālu min kullī jānibin?

ومن جهة أخرى، لم يمارس العرب الزراعة أو المهنة الأخرى وقد انتهالت عليهم الأموال من كل جانب؟

‘and from another point of view, why **would** the Arabs **practise** agriculture when wealth had poured down upon them from every side?’

(cf. 10.13 for rhetorical questions)

3.10.3 Future tense

In its future meaning the imperf. is both marked and unmarked, the marked fut. being indicated with the prefix *sa-* سَ or the preposed word *sawfa* سوف. For the neg. *sawfa lā* لا سوف (▷C1:75) and for the neg. future *lan* لن see 4.2.5.

The tendency for *sa-* سَ to occur in condit. sentences, see 8.3.2, is a noticeable MWA development.

The unmarked fut. is often clear from the context, especially when it corresponds to the English pres. continuous and its variants:

yuṣḍiru l-majma‘u l-taqāfiyyu fī ‘abū ḡabī kitāban kulla yawmin ḡilāla
‘ayyāmi ma‘raḡi l-ṣāriḡati li-l-kitābi

يصدر المجمع الثقافي في أبو ظبي كتابا كل يوم خلال أيام معرض الشارقة للكتاب
‘the Cultural Academy in Abu Dhabi **will issue/is issuing/will be issuing** a book every day during the Sharjah Book Fair’

(this meaning was established from the original context, but it could also mean ‘issues a book every day’, i.e. habitually). Note the uninflected proper name Abu Dhabi, see 1.8.5.

With the appropriate adverb the fut. sense is clear:

yaṣīlu ... ba‘da ḡatīlin

يصل ... بعد قليل

‘... **will** arrive **shortly**’, lit. ‘arrives after a little’

ḡadan taqūmu l-ḡiyāmatu

غدا تقوم القيامة

‘**tomorrow** Judgement Day **will** happen’, lit. ‘happens’

The marked fut. can be chosen to avoid any ambiguity:

mā sawfa yuḡaqqiquhu

ما سوف يحققه

‘what **he will** achieve’

sa-yuwāṣīlu l-kitābata

سيواصل الكتابة

‘**he will** continue to write’

sawfa nadkuruḥā fī siyāqi l-ḥalaqāti l-muqbilati

سوف نذكرها في سياق الحلقات المقبلة

‘we shall mention them in the course of the next instalments’

The choice between *sa-* سَ or *sawfa* سوف would seem to be entirely free, and they occasionally appear in the same sentence:

‘annahu sawfa yarḥalu ba‘da sā‘ātin wa-‘anna hādā l-nahāra ‘āḥiru mā

sa-yarāhu wa-ya‘išuhu

أنه سوف يرحل بعد ساعات وأن هذا النهار آخر ما سيراه ويعيشه

‘that he **would pass away** in a few hours and that this day would be the last he **would see** and live through’

(note that the translation reflects the reported speech here, see 10.14)

sawfa سوف (but not *sa-* سَ) can be reinforced with an emphatic *la-* لَ (cf. this *la-* لَ with *‘inna* إِنَّ in 3.2.1):

la-sawfa tu‘āwidunī tilka l-laḥẓatu mirāran

لسوف تعاودني تلك اللحظة مرارا

‘that moment **will certainly come back** to me many times’

3.10.3.1 *‘an* أن + *sa-* سَ (▷C3:113) is an infrequent structure, since the fut. sense of subord. verbs is largely determined by context:

wa-qad ‘aḥṣṣat bi-mā yuṣbiḥu l-yaqīna ‘an sa-yakūnu lī minhā mawqifun ‘āḥaru

وقد أحسست بما يشبه اليقين أن سيكون لي منها موقف آخر

‘she felt with something like certainty **that I would have** a different position with regard to her’

Note that under these conditions *‘an* أن does not operate on the verb (cf. 7.5.1.10).

3.10.4 Marked perfect

Marked perfect with *qad* قد (▷C1:67, 70). A perf. verb preceded by *[wa]-qad* قد [و], *[fa]-qad* قد [ف] or *la-qad* لقد with perf. will denote a specifically past and complete event (see also 3.10.7 for pluperfect in relation to a previous perf. verb). In other words, *qad* reinforces the perfective aspect of this verb form:

qad ḥaqqāqtu bi-l-fi‘li

قد حققت بالفعل

‘I **have** actually **achieved**’

la-qad-i ntahat dumū 'ī ... la-qad yabisat

لقد انتهت دموعي ... لقد يبست

'my tears **just stopped** ... they **just dried up**'

fa-qad dakara bayānun rasmiyyun birīṭāniyyun 'amsi

فقد ذكر بيان رسمي بريطاني أمس

'and an official British announcement **did mention** yesterday'

wa-qad nāqaṣa l-majlisu 'adadan min-a l-maṣāri 'i

وقد ناقش المجلس عددا من المشاريع

'and the parliament **did discuss** a number of plans'

3.10.5 Marked imperfect

wa-qad وقد, *fa-qad* فقد, *la-qad* لقد with the imperfect, by contrast, emphasize the actuality and dynamic aspects of an event, or its strong possibility:

wa-qad ya'ū fī l-fuṣūli l-'uḥrā

وقد يأتي في الفصول الأخرى

'it **can come** [i.e. unusually] in the other seasons [of the year]'

wa-qad lā yuwāfiqunī l-ba'ḍu

وقد لا يوافقني البعض

'some **may well not agree with me**'

wa-qad nattaḥḥu ba'dahu, wa-qad naḥṭalifu

وقد نتفق بعده وقد نختلف

'we **might agree** afterwards or we **might disagree**'

wa-qad lā tutarjamu 'ilā 'adā'in fī 'liyyin

وقد لا تترجم إلى أداء فعلي

'it **will probably not be translated** into actual performance'

3.10.6 Compound tenses

The two forms of the verb, the perf. and the imperf., combine with the perf. and imperf. of *kāna* كان 'to be' (see 3.16 for its other functions) to construct compound tenses, broadly along the following scheme:

- (1) Perf. *kāna* كان + perf. verb (mostly with *qad* قد) = pluperfect
- (2) Perf. *kāna* كان + imperf. verb = past continuous
- (3) Imperf. *kāna* كان + perf. verb (mostly with *qad* قد) = future perfect
- (4) Imperf. *kāna* كان + imperf. verb = future continuous

They may be regarded as analytical tenses combining the features of aspect in both verbs.

Possibly the second verb was originally a pred. of *kāna* كان in the function of a circumstantial qualifier (C1:45, 3:263, and see 3.16.2). At all events the syntax with overt agents is generally *kāna* كان + overt agent + verb:

wa-fi l-ṣabāḥi kāna l-maṭaru qad sakana

وفي الصباح كان المطر قد سكن

‘in the morning the rain **had calmed** down’

kāna l-’awlādu yatarākāḍūna

كان الأولاد يتراكضون

‘the children **were racing** around’

Agreement rules for verbs and their agents still apply, namely, sing. verb before the agreement and full agreement after it (see 3.7.2):

’inda mawti T. lam yakun-i l-’ummālu qad ’anhaw ’illā mā nisbatuhu 70% min-a l-binā’i

عند موت ت. لم يكن العمال قد أنهوا إلا ما نسبته ٧٠ ٪ من البناء

‘on the death of T. the workers **had not finished** but 70 per cent of the building’

(*yakun* يكن is sing., *’anhaw* أنهوا masc. plur.)

The cluster of verbs is sometimes kept together to avoid agreement problems:

ma’a ḥulūli tammūza 1998 kāna qad maḍā qarnāni kāmīlāni ’alā ḥamlati nābuliyūna ’alā miṣra

مع حلول تموز ١٩٩٨ كان قد مضى قرنان كاملان على حملة نابليون على مصر

‘with the arrival of July 1998 two whole centuries **had passed** over Napoleon’s attack on Egypt’

(to avoid having to use the dual, *kāna qarnāni qad maḍayā* ‘two centuries had **passed** [dual]’)

Compound pluperfect, where the perf. *kāna* كان ‘was’ indicates that the action is complete (and usually in the past) and the perf. 2nd verb indicates that the event was over before that point:

Mostly with *qad* قد:

wa-raja’ tu ’anā li-l-’amali llaḍi kuntu qad-i nqaṭa’ tu ’anhu ’inda l-’injābi

ورجعت أنا للعمل الذي كنت قد انقطعت عنه عند الإنجاب

‘and I myself returned to the work from which **I had been interrupted** at the birth’

allatī kānat waqtaḍāka qad ’anhat dirāsatahā li-ṭibbi l-’uyūni

التي كانت وقتذاك قد أنهت دراستها لطب العيون

‘who **had** by that time **already finished** her study of ophthalmology’

lam 'akun qad tazawwajtu ba'du

لم أكن قد تزوجت بعد

'I **had** not yet **married**'

(cf. 2.5.4 on uninflected *ba'du* بعد 'yet')

Occasionally without *qad* قد:

*kāna muḥammad 'abduh ba'da 'awdatihi min-a l-manfā 'ilā miṣra
sanata 1888 waṭṭada l-'azma 'alā 'adami l-tawarruṭi fī 'a'mālin
siyāsiyyatin*

كان محمد عبده بعد عودته من المنفى إلى مصر ١٨٨٨ وطد العزم على عدم التورط في
سنة

'after his return from exile to Egypt in 1888, Muḥammad 'Abduh **had made**
a firm decision not to involve himself in political activities'

Compound past continuous, where the perf. *kāna* كان 'was' indicates the action is complete (usually in the past) and the imperf. 2nd verb indicates that it is not finished:

kāna yata'ahhaduhā bi l-ri'āyati tuwāla wujūdiḥā ma'ahu

كان يتعهدا بالرعاية طوال وجودها معه

'he **looked after her** all the time she was with him'

mā kunnā na'rifu kalimati l-lajnati

ما كنا نعرف كلمة اللجنة

'we **didn't know** the word committee'

fī l-bidāyati kuntu lā 'uḥissu bihā 'illā ka-maṣḍarin li-l-'awjā'i

في البداية كنت لا أحس بها إلا كمصدر للأوجاع

'at the beginning **I used not to think** of them as anything but a source
of pain'

Neg past with *lam* لم (4.2):

lam takun tataḥarraku min jilsatihā hāḍihi

لم تكن تتحرك من جلستها هذه

'she **never moved** from this way of sitting of hers'

(note *jilsa*, 'noun of manner', see 1.11.2)

lam yakun yu'taqadu 'anna ...

لم يكن يعتقد أن ...

'it was not believed that ...'

The combination with the future prefix *sa-* سـ produces a calque of 'was going to do', 'would be doing' (not to be confused with the unmarked 'was doing', 'used to do' above):

al-fannānūna kānū sa-yaḥmilūna ba‘ḍa l-ma‘ūnāti l-‘ayniyyati

الفنانون كانوا سيحملون بعض المعونات العينية

‘the actors **were going to be bearing** some of the material expenses’

ṣaḥīḥun ‘anna ḍālika lam yakun sa-yatimmu bi-ṣūratin muṭlaqatin

صحيح أن ذلك لم يكن سيتم بصورة مطلقة

‘it is true that this **was not going to be carried out** in an absolute manner’

Compound future perf. where the imperf. *yakūnu* ‘will be’ indicates that the action is not finished (usually implying future) and the perf. 2nd verb denotes that it is complete:

wa-lākin nahā sa-takūnu qad ḡarabat

ولكنها ستكون قد غربت

‘but it [= the sun] **will have set**’

hunā yakūnu l-wazīru qad waṣala ‘ilā bayti l-qaṣīdi

هنا يكون الوزير قد وصل إلى بيت القصيد

‘here the minister **will have reached** the essential point’

rubbamā yakūnu qad qara’a mulahḥaṣan lahu

ربما يكون قد قرأ ملخصاً له

‘perhaps **he will have read** a summary of it’

‘indamā yaṭlu ‘u l-nahāru sa-‘akūnu qad raḥaltu

عندما يطلع النهار سأكون قد رحلت

‘by the time day comes **I shall have left**’

Compound future continuous, where imperf. *yakūnu* ‘will be’ indicates that the action is not finished (usually implying future) and the imperf. 2nd verb denotes that it still not complete:

ḍakara ‘annahu sa-yusāfiru ‘ilā ‘amalihi wa-ma’a ḥulūli l-ṣayfi sa-yakūnu yu’addī wājibahu bi-ntiḡam

ذكر أنه سيسافر إلى عمله ومع حلول الصيف سيكون يؤدي واجبه بانتظام

‘he mentioned that he will travel to his work and by summer **will be performing** his duty regularly’

Alternatively fut. continuous can be expressed through one of the modals, e.g. *zalla* ‘ظل’ ‘to stay’, etc. (see 3.17.13):

‘indamā tuftaḥu l-sudūdu sa-yazallu l-mā ‘u yatadaffaqu bi-dūni tawaqquḥin

عندما تفتح السدود سيظل الماء يتدفق بدون توقف

‘when the dams are opened the water **will continue to flow** without a stop’

Note that the verbal noun (see 2.10.1) of *kāna* كان can also be used in auxiliary sense with any of the above compounds:

li-kawnihi ra'ā fīhi l-manhaja l-ṣaḥīḥa

لكونه رأى فيه المنهج الصحيح

'because of **his having seen** in it the right method', lit. 'because of his being he saw in it'

(cf. *kawn* كون with predicates in 3.16.2).

For compound verbs with *laysa* ليس 'not to be', see 4.2.8.2. There is also a growing tendency for these compound forms to be used in conditionals now, see **Chapter 8** *passim*.

3.10.7 Sequence of tenses

With only the perf. and imperf. to use, there is not an elaborate system of sequences of tenses, and the underlying principle remains basically aspectual, i.e. an event which is regarded as having ceased before another will be in the perf., while an event regarded as still going on will be in the imperf. The head verb will determine the time and aspect frame of the whole discourse unit, as with the compound tenses above.

The marked future is often found for the English 'would' in past tense contexts:

ṣarraḥa 'anna wizārata l-ṣiḥḥati sa-tadruṣu 'imkāniyyata

صرح أن وزارة الصحة ستدرس إمكانية

'[he] declared that the Ministry of Health **would study** the possibility of'

A single example will suffice here to illustrate some of the narrative possibilities, (and see further in discourse, **Chapter 11**):

'aḥbarahā l-muḥāsibu l-šābbu 'annahu 'ānā kaṭīran fī ḥayātīhi fa-qad ḥālat waṣīfatuhu l-ṣaḡīratu dūna taḥqīqi mā kāna yaṭmaḥu 'ilayhi wa-min ṭamma fa-qad qarrara l-iltihāqa bi-l-dirāsāti l-'ulyā fī l-jāmi'ati

أخبرها المحاسب الشاب أنه عانى كثيرا في حياته فقد حالت وظيفته الصغيرة دون تحقيق ما كان يطمح إليه ومن ثم فقد قرر الالتحاق بالدراسات العليا في الجامعة

'the young clerk **told her** [perf., punctual, fixes the narrative in the past] that he **had suffered** [perf., without *qad* قد, i.e. the process of suffering began before the narrative] a lot in his life and that his humble job **had gone on** [perf. with *qad* قد, i.e. up to that time] without [his] achieving what **he had been yearning** for [perf. *kāna* كان with imperf., i.e. past continuous], and therefore he **had decided** [perf. with *qad* قد, here to reinforce the event] to enrol in higher studies at the university'

3.11 TRANSITIVITY AND INTRANSITIVITY (▷C2:161)

All verbs, including passives (3.12), take the full range of dependent noun complements (details in 2.4, summarily in 3.29), except the direct object, which is taken only by transitive verbs. The blanket term for the complements is *maf'ūl* مفعول 'thing done' which is modified for each type of complement, hence dir. obj. is *maf'ūl bihi* به مفعول lit. 'thing to which the act is done'.

Verbs are either transitive directly (3.11.1), transitive indirectly through prepositions (3.11.4), or intransitive.

Intransitive verbs:

ḥarajat 'ilā l-ṭarīqi خرجت إلى الطريق 'she **went out** into the street'

yataẓāharūna يتظاهرون 'they **demonstrate**'

tajrī fihā l-'anhāru تجري فيها الأنهار 'rivers **run** through it'

3.11.1 Single transitivity, pronoun or noun

taqūdunā تقودنا 'it leads **us**'

'araftuhum عرفتهم 'I recognized **them**'

tarakat qaṣrahā تركت قصرها 'she left **her palace**'

na'rifu l-sababa نعرف السبب 'we know **the reason**'

There is a general tendency (see 3.7.4) for the def. (namely, 'heavy') to precede the indef. (namely, 'light') even when this requires inversion of agent and dir. object:

wa-qad balaḡa l-hay'ata kalāmum kaṭīrun ḥawla l-mawḍū'i

وقد بلغ الهيئة كلام كثير حول الموضوع

lit. 'reached **the board** [obj.] much talk [agent]', i.e. 'much talk about the subject reached **the board**'

When a pronominalized obj is coordinated with an overt noun object the pron. must be repeated as an overt pron.:

'awqafūhu huwa wa-zawjatahu fi l-maṭāri

أوقفوه هو وزوجته في المطار

'they stopped **him** and his wife at the airport'

(cf. agents 3.7.1 and coordination, 6.2.2; for prons. in apposition generally see 2.8.5)

True inversion of objs is rare (see 3.7.4), and instead a topic-comment structure will be preferred:

rā'ihātī lā 'aḥtamiluhā

رائحتي لا أحتملها

'my **smell**, I cannot stand **it**'

where (though here obscured by the possessive suffix *-ī* 'my', see 1.7.1.1) *rā'ihātī* 'my smell' is really now the topic with indep. form, the dir. obj. being the anaphoric pron. 'it' in the comment. This may be compared with the apparent inversion of agents, see 3.7.2, 3.7.2.1.

3.11.1.1 Free object pronouns

When an obj. cannot be suffixed directly to its verb it is attached to the element *'iyyā-* إِيَّ (cf. also the phrase structure of verbal nouns in 2.10.1.6). This option is selected when:

The object is preposed, invariably for rhetorical effect:

'iyyāki 'a'nī

إياك أعني

'**you** I mean', i.e. 'you are the one I mean'

(cf. 3.7.2. on the inversion of dir. obj.)

The object is held back, again usually for stylistic reasons:

wa-'indamā ṭāla l-intiẓāru 'atat-i l-mumarrīdatu l-qāsiyatu 'iyyāhā

وعندما طال الانتظار أتت الممرضة القاسية إياها

'after a long wait the stern nurse **came to her**'

where the obj. seems to be deliberately held back, i.e. 'finally came to her' instead of *'atathā* أتتها 'came to her' (note also the verb 'to come' is transitive to persons, cf. 3.11.4.1, and *ṭāla* طال 'to be long' in adverbial sense, 3.23.4).

With a doubly transitive verb (see further 3.11.2.1) where both objs are pron.:

kānat taktubu l-muḥāḍarāti wa-tu'fīnī 'iyyāhā

كانت تكتب المحاضرات وتعطيني إياها

'she used to write down the lectures and give **them** [to] **me**'

It is also possible for two object pronouns to be suffixed to the same verb, providing they are not in the same person, e.g. *'a'lamtukahu* أعلمتكه 'I told you it', see 3.11.2.

Participles and verbal nouns observe the same rules (see 2.10.1.6) and in addition *'iyyā* إِيَّ will be used wherever annexation is prevented:

ṭumma nṣarafa wā'idan 'iyyāya bi-ziyārati fī l-bayti

ثم انصرف واعدة إياي بزيارتي في البيت

'then he left, **promising me** to visit me at home'

where *wā'idan* واعدا must remain indef. because it is a *ḥāl* (see 3.29.7) and annexation is therefore impossible.

See 3.27.4 for the use of *'iyyā* إيا in threats and warnings.

3.11.1.2 To indicate vague direct objects paranomasia (see 11.7.7) can be used:

ḍayya'tu mā ḍayya'tu ضيعت ما ضيعت 'I lost what I lost'

ṭawaytu mā ṭawaytu طويت ما طويت 'I went through what I went through'

Cf. vague agents in 3.9.4, where the same strategy is also available.

3.11.2 Double transitivity (▷C2:166)

Verbs may be transitive (i.e. take dep. nouns as dir. objects) to two objects in the following categories:

- 1 The verb has two arguments, e.g. 'to give x to y' (in English the 2nd is usually an indir. obj.) or causative, 'to make x do y'
- 2 The 1st obj. is converted into the 2nd, e.g. 'to make x [into] y'
- 3 The two objects are in an underlying predicative relationship, e.g. 'to consider x [to be] y', 'to assert that x is y'.

Passivized verbs retain the second direct object, see 3.12.

3.11.2.1 Verbs with two arguments

man lā yu'tī ḡayrahu furṣatan li-l-ḥadīthi

من لا يعطي غيره فرصة للحديث

'he who does not give **others** [1st obj.] an **opportunity** [2nd obj.] to speak'

yukallifu l-dawlata mabāliḡa ḍaḥmatan

يكلف الدولة مبالغ ضخمة

'it costs **the state** [1st obj.] huge **amounts** [2nd obj.]'

ḥizāmu 'amānin yamnaḥuhu rāḥatan wa-'amanan

حزام أمان يمنحه راحة وأمانا

'a safety belt which affords **him** [1st obj.] **comfort and safety** [2nd obj.]'

Causatives:

tubqī l-jisma salīman wa-qawīyyan

تبقى الجسم سالما وقويا

‘it keeps **the body** [1st obj.] **healthy** and **strong** [2nd obj.]’

lit. ‘makes the body remain healthy and strong’

’ansāhum-u l-kaṭīra min-a l-ġarā’ibi

أنساهم الكثير من الغرائب

‘it made **them** [1st obj.] forget **many** [2nd obj.] strange things’

lā yufqiduhā ’ahammiyyataha faqat

لا يفقدها أهميتها فقط

‘it does not cause them [= ‘things’, grammatically fem. sing., 1st obj.] to lose their importance [2nd obj.] only’

Doubly transitive verbs may suffix their objects as pronouns providing they are not both the same person (i.e. not both 1st., 2nd. or 3rd., cf. 3.11.1.1):

isqinīhā اسقنيها ‘make **me** drink **it**’

If the above conditions do not apply, the 2nd obj. is expressed as a free obj. pronoun with *’iyyā-* إيا. Here both objs. are 3rd person and cannot both be suffixed:

wa-lākinna luhāṭa l-’ayyāmi l-rākiḍati ’ansāhum ’iyyāhu

ولكن لهاث الأيام الراكضة أنساهم إياه

‘but the breathlessness of the galloping days made **them** forget **it**’

but it is common even when they are both different persons:

wa-l-ṭiflu yurīnī ’iyyāhā bi-barā’atin

والطفل يريني إياها ببراءة

‘while the child showed **me** [suffix 1st dir. obj.] **them** [free 2nd dir. obj.] in [all] innocence’, where theoretically *yurīnīhā* يرينيها ‘shows me them’ is possible.

3.11.2.2 Objects of verbs of transformation (traditionally *’af ’āl al-taṣyīr* أفعال التصيير)

ḥāṭa l-qumāša ṭawban

خاط القماش ثوبا

‘he tailored the **cloth** [1st obj.] into a **garment** [2nd obj.]’

law-lā ’ināyatu llāhi wa-tadaḥḥulu zumalā’ihimā la-ḥawwalā l-jalsata

ḥalbata mulākamatin

لولا عناية الله وتدخل زملائهما لحولا الجلسة حلبة ملاكمة

‘if it were not for God’s providence and the intervention of their [dual] colleagues, they would have turned **the session** [1st obj.] into a **round** [2nd obj.] of boxing’

(see 8.2.12 on *law-lā* لولا)

ittahādahā zawjatan lahu

اتخذها زوجة له

‘he took **her** [1st obj.] as a **wife** [2nd obj.]’

(for *lahu* له for vagueness see 1.12.4.1)

bi-’imkānihi ’an yuṣayyirahā ṭayyi’atan sahlata l-inqiyādi

بإمكانه أن يصيرها طيعة سهلة الانقياد

‘it is in his power to make **her** [1st obj.] **obedient** [2nd obj.],
easy to control [2nd obj.]’

Perhaps here we can include:

ista’ mala l-sarīra maq’adan

استعمل السرير مقعدا

‘he used **the bed** as a **seat**’

With these verbs it is not always possible to distinguish between a true 2nd direct obj. and a circumstantial qualifier, both having dep. form, unless it is clear that one thing is indeed being made into another. Generally a 2nd dir. obj. will be a noun or adj., while a circumstantial qualifier will be a participle, the latter freely alternating with the imperf. verb in that function. But even the simple diagnostic of asking whether the element answers the question ‘what?’ (= 2nd. dir. obj.) or ‘how?’ (= circ. qual.) will not necessarily produce the same response.

All these possibilities can be observed in the doubly transitive verb *ja’ala* جعل ‘to make’ (contrast *ja’ala* جعل ‘to begin’ in 3.22.5; also *ja’ala* جعل ‘to put’, singly transitive).

Nouns and adjectives in the 2nd position are invariably 2nd dir. obj.:

yaj’alu hādā l-iltizāma sababan fī ...

يجعل هذا الالتزام سببا في ...

‘makes this **commitment** [1st obj.] a **cause** [2nd obj.] of ...’

taj’alu ’amaliyyata l-ṣatfi sahlatan

تجعل عملية الشطف سهلة

‘makes the **operation** [1st obj.] of rinsing **easy** [2nd obj.]’

ja’alū l-siyāsata wasīlatan ’ilā l-kasbi l-sarī’i

جعلوا السياسة وسيلة إلى الكسب السريع

‘they made **politics** [1st obj.] a **means** [2nd obj.] of quick profit’

ja’alūhu ’amīran ’alayhim

جعلوه أميرا عليهم

‘they made **him** [1st obj.] a **prince** [2nd obj.] over them’

These dep. participles, however, could be interpreted either as 2nd dir. obj. or circ. qualifiers:

al-quyūdu ... taj‘alu mihnatahu mustaḥīlatan

القيود ... تجعل مهنته مستحيلة

‘the restrictions ... make his **profession** [1st obj.] **impossible**’

ja‘ala mustaqbala hādīhi l-‘amwāli maḥfūfan bi-l-maḥāṭiri

جعل مستقبل هذه الأموال محفوقا بالمخاطر

‘made the **future** [1st obj.] of these funds **surrounded** by risks’

When the 2nd obj. position is occupied by verbs the likelihood of their being circ. qualifiers is rather stronger, as asyndetic indep. verbs are frequently found in the role of circ. qual. (see 7.3.1):

ja‘ala l-ba‘da yatasā‘alu

جعل البعض يتساءل

‘it made **some people** [dir. obj.] **wonder** [circ. qual.]’

yaj‘aluhu yaṭma‘innu ‘ilā l-mustaqbali

يجعله يطمئن إلى المستقبل

‘it makes **him** [dir. obj.] **feel confident** [circ. qual.] about the future’

wa-llatī taj‘alunī lā ‘aḍummu l-mablaḡa ‘ilā raṣīdī l-qalīli

والتي تجعلني لا أضم المبلغ إلى رصيدي القليل

‘and which induces **me** [dir. obj.] not **to add** [circ. qual.] the amount to my small balance’

al-‘amru llaḍī yaj‘aluhum yaz‘amūna, tabrīran li-hādā l-mawqifi,

bi-‘annahum

الأمر الذي يجعلهم يزعمون، تبريرا لهذا الموقف، بأنهم...

‘something which makes **them** [dir. obj.] ‘**claim**, to justify this position, that they ...’

(for *al-‘amru llaḍī* الذي الأمر see 5.5.1 and see 3.29.6 for تبريرا *tabrīran* ‘in order to justify’)

A similar ambiguity may be observed in *taraka* ترك ‘leave’, ‘let’, see 3.24.3.

3.11.2.3 The same is true of *wajada* وجد ‘to find’(see 3.18 for the passive of this verb in the sense of ‘exist’) and similar verbs, where the difference between a 2nd dir. obj. (= predicate) and a circ. qual. is sometimes difficult to determine. In the following example the second dep. element is clearly a 2nd dir. obj.:

wajadtuhu ba‘da l-zawāji ‘insānan ṭayyiban wa-ḡanūnan

وجدته بعد الزواج إنسانا طيبا وحنونا

‘I found **him** [1st obj.] after the marriage [to be] a good and kind **person** [2nd obj.]’, i.e. answering ‘what was he?’

but these seem more like circ. qual.:

wajada l-ṭarīqa 'amāmahu masdūdan

وجد الطريق أمامه مسدودا

'he found the **road** [dir. obj.] ahead of him **blocked**', i.e. answering 'how was it?'

wajadtu nafsī mustaḡriqan fī ḥiwārin ṭawīlin ma'a l-nafsi

وجدت نفسي مستغرقا في حوار طويل مع النفس

'I found **myself** [dir. obj.] **plunged** in a long conversation with myself'

wajadtu jālisan bihi muḥāfiẓa l-qāhirati l-marḥūma

وجدت جالسا به محافظ القاهرة المرحوم

'I found **sitting** [circ. qual.] in it the late **Governor** [dir. obj.] 'of Cairo'

(note the inversion)

With verbs in the 2nd obj. position a circ. qual. is more likely (cf. *ja'ala* جعل above):

wajadnā ba'da l-masājidi taṭlubu l-tabarru'a

وجدنا بعض المساجد تطلب التبرع

'we found **some** of the mosques **requiring** charitable support'

In the following examples the verb *ra'ā* رأى 'to see' is clearly literal and the dependent clauses are circumstantial, not sentential (contrast next section):

ra'aytuḥā tajlisu warā'ahu

رأيتها تجلس وراءه

'I saw **her sitting** behind it'

narāhu yuwajjihu naqdan lādī 'an 'ilā l-muslimīna

نراه يوجه نقدا لاذعا إلى المسلمين

'we see **him directing** stinging criticism at the Muslims'

'arāhum bāsimīna

أراهم باسمين

'I see **them smiling**'

3.11.2.4 Sentential objects of verbs of knowing, believing, having an opinion (the exception is *i'taqada* اعتقد 'to believe', see end of paragraph), such as *ẓanna* ظن 'to think', *i'tabara* اعتبر 'to consider', *'arafa* عرف 'to know', *'adda* عد 'to count [something as]', *ra'ā* رأى 'to see', 'regard', *ḥasiba* حسب 'to reckon', *ḥāla* خال 'to imagine', *za'ama* زعم 'to assert', 'to claim' to mention only the most common (C3:73).

These (in traditional terms 'verbs of the heart', *'af'āl al-qulūb* أفعال القلوب) take two dir. objects, which must be already in an underlying subj.-pred. relationship, i.e. the object is a complete equational sentence (see 3.1). For

purposes of translation a copula (here italicized and with appropriate English tense) has to be introduced:

zanantuhu rāḍiyan 'an ḥālathi

ظننته راضيا عن حالته

'I thought **he** [1st obj. = subj.] *was* **satisfied** [2nd obj. = pred.] with his condition'

i'tabartu hādā l-liqā'a šaklan min 'aškāli l-tahdīdi

اعتبرت هذا اللقاء شكلا من أشكال التهديد

'I considered **this meeting** [1st obj.] *to be* **some kind** [2nd obj.] of threat'

i'tabarnāhum naw'an ḥāṣṣan

اعتبرناهم نوعا خاصا

'we considered **them** [1st obj.] *to be* a special **kind** [2nd obj.]'

'araftuhu ḥāfiẓan li-kalimatihi

عرفته حافظا لكلمته

'I knew **he** [1st. obj.] *was* **someone who kept** [2nd obj.] his word', lit. 'a keeper of'

ra'ā l-turāṭa kā'inan ḥayyan mutaḥarrikan

رأى التراث كائنا حيا متحركا

'he regarded **culture** [1st. obj.] 'as *being* a living, moving **entity** [2nd obj.]'

Again there can be ambiguities; in context the following was recorded as a doubly transitive construction: *tumma 'araftuhu mudīran li-maṣlahati l-funūni* ثم عرفته مديرا لمصلحة الفنون 'then I knew **him** [1st obj.] *to be* **director** [2nd obj.] of the Arts Department' but it could also mean 'then I knew **him** [obj.] *as a* **director** [circ. qual.]', i.e. 'while he was a director'.

When the 2nd obj. position is occupied by a verb, it can be analysed as a pred. on the topic-comment model found with 'inna etc. (3.2), or as a raising of the original topic to the position of object (but see also C3:70, 72):

zanannāhu yamzaḥu

ظنناه يمزح

'we thought **he** [1st obj.] *was* **joking** [pred.]'

equivalent to 'innahu yamzaḥu إنه يمزح 'indeed **he** [topic] *is* **joking** [comment]'

wa-zanantuhu qad-i ḥtafā

وظننته قد اختفى

'I thought **it** had **disappeared**'

lā 'aẓunnu l-'umūra sa-taṣīlu 'ilā hādā l-ḥaddi

لا أظن الأمور ستصل إلى هذا الحد

'I do not think **matters** [1st obj.] *will* **go** this far', lit. 'will reach this limit'

ḥasibtihi sa-ya'ūdu

حسبته سيعود

'you [fem. sing.] reckoned **he** [1st obj.] **would be coming back**'

(note the vowel harmony when *-hu* هـ 'him' is suffixed to the fem. sing. verb, 1.7.1.1)

Also with verbal nouns in this set (see further 2.10.1.4):

darūratu 'tibārihimā yumattilāni l-jāhiliyyata

ضرورة اعتبارهما يمثلان الجاهلية

'the necessity of regarding **them** [1st obj., topic] as **representing**
[verb. comment] the state of [pre-Islamic] ignorance'

An exception to all the above is *i'taqada* اعتقد 'to believe', which normally takes 'anna أن 'that' clauses (see 3.2.2):

*'a'taqidu 'annī bada'tu 'atalammasu bawādira l-ḥurriyyati fī tilka l-fatratī
bi-l-dāti*

أعتقد أنني بدأت أتلّمس بوادر الحرية في تلك الفترة بالذات

'I think that I began to feel the first signs of freedom at that very period'

(cf. 3.22.2 on *bada'a* بدأ 'to begin')

ya'taqidūna 'anna l-'awlamata sa-taftaḥu 'amāmahum 'abwāba l-raḥā'i

يعتقدون أن العولمة ستفتح أمامهم أبواب الرخاء

'they believe that globalization will open for them the gates of affluence'

This verb is also reported with two objs, e.g. *i'taqadtuhu ṣaḍīqan* اعتقدته صديقاً 'I believed **him** a friend'.

3.11.3 Treble transitivity

Theoretically a doubly transitive verb can become trebly transitive when causative, e.g. *'a'lamtu l-rajula ṣaḍīqahu ḥāḍiran* 'I informed **the man** [1st obj.] [that] **his friend** [2nd obj] **was present** [3rd obj]' but no examples were found, either with nominal or pronominal objects.

3.11.4

Indirectly transitive verbs using prepositions are largely a lexical matter and cannot be dealt with here in detail. Occasionally the prep. is omitted, however:

wa-smaḥū lī 'an 'atakallama

واسمحوا لي أن أتكلّم

'permit me **to** speak'

for *bi-'an* 'atakallama بأن أتكلّم 'for that I speak'

There is also some inconsistency in usage, either between prepositions or in their omission:

'a 'lana *sti'dādahu/bi-sti'dādihi*

أعلن استعدادَه\استعدادَه

'he announced **his readiness**'

'aḥbarahu 'annahu/bi-'annahu ...

أخبره أنه\بأنه ...

'he informed him **that** he ...'

yumkinu li-man *yargābu l-taqadduma bi-ṭalabin matmūgin bi-rağbatihī fī l-ḥuṣūlī 'alā tilīfūnī sayyāratin* ...

يمكن لمن يرغب التقدم بطلب متموغ برغبته في الحصول على تلفون سيارة ...

'anyone who **desires** [dir. transitive] to submit a stamped application with the **desire for** [indirect. trans. in the verbal noun] obtaining a car phone can ...'

with fluctuating use of *fī* 'for' with *rağiba* 'to have a desire **for**'

Sometimes the use of a preposition is optional:

šakarahū شكره or *šakara lahu* شكر له

'thanked **him**' or 'gave thanks **to him**'

Conversely a verb which originally had no preposition may now be seen with one:

wa 'aḥīran yu'akkidu duktūr H. Y. 'alā ḍarūratī l-'ihtimāmi bi-l-taṣḍīri

وأخيرا يؤكد دكتور ح. ي. على ضرورة الاهتمام بالتصدير

'finally Dr H. Y. **stresses** the necessity for concern with exporting', lit. 'puts stress **on**', though the prep. '*alā* على 'on' is not historically required.

A noticeable tendency is the occurrence of *ma'a* مع 'with' (2.6.11) with verbs of reciprocity, i.e. stems III, VI and VIII, alternating with the traditional accompanying comp. with *wa-* و 'and' (see 2.4.7 and 3.29.8):

bi-ḥaytu tatazāmanu ma'a 'ijāzāti l-jāmi'āti

بحيث تتزامن مع إجازات الجامعات

'such that they **synchronize with** the university vacations'

lam yaqtarin-i smuhu bi-'ayyi 'amalin yatanāfā ma'a l-'aḥlāqi

لم يفترن اسمه بأي عمل يتنافى مع الأخلاق

'his name has not been connected with any action which **is incompatible with** ethics'

bī'atun-i qtiṣādiyyatun yatawāzanu fihā l-ḡaniyyu ma'a l-faqīri

بيئة اقتصادية يتوازن فيها الغني مع الفقير

'an economic environment in which the rich man **is of equal weight with** the poor man'

With other stems:

Stem III:

lā tuṭābiqu ma'a hādīhi l-ṣaḥṣiyyati

لا تطابق مع هذه الشخصية

'do not conform with this personality'

Stem VIII:

al-muṭaqqafūna lladīna yaḥtalifūna ma'a l-nizāmi

المثقفون الذين يختلفون مع النظام

'the intellectuals who **disagree with** the system' (possibly a calque)

Cf. *ba'd* بعض with reciprocal verbs in 3.14.1.

3.11.4.1 The verbs *jā'a* جاء and *'atā* أتى 'to come' are both transitive to human dir. objects in the sense of 'to come to a person'

jā'anī bi-lahfatin wa-qāla lī

جاءني بلهفة وقال لي

'he came [to] me in a huff and said to me'

The notions 'bring' and 'take' are often expressed with verbs of 'coming' and 'going' and the preposition *bi-* بـ 'with' (>C3:302; and see 2.6.2):

jā'anī bi-jihāzin ṣaḡīrin

جاءني بجهاز صغير

'he brought me a small apparatus', lit. 'came [to] me with'

taqaddama bi-l-ṣakwā

تقدم بالشكوى

'he presented the complaint', lit. 'came forward with'

al-masājīna l-mustajaddūna jā'ū fī l-sijni bi-ma'lūmātīn jadīdatīn

المساجين المستجدون جاءوا في السجن بمعلومات جديدة

'the new inmates brought fresh information into the prison'

intahā bihi l-'amru 'ilā muṭālabati ...

انتهى به الأمر إلى مطالبة ...

'the matter took him as far as demanding ...', lit. 'ended up with him at'

tatasāra ‘*u binā l-’ayyāmu*

تتسارع بنا الأيام

‘the days are **taking us away** fast’

3.12 PASSIVE VERBS (▷C1:52)

The Arabic passive exists primarily to express an act whose agent is unknown or suppressed, hence cannot in theory be mentioned even periphrastically elsewhere in the sentence, though MWA is starting to do so under the influence of European languages (see 3.12.1). A passive verb can, however, take all the other object/complements, namely, the dep. nouns in 2.4.2–2.4.7, 3.29.

For the use of *tamma* تَمَّ ‘to be completed’ and *jarā* جرى ‘to proceed’ as a periphrastic passive, see 3.23.1.

Although vowelling is rarely indicated in MWA, the passive is used without restraint or difficulty, usually being easy to recover either from the context or various morphological and syntactical clues. Often the absence of a plausible agent is enough to signal a passive verb (the following examples were printed without vowels):

quddirat qīmatuhā bi-mablaḡi

قدرت قيمتها بمبلغ

‘their value **was estimated** at the amount of’

al-ittihāmātu llatī tuwajjahu ’ilayhi

الاتهامات التي توجه إليه

‘the accusations which **are directed** towards it’

bi-šāribayhi l-raḡfī ’ayni ka-’annamā rusimā bi-qalami l-raṣāṣi

بشاربيه الرفيعين كأنما رسما بقلم الرصاص

‘with his thin moustaches as if **they had been drawn** with a pencil’

Other times the verb morphology is unambiguous even without vowels, especially hollow and stem III verbs (cf. 1.2.9):

’aḡlabu mā yuqālu ’aw yunšaru

أغلب ما يقال أو ينشر

‘most of what **is said** or **published**’

(hollow verb unambiguously passive, second verb is passive by coordination)

lūhiḡa ’anna

لوحظ أن

‘**it has been remarked** that’ (stem III)

al-mar’atu llatī ’ulijat

المرأة التي عولجت

‘the woman who **was being treated**’ (stem III)

In the following case the ambiguity is resolved by the fact that ‘books’ visibly does not have indef. dep. form (the only case now marked in most nouns, see 1.2.9), hence the preceding verb is reinterpreted as passive:

wa-qad wuḍi ‘at fī hāḍā l-siyāqi mu’allaḥātun wa-kutubun muhimmatun

وقد وضعت في هذا السياق مؤلفات وكتب مهمة

‘and important compositions [orthographically ambiguous case] and **books** [overtly non-dep.] have been written in this context’

But it is always possible to insert vowels in cases of real ambiguity, most often only the first significant vowel of the passive, namely a *u* on the first syllable of either perf. or imperf.:

‘innahu ‘uriḍa ‘alā sittati mudarā’i riqābatin ḥilāla 18 ‘āman wa-rufiḍa

إنه عُرض على ستة مدراء رقابة خلال ١٨ عاما ورفض

‘it was shown [vocalized as passive] to six censorship directors over 18 years and it was rejected [passive by coordination, so no vowel supplied]’

The passive of doubly transitive verbs (see 3.11.2) retains the 2nd dir. object in its dep. form (▷C2:169):

u ‘tubira ṣāḥiba madrasatin ḥadīṭatin

اعتبر صاحب مدرسة حديثة

‘he was considered **the founder** [original 2nd obj.] of a new school’

pass. of:

**i ‘tabarūhu ṣāḥiba madrasatin ḥadīṭatin*

اعتبروه صاحب مدرسة حديثة

‘they considered **him** [1st dir. obj.] the **founder** [2nd dir. obj.] of a new school’

‘uyyina ... mudīran ‘āmma li-l-taftīši

عين ... مديرا عاما للتفتيش

‘... was appointed **Inspector General** [original 2nd obj.]’

tu ‘tabaru hāḍihi l- ‘idāratu ‘idāratan jadīdatan fī ‘lan

تعتبر هذه الإدارة إدارة جديدة فعلا

‘this administration is considered a new **administration** [original 2nd obj.] indeed’

yu ‘addu ‘aḥada llaḍīna ‘ashamū fī ...

يعد أحد الذين أسهموا في ...

‘he is counted [as] **one** [original 2nd obj.] of those who shared in ...’

3.12.1 Periphrastic agents of passive verbs (▷C1:53)

In spite of the original purpose of the passive to eliminate the agent, increasingly in MWA it is re-introduced into passive sentences by means of such prepositional phrases as *min qibali* من قبل ‘on the part of’:

ṣāhibu kitābi [maḡātīḥ al-‘ulūm] alladī ḥuqqiqa li-‘awwali marratin min qibali l-mustašriqi fān flūtin sanata 1895 fī laydīn

صاحب كتاب [مفاتيح العلوم] الذي حقق لأول مرة من قبل المستشرق فان فلوتن سنة ١٨٩٥ في ليدن

‘the author of the book *Maḡātīḥ al-‘Ulūm*, which **was edited** for the first time **by the orientalist** van Vloten in 1895 in Leiden’

‘uṭliqat ‘alayhi l-nāru min qibali ‘iṣābātī l-māfiyā

أطلقت عليه النار من قبل عصابات المافيا
‘he **was fired on by** Mafia gangs’

Lexical alternatives of *min qibali* من قبل:

- *min jānibi* من جانب lit. ‘from the side of’ (probably calque of French *du côté de*), i.e. ‘on the part of’:

tuqaddamu l-‘irṣādātu min jānibi ‘idārati ḥidmati l-zurrā‘i

تقدم الإرشادات من جانب إدارة خدمة الزراع
‘instructions are offered **by** the Directorate of Services to Farmers’

- *bi-wāsiṭati* بواسطة ‘by means of’:

‘udīna bi-wāsiṭati l-maḡākimi l-‘askariyyati

أدين بواسطة المحاكم العسكرية
‘he **was sentenced by** the military courts’

- *‘alā ‘aydi* على أيدي ‘at the hands of’:

qad ‘ūlija ‘alā ‘aydi ‘aṭibbā‘a maharatin

قد عولج على أيدي أطباء مهرة
‘he **was treated by** skilled doctors’

- *min ṭarafī* من طرف ‘on the part of’ is also mentioned, but was not seen in the data.

The same structures occur with verbal nouns with a passive sense:

al-‘ifrāju ‘an ‘ayyi ṣaḡnati ‘aḡḍiyatin min qibali l-suluṭātī

الإفراج عن أي شحنة أغذية من قبل السلطات
‘the **release** of any load of foodstuffs **by/on the part of** the authorities’,
i.e. ‘being released’

'inna l-tafṣīra l-jadīda ba'da 'an-i jtāza ḥājiza l-**ṣakki min qibali**

l-mu'arriḥūna bada'a yaẓharu fī ba'ḍi kitābāti mu'arriḥīna

إن التفسير الجديد بعد أن اجتاز حاجز الشك من قبل المؤرخين بدأ يظهر في بعض كتابات مؤرخينا

'the new explanation, after it had crossed the barrier of **doubt by the historians**, started to appear in certain of our historians' writings', i.e., 'being doubted'

ta'arraḍa l-'adīdu min-a l-manāzili l-ṣirbiyyati li-l-'**iḥrāqi min jānibi** ba'ḍi 'albāni l-'iqlīmi l-'ā'idīna

تعرض العديد من المنازل الصربية للإحراق من جانب بعض ألبان الإقليم العائدين

'many Serbian houses were exposed to **being set fire to on the part of** some of the returning Albanians of the region'

Another common device is the use of stem V active verbs with *min* من, exploiting the quasi-passive sense of this stem:

yata'**attarūna min** 'aqalli l-munabbihāti

يتأثرون من أقل المنبهات

'they **are affected by** the least admonition'

al-firqatu **tatakawwanu min** 25 rāqiṣan

الفرق تتكون من ٢٥ راقصا

'the troupe **is composed of** 25 dancers'

3.12.2

The true instrument of a passive verb, however, can always be stated (*pace* ▷C2:304), using *bi-* بـ:

'anna l-ṣabāba sa-yuṣābūna **bi-**ḥaybati l-'amali

أن الشباب سيصابون بخيبة الأمل

'that the young will be hit **by** disappointment'

juhūduhu lam tukallal **bi-**l-najāḥi

جهوده لم تكلل بالنجاح

'his efforts have not been crowned **by/with** success'

yudāru **bi-**l-yadi wa-yuḍā'u **bi-**miṣbāḥin ḡāziyyin

يدار باليد ويضاء بمصباح غازي

'it is operated **by** hand and lit **by** a gas lamp'

fa-l-ta'rīḥu l-'arabiyyu l-'islāmiyyu kutiba fī l-'aṣri l-ḥadīthi **bi-**'aqlāmi l-mustaṣriqīna

فالتأريخ العربي الإسلامي كتب في العصر الحديث بأقلام المستشرقين

'for Arab-Islamic history has been written in modern times **by** the pens of the orientalist'

Similarly with participles (cf. 2.10.3):

kāna maskūnan bi-hājisi l-baḥṭi 'an ...

كان مسكوناً بهاجس البحث عن ...

'he was possessed **by** the obsession to search for ...', lit. 'was occupied by'

Also with stem V (see above 3.12.1):

allatī ta'attarat bi-zalzālī 12 'uktūbar

التي تأثرت بزلزال ١٢ أكتوبر

'which were affected **by** the earthquake of the 12th October'

Sometimes the reference of the preposition is ambiguous, locative 'in/at' or instrumental 'by':

tubi 'a bi-maṭba'ati wizārati l-'awqāfi

طبع بمطبعة وزارة الأوقاف

'printed **at/by** the Ministry of Waqfs Press'

Idioms such as *fūji 'a bi-* فوجئ بـ 'to be surprised by' do not infringe the rule of agent suppression because in Arabic the cause of the surprise is not the grammatical agent:

fūji 'tu bi-l-mumarrīḍi yusnidu l-maq'ada 'ilā jidārīn

فوجئت بالمرض يسند المقعد إلى جدار

'I was surprised **by** the nurse leaning the chair against a wall', i.e. it was not the nurse that surprised: an alternative translation, 'the nurse's leaning the chair' makes this clear

fūji 'tu bi-'alfi junayhin 'istirlīnī

فوجئت بألف جنيه استرليني

'I was surprised **by** one thousand pounds sterling'

Several other verbs follow this pattern, e.g. *'u'jiba* أعجب 'to be amazed', *surra* سرّ 'to be pleased'.

3.12.3 Passive verbs with prepositions

Verbs which are indirectly transitive through prepositions (see 3.11.4) retain these prepositions in the passive (>C1:55):

mā yusammā 'bi-l-mar'ati l-mustarjilati

ما يسمى 'بالمرأة المسترجلة'

'what is called the "masculine woman"', lit. 'named **by**'

lam yakun niẓāmu l-intisābi qad-i 'turifa bihi ba'du

لم يكن نظام الانتساب قد اعترف به بعد
'the membership system had not yet been acknowledged',
lit. 'recognition granted **to it**'

72 su'ālan 'ujība '*anhā* ṣafāhatan

٧٢ سؤالاً أجيب عنها شفاهة
'72 questions **which** were answered orally', lit. '**to which** it was answered orally'

3.12.4 Impersonal and idiomatic passive

The Arabic passive is intrinsically impersonal and hence often used for impersonal and vague constructions in English (C1:56):

qīla li 'inna 'umrahā sittatun wa-'arba'ūna sanatan taqrīban

قيل لي إن عمرها ستة وأربعون سنة تقريبا
'**somebody told me** she was about 46 years old', lit. 'it was said to me'

The passive is often used idiomatically:

wa-ḥuyyila li-ḡādata

وخيل لغادة
'and Gada **imagined**', lit. 'it was made to appear to Gada'

huri'a' ilayhim qabla 'an yanṣarifū

هرع إليهم قبل أن ينصرفوا
'**he rushed to** them before they left'

(this verb is also used in the active in the same sense)

The passive is still commonly used in the sense of 'worth doing', 'commonly done', 'able to be done': (cf. participial use in 2.10.4, *maḥmūl* محمول = 'portable', etc.):

lam yuḥaqqiq mabī'ātīn tuḍkaru

لم يحقق مبيعات تذكر
'he achieved no sales **worth mentioning**', lit. 'which are mentioned'

al-ḥarru lā yuṭāqu

الحر لا يطاق
'the heat is **unbearable**', lit. 'is not borne'

bi-'as 'ārin lā tuqāranu

بأسعار لا تقارن
'at incomparable prices', lit. 'which are not compared'

It often functions as a kind of indirect imperative, especially in labels and instructions for use (cf. 3.24.3):

yuhfaẓu fī tallājatin

يحفظ في ثلاجة

‘to be kept in refrigerator’, lit. ‘is kept’

turajju qabla l-isti‘mālī

ترج قبل الاستعمال

‘to be shaken before use’, lit. ‘is shaken’

yusta‘malu min-a l-zāhir

يستعمل من الظاهر

‘to be used externally’, lit. ‘is used’

tu‘ādu ilā mursilihā

تعاد إلى مرسلها

‘to be returned to sender’ (on envelopes, fem.)

With verbs of coming and going, mostly with personal direct objects (see 3.11.4.1) the passive has the meaning ‘bring’ and ‘take’:

jī’a lī bi-jihāzi ‘arḍin ṣağīrin

جيء لي بجهاز عرض صغير

‘I was brought a small projector’, lit. ‘it was come to me with’

The fossilized *turā* ترى ‘it is seen’ (or perhaps ‘you are shown’) is used impersonally in the sense of ‘I wonder’, ‘I see’ (C1:136, and see rhetorical questions, 10.13.9):

turā mā-dā sa-yakūnu ‘alayhi l-ḥālu fī l-mustaqbali

ترى ماذا سيكون عليه الحال في المستقبل

‘one wonders what the situation will be in the future’

3.13 REFLEXIVE VERBS

The stem derivation system (see in 1.9.1.2) already includes patterns which cover reflexives, e.g. stem V *tafataḥḥa* تفتح ‘to be opened’, and quasi-reflexives, e.g. stem VII *infataḥa* انفتح ‘to come open’, but partly under foreign influence explicit mechanisms for reflexive constructions have flourished, usually by extending the original CA functions of *naḥs* نفس ‘self’ and *dāt* ذات ‘same’.

3.13.1 Expressions for 'self'

Using *nafs* نفس (▷C2:140, cf. 2:424) and *dāt* ذات (cf. both of these in corroboration, 2.8.1. and 2.8.3), which inflect both in case and number as dir. or indir. (prepositional) objects as required:

ya 'tabiru nafsahu 'ašhara mušajji 'in

يعتبر نفسه أشهر مشجع

'he considers **himself** the most famous supporter'

ḥattā tudāfi 'a 'an nafsihā

حتى تدافع عن نفسها

'in order to defend **itself** [fem.]'

faradahā 'alā nafsihī

فرضها على نفسه

'he imposed it **upon himself**'

wajadat 'ilīnā nafsahā sayyidatan nāḍijatan

وجدت إلينا نفسها سيّدة ناضجة

'Elena found **herself** a mature woman'

With both dual and plur. the plur. 'anfus أنفُس is used:

nazẓamū 'anfusahum

نظموا أنفسهم

'they organized **themselves** [masc.]'

tumma dahāla l-farīqāni wa-wazza 'ā 'anfusahumā fī šakli murabba 'ayni mutawāziyyayni

ثم دخل الفريقان ووزعا أنفسهما في شكل مربعين متوازيين

'then the two teams came in and distributed **themselves** in the form of two parallel squares'

Rather less common is *dāt* ذات:

yarā dātahu

يرى ذاته

'he sees **himself**'

lā yuḥibbu 'illā dātahu

لا يحب إلا ذاته

'he loves only **himself**'

yarawnā dawātihim fawqa l-nāsi

يرون ذواتهم فوق الناس

'they regard **themselves** as above [other] people'

(note that the plur. is the fem. *dawāt* ذوات for both genders, meaning ‘selves’; contrast the possessive forms in 2.8.3 which must agree with their antecedents: *rijālun dawū nufūdīn* رجال ذوو نفوذ ‘men of influence’, lit. ‘possessors [masc. plur.] of influence’)

Verbal nouns can operate in the same way (see 2.10):

‘aqallu nṭiwā’an ‘ala dawātihim

أقل انطواء على ذواتهم

‘less turned in on themselves’, lit. ‘less of being turned in on’, cf. 2.1.3.2

See also 12.7.1 for *dāt* ذات in compound nouns, e.g. *‘inkāru l-dāti* الإنكار الذاتي ‘self-denial’, *‘ibādatu l-dāti* عبادة الذات ‘self-adulation’.

3.13.2 ‘Self’ in first person

Frequently with the 1st person sing. a simple object pronoun is used (C2:424):

wajadtunī ‘uḥibbu samā’a hādā l-kalāmi minhu

وجدتني أحب سماع هذا الكلام منه

‘I found **myself** liking this kind of talk from him’

wajadtunī ‘ayḍan ‘ata‘ammadu l-ḡahāba li-‘iyādatihi

وجدتني أيضا أتعمد الذهاب لعيادته

‘I found **myself** also intending to go to his clinic’

ḥiltunī ‘adhabu fī dawwāmatin ‘amīqatin

خلتني أذهب في دوامة عميقة

‘I imagined **myself** going into a deep whirlpool’

ra’aytunī fī riḥlatin mariḥatin

رأيتني في رحلة مريحة

‘I saw **myself** on a pleasant journey’

3.14 RECIPROCITY

Reciprocity is partly covered by stem VI (see 1.9.0.2, and cf. 3.29.8 for a special use of *wa-* و ‘and’ in the sense of ‘with’), but is increasingly expressed by other verbs with *ba’d* بعض ‘some[one]’ (>C2:137) with or without *ma’a* مع ‘with’ (3.11.4). *Ba’d* بعض originally means ‘part [of], some’ (see 2.9.4 under quantifiers), and this has led to certain inflectional obscurities in its modern use.

3.14.1 'Each other', 'one another' with single *ba'd* بعض

Single *ba'd* بعض, representing 'each other' as a fixed unit, sometimes free-standing: *al-'atfālu 'ahyānan mā yaqsūna 'alā ba'din* الأطفال أحيانا ما يقسون على بعض 'children are sometimes are cruel to each other' but more often with a suffixed pron.:

wa-l-fannānātu yas'alna ba'dahunna

والفنانات يسألن بعضهن

'and the artistes ask **each other**', lit. 'each other of them [fem.]'

itnāni lā yanfaṣilāni 'an ba'dihimā

اثنان لا ينفصلان عن بعضهما

'[there are] two things which cannot be separated **from each other**',
lit. 'from each other of them [dual]'

tumma yaḍummu l-waraqatayni ma'a ba'dihimā 'ilā ṣadrihi

ثم يضم الورقتين مع بعضهما إلى صدره

'then he gathers the two pages together with **each other** [dual] to his bosom'

It is even found redundantly with stem VI, see example in 3.14.3, and cf. 3.11.4.

3.14.2 With double *ba'd* بعض

The CA construction, *ba'd* بعض + *ba'd* بعض, each inflected according to function, is also found, and hence best corresponds to 'one ... another':

lam yaḥuṣṣa ba'dan dūna ba'din

لم يخص بعضا دون بعض

'it did not concern **one** [dep. as dir. obj.] **to the exclusion of another**
[obl. after prepositional]'

li-ḡammi l-'ab 'ādi l-zāhirati ba'dihā 'ilā ba'din

لضم الأبعاد الظاهرة بعضها إلى بعض

'to join the dimensions of the phenomenon **one** [obl. by apposition]
to another [obl. as indir. obj.]'

ba'duhā بعضها is also possible for the first, if treated as a circumstantial sentence, 'one being [joined] to the other'

3.14.3 With double *ba'd*, بعض modern variant

A modern construction becoming widespread (and not noted in Cantarino) is *ba'd* بعض + *al-ba'd* البعض. It may be regarded as an extension of the previous type, especially in such sentences as:

kāna ba‘ḍuhum ya‘malu ma‘a l-ba‘ḍi bi-dūni ‘ajrin

كان بعضهم يعمل مع البعض بدون أجر

‘some of them used to work with the others [def.] without pay’

but a new pattern has evolved, *ba‘ḍ-* [suffix pron.] *al-ba‘ḍ* البعض... بعض, of which the grammatico-logical structure is far from clear, especially in unvowelled texts. It seems that the first element will function according to the context, but the inflection of the second cannot be precisely stated, as the construction evidently is felt to be a fixed unit equivalent to ‘each other’ or ‘one another’. In theory the second element is almost certainly to be regarded as in apposition to the previous *ba‘ḍ* بعض, but in practice these phrases always fall at a pause boundary (see 1.2.8) and no inflection would ever be used in any case. Since it is no longer possible to assign a clear function to the second component as it is in 3.14.2, no inflection is indicated in the transliterations here:

lā ya‘kulūna ṭa‘āma ba‘ḍihim-i l-ba‘ḍ

لا يأكلون طعام بعضهم البعض

‘they do not eat **one another’s** food’, lit. ‘the food of some of them the others’, parsing impossible

ya‘tamidūna ‘alā ba‘ḍihim-i l-ba‘ḍ

يعتمدون على بعضهم البعض

‘they rely **on one another**’, lit. ‘on some of them the others’

contrast the transparency of the CA alternative *ya‘tamidūna ba‘ḍuhum* [indep., in apposition to agent] *‘alā ba‘ḍin* [obl. after prep.], i.e. ‘they rely, some of them on the others’

ka-tanāsuqi ‘ahdātihā ma‘a ba‘ḍihā l-ba‘ḍ

كتناسق أحداثها مع بعضها البعض

‘such as the coordination of its events **with one another**’

tarakkabat ‘a‘ḍā‘ī fawqa ba‘ḍihā l-ba‘ḍ

تركبت أعضائي فوق بعضها البعض

‘my limbs arranged themselves **on top of one another**’

This sentence contains single *ba‘ḍ* بعض and *ba‘ḍuhum al-ba‘ḍ* بعضهم البعض:

al-ma‘lūmatu wa-l-ḥiwārātu llatī tattaḥququn ma‘a ba‘ḍin ‘ahyānan

wa-tatanāqaḍu ma‘a ba‘ḍihā l-ba‘ḍ ‘ahyānan ‘uḥrā

المعلومات والحوارات التي تتفق مع بعض أحيانا وتتناقض مع بعضها البعض أحيانا أخرى

‘information and conversations which agree with **each other** sometimes and disagree **with one another** at other times’

3.14.4 With *'aḥad* احد and *al-ʿāḥar* الآخر

The calque *'aḥadahumā l-ʿāḥar* أحدهما الآخر ‘the one of them [dual] the other’ also occurs:

kilā l-qiṣṣatayni fī l-majmūʿati tukammilu ʾiḥdāhumā l-ʾuḥrā

كلا القصتين في المجموعة تكمل إحداهما الأخرى

‘each of the two stories in the collection complements the other’,
lit. ‘one of them complements the other’

3.15 IMPERSONAL, AUXILIARY AND MODAL VERBS

There are various verbal collocations, corresponding approximately to impersonal, modal, and auxiliary verbs in English, though the categories are only loosely comparable. It is important to note also that many meanings which are conveyed in English by adverbs are expressed by verbs in Arabic (cf. 3.23.4 for *ʾaṭāla* أطال, etc. in the sense ‘to be a long time happening’).

baʿda ʿan ʾaṭāla l-tafkīra qarra raʾyuhu ʾalā ʾamrin

بعد أن أطال التفكير قرأه على أمر

‘after he had **thought for a long time**, he came to a decision’, lit. ‘his view settled on a matter’

Some of the groups are rather large (indeed open-ended), and so for convenience they will be arranged here in three broad sets based on general syntactic and semantic similarities:

- 1 impersonal verbs, particularly those which have a subordinate clause as their agent, ‘it is necessary that’, etc. (3.15.1–4)
- 2 verbs connected with being or becoming, including additional functions of *kāna* كان ‘be’ (3.16), other verbs for existence, becoming, duration (3.17), existence with *wajada* وجد ‘find’ (3.18), non-existence (3.19)
- 3 verbs denoting ‘can’, ‘want’ (3.20), ‘still’, ‘almost’, ‘hardly’ (3.21), verbs of beginning or continuing (3.22) and a few other idiomatic process verbs, e.g. *qāma bi* قام بـ, *tamma* تم, *jarā* جرى ‘perform’, ‘carry out’, *sabaqa* سبق ‘do before’ (3.23). Most of these have subordinate verbs as their objects, direct or indirect, ‘I am capable of’ or circ. qual., ‘I remain standing’ etc.

As has already been stated, the true impersonal verb is the passive (see 3.12), while an appearance of impersonality can also be achieved through an indefinite ag. or obj. or *baʿd* بعض ‘a certain one’ (see 3.9.4).

Most impersonal verbs have *ʾanna* أن or *ʾan* أن clauses (see 7.5) as their agents:

yabdū 'anna baġdāda yurāhinu 'alā miṭli hāḍihi l-mu'āraḍati

يبدو أن بغداد يراهن على مثل هذه المعارضة

'it seems that Baghdad is gambling on this sort of opposition'

'amrun kāna yanbaġī 'an yataṣaddā lahu majlisu l-'amni l-duwaliyyi

أمر كان ينبغي أن يتصدى له مجلس الأمن الدولي

'a matter which the Security Council **ought to have** applied itself to'

3.15.1 Weather

There are no truly impersonal active verbs in Arabic, hence expressions for the weather always have an agent:

tušriqu l-šāmsu 'alā fatarātin mutabā'idatin

تشرق الشمس على فترات متباعدة

'the sun **comes out** at intermittent periods'

tasquṭu l-'amṭāru ġazīratan 'alā l-sāḥili l-šamāliyyi

تسقط الأمطار غزيرة على الساحل الشمالي

'rains **are falling** abundantly on the North coast'

ya'tadilu j-jawwu nahāran

يعتدل الجو نهارا

'the weather **will be moderate** by day'

'aḥaḍat-i l-samā'u tumṭiru bi-šiddatin

أخذت السماء تمطر بشدة

'it began **to rain** heavily', lit. 'heaven [fem.] began to rain'

(see 3.22.2 for 'begin')

If no agent is expressed it is assumed to be *al-samā'u* السماء 'heaven', hence the fem. verb.

3.15.2 'must', 'ought', 'should' etc.

Verbs denoting 'must', 'ought', 'should', 'may' 'suffice', etc. have *'an* أن clauses as their agents (▷C3:110). Alternatively verbal nouns may replace the subordinate verbs (and cf. idiomatic expressions for 'must' with *'alā* على 'incumbent on' in 2.6.2 and *lā budda* لا 'no avoiding' in 4.1.3).

- *yanbaġī* ينبغي lit. '[it] is imperative', 'most desirable', 'ought':

yanbaġī 'an nuyassirahā lahā

ينبغي أن نيسرها لها

'we ought **to make it easier** for it', lit. 'it is desirable that we make it easier for it'

hādīhi l-ḥaḳīqatu llatī yanbaġī 'an ya'iyahā l-mu'minūna

هذه الحقيقة التي ينبغي أن يعيها المؤمنون

'this is the fact of which believers ought **to be aware**'

- *yajibu* يجب lit. '[it] is compulsory', 'incumbent on' (often with 'alā على 'on', and note also that 'must' can be expressed by 'alā على alone, cf. 2.6.2):

yajibu 'an natawaqqafa 'indahum qalīlan

يجب أن نتوقف عندهم قليلا

'we must **pause** with them a little'

mā yajibu 'alayhimā 'an yaf'alāhu

ما يجب عليهما أن يفعلاه

'what they must **both do**'

yajibu 'an yakunna musta'iddātīn li-'ayyi šay'in li-l-ḥifāẓi 'alā l-'alāqāti al-qā'imati

يجب أن يكن مستعدات لأي شيء للحفاظ على العلاقات القائمة

'they [fem.] must **be ready** for anything to preserve the existing relations'

- *yakfī* يكفي 'it suffices', 'is enough':

yakfī 'an naqūla

يكفي ان نقول

'it suffices **for us to say**', lit. 'that we say'

'a-lā yakfīhim ḥizyan 'an yaqūla l-'ālamu 'anhum ...?

ألا يكفيهم خزيا أن يقول العالم عنهم ...?

'is it not sufficient humiliation that the world **should say** about them ...?'

(see 3.29.5, for *ḥizyan* خزيا, specifying complement)

Here with rel. clause as agent:

yakfīnī mā 'u'ānīhi min-a l-ṣaddi wa-hajri

يكفيني ما أعانيه من الصد والهجر

'**what I am enduring** of turning away and desertion is enough for me'

(on the *mā ... min* ما ... من clause see 5.4.4)

The following CA idiom still occurs, with specifying comp. (see 2.4.4, 3.29.5):

kafā bi-l-mawti wā'izān

كفى بالموت واعظا

'death is **warning enough!**', lit. 'it is enough with death as a warning'

kafā qubūlan bi-l-mahānati

كفى قبولا بالمهانة

‘that’s **enough acceptance** of humiliation’, i.e., ‘we have had enough of’

- *yajūzu* يجوز ‘it is allowed’.

lā yajūzu li-miṭlika ‘an yataṣarrafa bi-hāḍihi l-ṣūratī

لا يجوز لمثلک أن يتصرف بهذه الصورة

‘it is not allowed for someone like you **to behave** in this manner’

yajūzu

يجوز

‘that may [be so]’, elliptically in answer to a question

With ‘*anna*’ أن ‘that’ (3.2.2) the sense is different, and does not belong to the present category:

yajūzu ‘annanī kuntu hunāka ‘amsi

يجوز أنني كنت هناك أمس

‘it is conceivable **that I was** there yesterday’

- With all the verbs in this set, the ‘*an*’ أن clause may be replaced by a verbal noun:

al-ḡaḍabu ‘alāmatun yanbaḡi l-‘iṣḡā’u ‘ilayhā

الغضب علامة ينبغي الإصغاء إليها

‘anger is a symptom which must **be paid attention to**’,

lit. ‘the paying of attention is desirable’

3.15.3 ‘must not’, ‘should not’ etc.

The neg. of these verbs has the same syntax, but produces structures which do not translate naturally into English (▷C3:114, n 12, and see further in 4.2.1 on neg. agents), particularly the neg. *lā yajibu* لا يجب, which is to be taken as ‘do not have to’ rather than ‘must not’ (cf. German *nicht dürfen* v. *nicht müssen*):

lā yajibu ‘an yandahiṣa ‘aḥadun min hāḍihi l-naṭijati

لا يجب أن يندهش أحد من هذه النتيجة

‘**no-one should be surprised** at this result’, lit. ‘someone is not obliged to be surprised’

lā yajibu ‘an tuṣakkika fīhi

لا يجب أن تشكك فيه

‘**you should not doubt** it’, lit. ‘it is not obligatory that you doubt’

Alternatives with verbal nouns:

lam tajuz-i l-isti'ānatu bihi

لم تجز الاستعانة به

'it would not be allowed **to seek help** from him',
lit. 'seeking help from him was not allowed'

lā yajūzu 'ilgā'u 'amānihi

لا يجوز إلغاء أمانه

'it is not allowed **to cancel** his safe conduct', lit. 'the cancellation ... is not allowed'

To express the sense 'must not', it is the subordinate verb which is negated:

yajibu 'an lā nafhama minhā mā yafhamuhu 'udabā'u wa-mufakkirū 'urūbbā

يجب أن لا نفهم منها ما يفهمه أدباء ومفكرو أوروبا

'**we must not understand** from it what the scholars and intellectuals of Europe understand', lit. 'it is necessary that we do not understand'

(on 'an lā 'an 'that not', usually spelt 'allā' 'ألا', see 7.5.1.9, binomial annexation 2.3.7)

Also with *lā budda* 'لا بد' (4.1.3), creating a cluster of negs here:

lā budda 'an lā yamurra šudūru majmū'ati H.R. min ġayri waqfatin ta'ammuliyyatin 'an-i l-ši'ri l-ġarbiyyi

لا بد أن لا يمر صدور مجموعة هـ. ر. من غير وقفة تأملية عن الشعر الغربي

'the appearance of H.R.'s anthology **must not pass** without a pause for reflection over western poetry', lit. 'there is no escape that it should not pass'

3.15.4 'maybe' with 'asā عسى

An isolated verb 'asā عسى (▷C2:243), which has lost almost all its verbal properties (it is invariable) is used in the meaning of 'possibly', 'maybe' either with subord. verb:

wa-ma'a dālīka 'aktubuhā laka 'asā 'an yastaḥḍira bihā ba'ḍu l-zawjāti wa-l-'azwāji

ومع ذلك أكتبها لك عسى أن يستفيد بها بعض الزوجات والأزواج

'nevertheless I shall write it for you [so that] **possibly** some husbands and wives **may benefit** from it'

taẓallu l-hadāyā muṭīratan fa-māḍā 'asā 'an yaḥmila lahā

تظل الهدايا مثيرة فماذا عسى أن يحمل لها

'presents were still exciting, so what **might he possibly be bringing** for her [this time]'

or with the logical agent as obj. pron.:

māḍā ‘asāhu fa’ala li-yahūza mā yastaṭī‘u bihi širā’a baytin fī l-baladi l-ġarībī?

ماذا عساه فعل ليحوز ما يستطيع به شراء بيت في البلد الغريب؟

‘what **could he possibly have done** to get hold of [enough] to be able to buy a house with in [this] foreign country?’

It is thus very close in meaning to both *la’alla* لعل ‘perhaps’ (3.2.5) and *rubbamā* ربما ‘maybe’, see 3.30.2: perhaps ‘*asā* عسى is more archaic and more restricted than these two, and maybe it expresses a very speculative possibility rather than a specific probability, hope or expectation.

3.16 *kāna* كان ‘be’ (▷C2:197, 3:255)

As well as functioning as an auxiliary verb to form compound tenses (3.10.6), *kāna* كان is also used to denote absolute existence in certain modalities and to add tense to the otherwise verbless equational sentence (see 3.16.2). See also 3.17 for all the other verbs which modalize sentences.

3.16.1 *kanā* كان with one argument, expressing existence

A syntactically ‘complete’ *kāna* كان (hence termed *kāna l-tāmma* كان التامة ‘complete *kāna*’) expresses absolute existence and has only one argument, a noun phrase which is formally its agent (▷C1:49; 2:197):

tumma kāna l-zalzālu

ثم كان الزلزال

‘then there was **the earthquake**’, lit. ‘then the earthquake was’

tumma kānat-i l-’aḥdātu llatī waqa’at fī tawratī 1919

ثم كانت الأحداث التي وقعت في ثورة ١٩١٩

‘then there were **the events** which happened in the revolution of 1919’

hāḍā lā yakūnu!

هذا لا يكون!

‘**this** cannot be!’

kāna mā kāna

كان ما كان

‘there was **what there was**’, lit. ‘there happened what happened’ (cf. vague agents in 3.9.4)

In the following type, however, the adv. phrases are probably to be analysed as predicates of an ‘incomplete’ *kāna* كان (see next section):

kāna dālīka fī muntaṣafī l-sab‘īnāti

كان ذلك في منتصف السبعينات

‘that was **in the middle of the seventies**’

wa kāna fī stiḡbālihim-i l-duktūru Ṭ. K. mudīru l-markazi

وكان في استقبالهم الدكتور ط. ك. مدير المركز

‘Dr T. K., director of the Centre, was there **to meet them**’, lit. ‘was in the meeting of them’

See also 3.16.5 for this *kāna* كان with ‘an أن clauses.

3.16.2 *kāna* كان modifying equational sentences

To add tense or aspect to an equational sentence (see 3.1) the ‘incomplete’ or ‘defective’ *kāna* كان (*kāna l-nāqīṣa* كان الناقصة) is used (▷C2:198). The traditional term ‘incomplete’ here is not to be confused with any notion of verbal aspect. It is so called because it is not syntactically complete without an indep. noun (formally its agent, semantically a subject) and a dep. noun (formally its dir. obj., semantically a predicate). In other words, the equational sentence becomes syntactically redistributed as ag. and obj. of the verb *kāna* كان. The many other verbs in this family, the ‘sisters of *kāna*’, which add tense or modality to sentences (see 3.17), are also ‘incomplete’ in that function.

This *kāna* كان can obviously never reproduce the word ‘is’ even in its imperf. form, as the equational sentence structure already includes that meaning. Likewise there is no possibility that *kāna* كان here has ‘copulative’ function (though this is often said), since this *kāna* كان can only be used with elements already in a subj.-pred. relationship. The real copula (see again 3.1) is already implicit in the structure of the equational sentence before any subordination to *kāna* كان or any other modifier.

The pred. (which may also be a comment) follows the same agreement rules as the pred. of the equational sentence.

Note that equational sentences, being verbless, require one or another form of *kāna* كان to become conditional sentences (cf. 8.3.5).

The perf. of *kāna* كان places the equational sentence in the past (italicized in translation).

Overt subject nouns:

kāna l-jawwu ḥārran

كان الجو حارا

‘**the weather** [indep./subj.] **was hot** [dep./pred.]’

kāna dahābunā 'ilā l-ṭabībi nādīran

كان ذهابنا إلى الطبيب نادرا

'our going [indep.] to the doctor **was rare** [dep.]'

kānat 'aynāhā maktūmatayni zarqāwayni

كانت عيناها مكتومتين زرقاوين

'her eyes [indep.] **were hidden** and **blue** [dep.]'

The subj. may of course be pronominalized as an incorporated agent of *kāna* كان, with the pred. remaining in dep. form:

kāna ḥāḍiran كان حاضرا 'he was present'

kānū 'šū'ūban wa-qabā'ila كانوا شعوبا وقبائل 'they were peoples and tribes'

kunnā jā'i'ina كنا جائعين 'we were hungry'

The same agreement rules apply as for subj.-pred., hence with quantifiers there may be attraction of number (cf. 3.1.1):

kullu 'ahlihā kānū fī naẓarī 'iṣābatan min-a l-'awḡādi

كل أهلها كانوا في نظري عصاة من الأوغاد

'all her family **were** [masc. plur] in my view a band of ruffians'

The pred. position may be occupied by a verb, in which case the structure becomes indistinguishable from the compound tenses outlined above (3.10.6). The verb may well be originally a circumstantial qualifier (see 7.3):

kāna ya'malu كان يعمل lit. 'he [ag.] existed [in a state of] **he is working**'

is synonymous with:

kāna 'āmilan كان عاملا 'he [subj.] **was working**' or 'was a worker'

but it would now be difficult to classify combinations of *kāna* كان + impersonal verb as anything but compound tenses.

It may also take its pred. in the form of a pronoun, either bound (in rel. clauses):

fī qalbi l-jahīmi llaḍī kānathu bayrūtu

في قلب الجحيم الذي كانته بيروت

'in the heart of the hell that Beirut **was**', lit. 'was **it**', (cf. rel. clauses in 5.0.1)

wa-raḥḥaba binā bi-karami l-fallāḥi allaḍī kānahu

ورحب بنا بكرم الفلاح الذي كانه

'he welcomed us with the generosity of the peasant that he **was**',

lit. 'was **it**'

or free, as pred.:

kāna huwa كان هو 'it was **he**'

fataḥtu l-bāba fa-kānat hiya

فتحت الباب فكانت هي

'I opened the door and it was **she**' (note agreement: lit. '**she** was she')

min ḥusni ḥaẓẓī 'annahu lam yakun 'anā

من حسن حظي أنه لم يكن أنا

'it was my good luck that it was not **me**'

(cf. 3.1.4 on the *min* من construction)

As with the nom. sentence, a separating pron. may occur (3.5.1), without changing the case rules:

'idā lam yakun dālika huwa l-sabīla fa-'ayna l-ḥallu?

إذا لم يكن ذلك هو السبيل فأين الحل؟

'if that [**it**] is not the way [dep.], then where is the solution?'

'idā kāna hādā huwa l-mutawaqqā'a

إذا كان هذا هو المتوقع

'if this [**it**] is the expected [dep.]' i.e. 'if this is what is expected'

Note that the verbal noun (cf. 2.10.1.5) has the same syntax:

with nom. pred.:

min ḥaytu kawnihi 'idāfatan jadīdatan

من حيث كونه إضافة جديدة

'by virtue of **its being** a new **addition** [dep. noun phrase as pred.]'

kawnuka ṣadīqan

كونك صديقاً

'your being **a friend**'

with verbal pred.:

fi kawni hādā l-'injāzi yumattīlu mtidādan ḥallāqan

في كون هذا الإنجاز يمثل امتداداً خلاقاً

'in that this achievement **represents** [imperf. verb as pred.] a creative extension', lit. 'in the being of this achievement it represents'

li-kawnihā taqṭa'u ṣilatahu bi-juḍūrihi l-ta'rīḥiyyati

لكونها تقطع صلته بجذوره التاريخية

'because of its **severing** his connection with his historical roots', lit. 'its being it cuts'

li-kawnihim 'adrukū ṭabī'ata l-ma'rakati

لكونهم أدركوا طبيعة المعركة

'because they **had grasped** the nature of the conflict',
lit. 'their being they grasped'

kawnunā naḥtāju 'ilā l-istiṭmāri l-ḥārijīyyi

كوننا نحتاج إلى الاستثمار الخارجي

'our being **in need** of external investment', lit. 'our being we need'

3.16.3 Tense and modality in equational sentences

The imperf. of *kāna* كان modifies the equational sentence in tense or modality.

Future equational sentence:

sa-yakūnu min wājibātika l-qiyāmu bi-tadrīsi l-ṣiḡāri

سيكون من واجباتك القيام بتدريس الصغار

'it **will be** part of your duties to carry out the instruction of the young'

*wa-la'alla l-tawaqqufa 'inda 'adadīn min al-niqāṭi llati taḍammanahā
l-kitābu yakūnu muḥīdan*

ولعل التوقف عند عدد من النقاط التي تضمنها الكتاب يكون مفيدا

'and perhaps to stop at a number of the points the book contained **will be** useful'

bi-'annah lan takūna l-bādi'ata fī istiḥdāmihi

بأنها لن تكون البادئة في استخدامه

'that she **will not be** the first to use it'

(see 4.2.5 on fut. neg. particle *lan*)

*qarrartu 'an 'aṣḥabahā ma'ī ... bi-ḥaytu takūnu bi-stimrārīn fī mutanāwali
yadi*

قررت أن أصحابها معي ... بحيث تكون باستمرار في متناول يدي

'I decided to have her come along with me ... in such a way that **she would be** continuously within reach of my hand'

Modalized equational sentence, usually with *qad* قد (cf. *qad* قد above 3.10.4, 3.10.5):

qad yakūnu hādā mawqīfan ḥadāṭīyyan fī naẓari l-ba'ḍi

قد يكون هذا موقفا حداثيا في نظر البعض

'this **might well be** a modernist stand in in some people's view'

qad yakūnu muḥīdan fī l-bidāyati l-'iṣārati 'ilā

قد يكون مفيدا في البداية الإشارة إلى

'it **might be** useful at the beginning to point out'

qad takūnu l-riyāḍatu 'afḍala wasīlatin li-l-iḥtimā'i min-a l-huzāli

قد تكون الرياضة أفضل وسيلة للاحتماء من الهزال

'exercise **might well be** the best means of protection against emaciation'

Occasionally without *qad* قد:

yakūnu 'ālanan ṣaḡīran

يكون عالما صغيرا

'it **may be** a small world'

3.16.3.1 As tense operator with *li-* لـ 'have' (see 2.6.10)

wa-li-ḍālika sa-takūnu lahum-u l-'awwaliyyatu

ولذلك ستكون لهم الأولوية

'for that reason **they will have** priority'

la-qad kāna lī šarafu l-taḥarruji min hādhihi l-jāmi'ati

لقد كان لي شرف التخرج من هذه الجامعة

'**I had** the honour to be a graduate of this university'

3.16.3.2 For the neg. of these constructions see *laysa* ليس 'is not' (which has the same syntax as *kāna* كان) in 3.19.1.

Note especially that *lā yakūnu* لا يكون cannot mean 'is not', but as the negation of *yakūnu* يكون it means something like 'will not be', 'might not be', 'would not be', etc.:

'inna l-dīna lā yakūnu dīnan 'illā 'idā rabaṭa l-ḥalqa bi-l-ḥaqqi

إن الدين لا يكون دينا إلا إذا ربط الخلق بالحق

'religion **will not be** religion unless it binds the people with the Truth'

3.16.4 Other idioms with *kāna* كان

Alternatives (C3:52, and see further coordination, 6.7):

lā yusmaḥu li-aḥādīn bi-l-duḥūlu rajulan kāna 'am-i imra'atan

لا يسمح لأحد بالدخول رجلا كان أم امرأة

'no-one is allowed entry, **whether man or woman**', lit. 'man be he or woman'

yumna 'u l-istiḥmāmu 'alā hādā l-šāfi 'i šitā'an kāna 'am ṣayfan

يمنع الاستحمام على هذا الشاطئ شتاء كان أم صيفا

'bathing on this beach is prohibited, **whether it is winter or summer**'

‘Whoever’ (see 5.4.1 on *man* من ‘who’):

kā’inan man kāna l-ẓālimu ‘aw-i l-muḥṣidu

كائننا من كان الظالم أو المفسد

‘**whoever the criminal** or wrongdoer **may be**’, lit. ‘being whoever the criminal was ...’

and note that *kā’inan* كائننا here functions as a circumstantial qualifier (see 7.3)

These show *kāna* كان with its pred. preposed but still in dep. form (see 2.9.1.6 for ‘*ayyu* أي ‘any’):

’ayyan man kāna hādā l-maḥlūqu!!

أيا من كان هذا المخلوق !!

‘**whoever** this creature **may be**!’

’ayyan kāna naw’uhu

أيا كان نوعه

‘**whatever** kind **it was**’

Neg. *kāna* كان with *lām al-juḥūd* ‘li’ ‘of denial’ (for details see 7.6.1.2):

lam takun li-tuḥaqqāqa bi-hādā l-ṣakli

لم تكن لتحقق لهذا الشكل

‘would not be realizable in this form’, lit. ‘was not **to be realized**’

lam yakun maṣīru ’iḥdāhumā li-yaḥṭalifa ‘an-i l-’uḥrā

لم يكن مصير احدهما ليختلف عن الأخرى

‘the fate of one of them [dual] would be no different from the other’, lit. ‘was not **to be different**’

3.16.5 *kanā* كان with subordinate clause

Infrequently *kāna* كان (in this case the ‘complete *kāna* كان’ of 3.16.1) is followed by ‘*an* أن + perf.:

fa-kāna ’an jarā mā kāna

فكان أن جرى ما كان

‘then what happened **happened**’, lit. ‘then it was **that** there happened what happened’

fa-kāna ’an-i ṣṭa’alat-i l-nīrānu fī ḥulūqinā qabla ’an taṣṭa’ila fī ṭiyābinā

فكان أن اشتعلت النيران في حلوقنا قبل أن تشتعل في ثيابنا

‘the fires **burned** in our throats before they burned in our clothes’, lit. ‘and it was **that** the fires burned ...’

kāna 'an faḍḍala ka-ḥallin mu'aqqatin 'an yataḥāšā l-iḥtikāka bī

كان أن فضل كحل مؤقت أن يتحاشى الاحتكاك بي

'he **preferred** as a temporary solution to avoid tangling with me'

3.17 VERBS OF BECOMING AND DURATION

Other verbs for existence, becoming, duration etc. The following verbs also have the same syntax as *kāna* كان (hence are called the 'sisters of *kāna*' أخوات), i.e. their formal ag./semantic subj. is an indep. noun and their formal obj./semantic pred. is a dep. noun or, with some, also a verb phrase. The major difference from *kāna* كان, however, is that their verbal complement can only be in the imperf., suggesting that their comps, structurally at least, are basically circ. qualifiers. All these verbs can be 'complete' as well as 'incomplete', see 3.16.1 and 3.16.2, though they have (apart from archaisms) mostly lost the reference to a particular time of the day or night for which they were once used.

They are listed in alphabetical order, ignoring neg. *mā* ما, and there is no claim to be exhaustive, as the class may not be closed. Also no account is taken of other meanings these verbs or their homonyms may have, as these are lexical rather than syntactical issues. Some are rather rare.

3.17.1 'aḍḥā أضحي 'become', lit. 'be or become in the forenoon'

'aḍḥat-i l-ḥaḍāratu l-ḥaḍīṭatu taqfizu bi-watīratin mutasāri'atin

أضحت الحضارة الحديثة تقفز بوتيرة متسارعة

'modern civilization has begun **to leap forward** with increasing speed'

wa-huwa bi-l-tālī 'aḍḥā muzda tīman bi-l-muāti

وهو بالتالي أضحي مزدحما بالمشاة

'and it subsequently became crowded with pedestrians'

3.17.2 'amsā أمسى 'become', lit. 'be or become in the evening' (▷C1:49, 3:255)

'Complete' 'amsā أمسى, with no pred.:

'amsā 'alaynā l-masā'u wa-naḥnu lā zilnā fī l-qāhirati

أمسى علينا المساء ونحن لا زلنا في القاهرة

'evening **came** upon us while we were still in Cairo'

(see 3.21.4 for *lā zilnā* لا زلنا)

‘Incomplete’:

wa-qad 'amsat-i l-dunyā 'ibāratan 'an ḍajjīn yu 'idu nafsahu

وقد أمست الدنيا عبارة عن ضجيج يعيد نفسه

‘the world had become **an expression** [dep. pred.] of a noise which repeated itself’

'amsat-i l-'ummatu fī ḥālīn lā tadrī ma 'ahā kayfa tatawajjahu

أمست الأمة في حالة لا تدري معها كيف تتوجه

‘the nation has come **into a state** in which it does not know where to turn’

3.17.3 'aṣḥaḥa أصبح 'become', lit. 'be or become in the morning' (▷C2:200, 3:255)

‘Complete’ 'aṣḥaḥa أصبح, with no pred.:

fa-lammā 'aṣḥaḥa l-ṣabāḥu

فلما أصبح الصباح

‘and when morning came’ lit. ‘when morning **was morning**’

‘Incomplete’: with nominal predicates:

'aṣḥaḥtu jāffan faẓẓan

أصبحت جافا فظا

‘I became **rough and boorish** [dep. pred.]’

'aṣḥaḥa jāhīzan li-l-ištirāki fī liqā' i l-yawmi

أصبح جاهزا للاشتراك في لقاء اليوم

‘he became **ready** to take part in today’s meeting’

'aṣḥaḥa naqīban li-l-zirā' iyyīna fīmā ba'du

أصبح نقيبا للزارعين فيما بعد

‘he became **a union representative** for farmers afterwards’

'aṣḥaḥa أصبح with *hunāka* هناك (cf. 3.1.3.1):

wa-lākin ba'da qarāri wazīri l-tamwīni bi-taḥfīḍi l-kammiyyāti llatī taqūmu bi-taswīqihā, 'aṣḥaḥat hunāka muškilatun kabīratun 'amāma l-ṣarikati l-qābiḍati

ولكن بعد قرار وزير التموين بتخفيض الكميات التي تقوم بتسويقها، أصبحت هناك مشكلة كبيرة أمام الشركة القابضة

‘but after the Minister of Supply’s decision to lower the quantities which [the companies] were marketing, **there arose a big problem** for the receiving company’

With partitive *min* من (see 2.6.12):

'aṣbaḥa min-a l-ṣa'bi 'idāratu munāqaṣātīn

أصبح من الصعب إدارة مناقشات

'it has become **difficult** to conduct discussions'

(note that the ag. is a verbal noun 'the conducting of', fem., but the verb remains masc., see agreement 3.8.1)

kamā 'annahu 'aṣbaḥa min-a l-mu'tādī qiyāmu l-jamā'āti l-mutaṭarrifati bi-'iṣḍāri l-manšūrāti

كما أنه أصبح من المعتاد قيام الجماعات المتطرفة بإصدار المنشورات

'just as it has become **a practice** for extremist groups to issue publications',
lit. 'of the accustomed'

With verbs as pred. (possibly circumstantial qualifiers, cf. 3.16.2):

'aṣbaḥnā l-yawma nataḥaddatu 'an ...

أصبحنا اليوم نتحدث عن ...

'we have started **speaking** today about ...'

'aṣbaḥnā nanẓuru li-l-'amri min 'iddati zawāyā

أصبحنا ننظر للأمر من عدة زوايا

'we have started **looking** at the matter from a number of angles'

bi-ḡālīka 'aṣbaḥa l-mu'ayyanūna l-jududu yatamayyazūna bi-waḍ'in waẓīfiyyin aḡḏala

بذلك أصبح المعينون الجدد يتميزون بوضع وظيفي أفضل

'thereby the new appointees came to **be distinguished** by a superior official position'

3.17.4 *badā* بدا 'to appear', 'to seem'

'Complete' *badā* بدا, no pred.:

badat dahṣatun 'alā wajhi mājidata

بدت دهشة على وجه ماجدة

'surprise **appeared** on Majida's face'

'Incomplete':

yabdū ḡayra manṭiqiyyin

يبدو غير منطقي

'it seems **illogical** [dep. pred.]'

(see 2.9.2.3 for *ḡayr* غير)

qad yabdū hādāni l- 'uslūbāni muḥtalifayni tamāman

قد يبدو هذان الأسلوبان مختلفين تماما

'these two methods might well seem completely **different**'

fa-kam min laftatin badat lahu min ba 'īdīn mustaḥīlata l-manāli

فكم من لفظة بدت له من بعيد مستحيلة المثال

'how many glances appeared to him from afar [to be] **impossible to attain!**'

For *badā wa-ka- 'anna* وكأن بدا and *badā kamā law* بدا كما لو 'to look as if', see 5.9.9.4 and 5.9.9.7.

3.17.5 *baqiya* بقي 'to remain', 'to stay' (▷C2:201, 3:256)

'Complete' *baqiya* بقي, no pred.:

baqīnā fi l-bayti wa-lam nahrub

بقينا في البيت ولم نهرب

'we **remained** in the house and did not flee'

baqiyat-i l- 'umūru 'alā ḥālīhā

بقيت الأمور على حالها

'things have remained as they were', lit. 'in their state' (can also be treated as prepositional pred.)

'Incomplete':

baqiya 'āminan 'alā hādā l-mawqifi

بقي أميناً على هذا الموقف

'he remained **faithful** [dep. pred.] to this position'

baqīnā nunādī wa-lā min mujībin

بقينا ننادي ولا من مجيب

'we kept on **calling** but there was no answer', lit. 'no of answerer'

see cat. neg. with *min* من in 4.1.1.

3.17.6 *bariḥa* برح 'to depart'

bariḥa برح 'to depart', always in neg. *mā bariḥa* ما برح 'to remain', 'to stay' (▷C2:201):

mā bariḥnā nujāhidu ḍidda l-isti 'māri ḥattā nqaša 'a

ما برحنا نجاهد ضد الاستعمار حتى انقشع

'we kept on **struggling** [verb and circ. qualif.] against imperialism until it went away'

fa-yaqūlu l-bayrūnī wa huwa mā bariḥa jālisān wa-qalamuhu mā zāla yaṣirru ‘alā l-ḥirsi ...

فيقول البيروني وهو ما برح جالسا وقلمه ما زال يصير على الطرس ...
‘and al-Bīrūnī says, remaining **sitting**, and his pen still scratching the page ...’

(see 3.21.4 for *mā zāla* ما زال ‘not to cease’)

3.17.7 *bāta* بات ‘to stay’ (originally overnight) (▷C2:201)

‘Complete’ *bāta* بات, no pred.:

ba‘da ‘an bitnā fī l-iskandariyyati laylatayni sta‘nafnā l-safara ‘ilā l-sallūmi

بعد أن بتنا في الاسكندرية ليلتين استأنفنا السفر إلى السلوم
‘after we had **stayed** in Alexandria two nights we started the journey to Sallūm’

‘Incomplete’:

wa-l-ḥawfu yuskinuhum fī madīnatin bātāt ‘anqāḍan bi-‘anqāḍin

والخوف يسكنهم في مدينة باتت أنقاضا بأنقاض
‘while fear made them dwell in a town which remained **ruins** [dep. pred.] upon ruins’

yarā liyūbārdī ‘anna l-ḥayāta nafsahā hiya llatī bātāt taqtulu l-‘insāna

يرى ليوباردي أن الحياة نفسها هي التي باتت تقتل الإنسان
‘Leopardi considers that it is life itself which **has always been killing** mankind’

bāta ... min-a l-muta‘adḍiri ‘alaynā, ‘aw qul min-a l-muta‘assiri ‘alaynā l-ta‘āmulu ma‘a ...

بات ... من المتعذر علينا، أو قل من المتعسر علينا التعامل مع ...
‘it remained **impossible**, or say difficult, to work together with’

‘anā ‘ayḍan bittu ‘asīrahu

أنا أيضا بت أسيره
‘I also have become his **prisoner**’

3.17.8 *dāma* دام ‘to persist’

dāma دام ‘to persist’, always with temporal *mā* ما (see 5.6.1), i.e. ‘for as long as it remains’ (C2:201). In this case the dep. or verbal elements must be considered as circumstantial qualifiers though traditionally this verb is grouped with *kāna* and the others on purely formal grounds:

mā dāmū muḥāribīna

ما داموا محاربين

‘as long as **they** remain **fighting** [dep. circ. qual.]’

wa-qad ḥaṭṭa l-’islāmu ‘alā l-’amali ‘ayyan kāna naw’uhu mā dāma fī niṭāqi
l-’a‘mālī l-mašrū‘ati

وقد حث الإسلام على العمل أي كان نوعه ما دام في نطاق الأعمال المشروعة

‘Islam has encouraged work of any kind as long as it remains **within the range** of lawful activities’ (prepositional phrase as pred.)

Often with verbs in the pred.:

mā dāma sawfa ya ‘tarifu

ما دام سوف يعترف

‘as long as **he** is going to admit’

mā dumnā sa-naktubu bi-ṣarāḥatin

ما دمنا سنكتب بصراحة

‘as long as **we** are going to write with candour’

3.17.9 *ḡadā* غدا ‘to come to be’ (originally in the forenoon)

al-’amru llaḏī ḡadā fī ḍamīri ḥulaḡā’i l-’ummati ... tarjamatan ‘amaliyyatan

الأمر الذي غدا في ضمير خلفاء الأمة ... ترجمة عملية

‘something which became in the mind of the caliphs of the nation ... a **practical expression** [dep. pred.]’

fa-yaḡdū maṭalu l-majnūni, ‘id dāka, maṭala l-ṭifli llaḏī lā yuḥammalu
tabi‘ata ‘a‘mālihi

فيغدو مثل المجنون إذ ذاك مثل الطفل الذي لا يحمل تبعه أعماله

‘the lunatic, in that case, becomes **like** the infant who cannot be charged with the consequences of his actions’. lit. ‘the likeness of the lunatic ... becomes **the likeness** of the infant’

(cf. 11.8.2 on paranomasia)

3.17.10 (*mā*) *fati’a* فتي (ما) ‘to cease’ (▷C2:201)

Usually neg. and now archaic and rare; no examples were found, though (again as a Qur’anic usage) it would be familiar to any educated reader.

3.17.11 (*mā*) *infakka* (ما) انفك 'not to stop'

Usually found with verbal complements, i.e. circ. qual.:

mā nfakkū yukābidūnahā

ما انفكوا يكابدونها

'they still **are suffering** from them', lit. 'have not stopped, are suffering'

'ālā nahwin ḥallāqin lā yanfakku yatamahḥadu bi-wilādatin jadīdatin

على نحو خلاق لا ينفك يتمخض بولادة جديدة

'in a creative way which never stops **bringing forth** new birth'

ḥilāla l-ḥarbi l-'ahliyyati llatī nfajarat fī lubnāna 'āma 1975 wa-llatī mā nfakkat taṭṭānu l-jamāhīra l-lubnāniyyata

خلال الحرب الأهلية التي انفجرت في لبنان عام ١٩٧٥ والتي ما انفكت تطحن الجماهير اللبنانية

'during the civil war which broke out in Lebanon in 1975 and still **is crushing** the Lebanese masses'

With other complements:

lam tanfakka yawman 'an-i l-su'ālī 'annī

لم تنفك يوماً عن السؤال عني

'she never stopped **asking** about me for a day', lit. 'did not cease from asking'

3.17.12 *labīṭa* لبث 'to tarry', 'to linger' (▷C3:259, 260)

See also *ḥattā* حتى idiom, see 7.6.7.8.

'Complete' *labīṭa* لبث, no pred.:

labīṭnā 'indahum yawman kāmilan

لبثنا عندهم يوماً كاملاً

'we **stayed** with them a whole day'

'Incomplete': positive verbs, with verb. comp., i.e. circ. qual.:

kayfa 'ānā l-rajulu llaḍī labīṭa ḥayātahu kullahā yadfa'u tamana ḥaṭa'ihī

كيف عانى الرجل الذي لبث حياته كلها يدفع ثمن خطئته

'how has a man suffered who spent the whole of his life **paying**

[circ. qual.] the price of his mistake!'

labīṭa 'ahluhā yatawaqqa'ūna fī kullī laḥẓatin 'an tuwāṣila l-ḥarbu

dawwāmatahā l-jahannamiyyata

لبث أهلها يتوقعون في كل لحظة أن تواصل الحرب دوامتها الجهنمية

'its people remained **expecting** any moment that the war would continue with its infernal whirlpool'

With neg. *labīta* لَبِثَ the idiomatic meaning is ‘soon’, and in collocation with ‘*illā* or *ḥattā*, ‘no sooner’, ‘hardly ... when’, ‘before’ (see also in 7.6.7.8):

lā talbaṭu ‘an tazdahīma

لا تلبث أن تزدهم

‘it soon **became crowded**’ lit. ‘it does not tarry that it became crowded’

lā yalbaṭu ‘an yajlisa ‘alā l-kursiyi bi-qurbī ‘illā wa-yaqūmu muta’affīfan

لا يلبث أن يجلس على الكرسي بقربي إلا ويقوم متأففا

‘he hardly **sits down** in the chair near me **before** he rises in annoyance’
(or ‘had sat down ... when he rose’ according to context)

3.17.13 *ṣāra* صار ‘to become’ (▷C2:201, 3:256)

‘Complete’ *ṣāra* صار, no pred.:

ṣāra l-‘amru ba’dahu ‘ilā bnihi l-‘amīri

صار الأمر بعده إلى ابنه الأمير

‘command **passed** after him to his son the prince’

‘Incomplete’:

ṣāra namūdajan sāṭi‘an

صار نموزجا ساطعا

‘he became a shining **example** [dep. pred.]’

ṣirtu ‘aktara ḥibratan

صرت أكثر خبرة

‘I became **more** experienced’

ṣirtu ba’dahā ḡayrī qablahā

صرت بعدها غيري قبلها

‘after her I became **different** from what I was before’, lit. ‘other than myself’

(see 2.9.2.3 for *ḡayr* غير)

Example with inversion of subj. and pred.:

la-qad ṣāra maqbūlan munḍu muddatin ... al-qawlu bi-‘anna ṭabī‘ata l-mawḍū‘i hiya llatī tuḥaddidu naw‘iyyata l-manḥajī

لقد صار مقبولا منذ مدة ... القول بأن طبيعة الموضوع هي التي تحدد نوعية المنهج

‘there became **accepted** [dep. pred.] some time ago ... **the doctrine** [indep. subj.] that it is the nature of the subject which determines the characteristics of the methodology’

With imperf. verb as comp. the idiomatic meaning is ‘to start’, ‘to come to’, as with the verbs in 3.22:

kamā 'anna l-ba'ḍa mimman yu'ayyidūnahu ... šārū yufaḍḍilūna
 كما أن البعض ممن يؤيدونه ... صاروا يفضلون
 ‘just as some of those who support him ... **have come to prefer**’

(for *mimman* ممن see 5.4.1)

ḥattā šārat kalimatu l-mustašāri tu'ādilu fī darajatihā l-'amīra 'aw-i l-wazīra
 حتى صارت كلمة المستشار تعادل في درجتها الأمير أو الوزير
 ‘until the word of a [generic art.] consultant **has come to be equal** in rank with [that of] a prince or a minister’
'id šāra yasa'u l-mar'u 'an yaqḍiya ḥayātahu bayna judrānin 'arba'atin
 إذ صار يسع المرء أن يقضي حياته بين جدران أربعة
 ‘when man **became capable** of spending his life between four walls’

3.17.14 *ḡalla* ظل ‘to remain’, ‘to stay’

Seen only as ‘incomplete’ (▷C2:200, 3:257).

With nouns as pred.:

ḡayra 'anna hādā l-i htimāma ḡalla dā tābi'in ḥāṣṣin
 غير أن هذا الاهتمام ظل ذا طابع خاص
 ‘although this concern still **had a special character**’, lit. ‘remained **possessor** [dep. pred.] of ...’

see 2.3.9 on *dū* ذو ‘possessor of’

wa-lākin ḥattā fī hādhihi l-ḥālāti yaḡallu ma'nā l-kalimati faqīran jiddan
 ولكن حتى في هذه الحالة يظل معنى الكلمة فقيراً جداً
 ‘but even in this case the meaning of the word is still very **poor**’

(cf. 2.19.12 on *ḥattā* حتى ‘even’)

With participles, i.e. either pred. or circ. qual.:

sa-taḡallu multazimatan bi-mu'āhadati l-'amni l-muštariqi
 ستظل ملتزمة بمعاهدة الأمن المشترك
 ‘will remain **committed** to the joint security pact’
ḡalla jālisan 'alā kursiyyin 'amāma maktabihi
 ظل جالسا على كرسي أمام مكتبه
 ‘he remained **sitting** on a chair in front of his desk’

With verbs as comp., i.e. circ. qual.:

ẓallat māriyā tuṣirru 'alā 'anna ...

ظلت ماريا تصر على أن ...

'Maria continued **to insist** on ...'

wa-ẓalla kullu wāḥidin minhumā yuzāyidu 'alā l-'āḥari

وظل كل واحد منهما يزايد على الآخر

'each of the two kept on **outbidding** the other'

3.18 VERBS OF EXISTENCE

The passive of *wajada* وجد 'find' (cf. 3.11.2.3 for other structures) is used to denote 'exist', i.e. 'be found' (▷C1:8, 54, 2:198).

- *yūjadu* يوجد 'is found', sometimes literally:

tūjadu l-numūru fī l-hindi

توجد النمر في الهند

'tigers **are found** in India'

but more often rendering 'is', 'exists':

'ajībun 'an tūjada dākīratun salīmatun fī ra'sin muḥtallin

عجيب أن توجد ذاكرة سليمة في رأس مختل

'strange that **a healthy memory** should exist in a confused mind'

lā yūjadu wa-lan yūjada taḥdīdun ḥaqīqiyyun li-l-'amwālī l-miṣriyyati fī l-ḥārījī

لا يوجد ولن يوجد تحديد حقيقي للأموال المصرية في الخارج

'there is not and will never be **a true determination** of the Egyptian funds abroad'

- Like *kāna* كان (see 3.16.2) the verbal noun shares the same syntax as the verb:

wujūduhu katīran fī ḥādīhi l-nawāḥī

وجوده كثيرا في هذه النواحي

'its **being abundant** in these areas'

- The passive participle *mawjūd* موجود is used for 'existing', attrib. or pred.:

li-'annahā mawjūdātun ḥaqqan

لأنها موجودة حقا

'because they [= 'things', grammatical fem. sing.] truly **exist**'

iktašafū ba‘ḍa l-tağarāti l-mawjūdāti fī tartībātī l-‘amni

اكتشفوا بعض الثغرات الموجودة في ترتيبات الأمن

‘they discovered some loopholes **existing** in the security arrangements’

- Also nominally:

lā budda min ‘amali qā’imatin bi-jamī‘i l-mawjūdāti fī l-mahzani

لا بد من عمل قائمة بجميع الموجودات في المخزن

‘a list of all the **[things] existing** in the store must be made’

al-jūdu bi-l-mawjūdi

الجود بالموجود

‘[true] generosity is in [giving] **whatever there is** [to give]’,

lit. ‘generosity is by that which is found’

- Stem VI *tawājada* تواجد is commonly used for ‘to be present’:

‘alayhim ‘an yatawājadū ‘amāma l-‘idārati

عليهم أن يتواجدوا أمام الإدارة

‘they must **present themselves** to the administration’

(see 2.6.10 for ‘*alā* على ‘on’, ‘upon’ = must)

al-ğuraḥu llatī yatawājadu bihā l-‘ummālu

الغرف التي يتواجد بها العمال

‘the rooms in which the workers **are present**’

- Verbal noun, ‘being present’:

allaḍīna lā tasmaḥu zurūfuhum bi-l-tawājudi

الذين لا تسمح ظروفهم بالتواجد

‘those whose circumstances do not allow them **to be present**’

muddatu wa-ta’rīḥu tawājudi l-muštariḳi bi-hādā l-makāni

مدة وتأريخ تواجد المشترك بهذا المكان

‘period and date of **residence** of the subscriber in this place’

(see 2.3.7 for binomial annexation)

wa-qad ‘as ‘adani tawājudi fīmā baynahum

وقد أسعدني تواجدي فيما بينهم

‘it made me happy **to be present** among them’

3.19 VERBS OF NON-EXISTENCE

(cf. 12.6 on ‘adam عدم ‘non-’, 4.1.2 for *lā* لا ‘not’ + noun.)

This is expressed with the neg. *lā yūjadu* لا يوجد ‘is not found’ and *laysa* ليس ‘not to be’:

lā tūjadu ‘ayyatu ḥilāfātīn

لا توجد أية خلافات

‘there are **no disagreements**’ (see 2.9.1.6 ‘ayy أي ‘any’) lit. ‘any disagreements do not exist’, see 4.2.

Nominal equivalent: ‘adamu wujūdīn عدم وجود lit. ‘absence of existence’:

‘adamu wujūdi mizāniyyatin ḥāṣṣātin bihā

عدم وجود ميزانية خاصة بها

‘the absence of a special budget’

3.19.1 *laysa* ليس ‘not to be’

The defective verb *laysa* ليس ‘not to be’ (+/- *bi-* بـ), (▷C1:119, and see 4.2.8, also 1.9.2 for the paradigm) has the unique feature that it always has present time reference in spite of its perf. form. It has the same syntax as ‘incomplete’ *kāna* ‘to be’ 3.16.2), i.e. indep. agent/subj. and dep. obj./pred.:

laysa ḡarīban ‘anna ...

ليس غريباً أن ...

‘it is not **strange** [dep. pred] that ...’

laysatā biḍā‘atan tustawradu

ليستا بضاعة تستورد

‘**they** [fem. dual, subj.] are not [just] **a commodity** [dep. pred.] which can be imported’

With inverted order:

al-qā‘atu laysat faṣīḥatan

القاعة ليست فسيحة

‘the hall is not **spacious**’

‘aynāhā laysatā ṣafrāwayni ḥadrāwayni bal sawdāwāni

عينها ليست صفراوان خضراوان بل سوداوان

‘her eyes are not **yellow-green** but black’

barā‘imuhu laysat munfatīḥatan ba‘du

براعمه ليست منفتحة بعد

‘its buds are not yet **open**’

Alternative syntax with *bi-* بـ:

mā turīdīnahu min zawjiki laysa bi-l-'amri l-hayyini
 ما تريدينه من زوجك ليس بالأمر الهين
 'what you [fem. sing.] want from your husband is not **a trivial matter**'

With partitive or redundant *min* من 'of' (▷C1:121):

laysa min šakkin
 ليس من شك
 'there is **no doubt** at all'

This example is the neg. of the *min* من phrases in 3.1.4:

laysa min-a l-sahli l-ta'arrufu 'alā l-muškilāti l-ḥaqīqiyyati
 ليس من السهل التعرف على المشكلات الحقيقية
 'it is not **easy** to get to know the real problems'

3.19.2 *lā ya'dū* لا يعدو *lit.* 'it does not go beyond'

lā ya'dū لا يعدو idiomatically 'it is no more than':

lā ya'dū kawnaḥu muqārabatan 'aw madḥalan
 لا يعدو كونه مقاربة أو مدحلا
 'it is **no more than** an approximation or an introduction',
 lit. 'it does not go beyond its being an approximation or introduction'

note dep. pred. of *kāna* كان even with the verbal noun (see 3.16.2)

3.20 VERBS DENOTING 'can', 'be able', 'want' (▷C3:109)

3.20.1 'amkana أمكن (and cognates) istaṭā'a استطاع, qadara قدر

With the verb 'amkana أمكن 'to be possible [for somebody]' what is actually possible is expressed as its agent, either a verbal noun or the equivalent complementized clause with 'an أن, and if necessary the person said to be 'able' will appear as the dir. object of 'amkana أمكن.

- 'amkana أمكن without obj.:

yumkinu 'an nu'akkida
 يمكن أن نؤكد
 'we can **confirm**', lit. 'that we confirm is possible'
al-masāru llaḍi yumkinu 'an ta'ḥudahu l-siyāsatu l-'amrīkiyyatu
 المسار الذي يمكن أن تأخذه السياسة الأمريكية
 'the course that American policy can **take**'

ba‘du l-šaḥṣiyyāti llatī kāna yumkinu ‘an tufīda

بعض الشخصيات التي كان يمكن أن تفيد

‘some of the personalities who could **have been useful**’

- Variant with *maṣdar*:

yumkinu l-qawlu

يمكن القول

‘it can **be said**’, lit. ‘saying is possible’

kāna ra‘yu l-duktūri M. F. ‘anna l-ḍīqa yumkinu l-ta‘āyūšu ma‘ahu

كان رأي الدكتور م. ف. أن الضيق يمكن التعايش معه

‘it was Dr M.F.’s opinion that anxiety could **be lived with**’

- Occasionally agreement is inconsistent and the verb evidently behaves as if impersonal:

lā yumkinu muqāranatu ḥibratihi

لا يمكن مقارنة خبرته

‘his experience [fem.] **cannot** [masc.] be compared’

An alternative is the verbal noun phrase *fī ‘imkāni* or *bi-‘imkāni* i.e. ‘in [one’s] power to’, either with subord. verb or verbal noun:

al-‘āna bi-‘imkāninā ‘an naḍhaba

الآن بإمكاننا أن نذهب

‘now we can **go**’, lit. ‘**in our power that we go**’

laysa fī l-‘imkāni tajannubu ḍālika

ليس في الإمكان تجنب ذلك

‘it is not possible **to avoid** that’, lit. ‘the avoiding of that’

lam ya‘ud bi-l-‘imkāni maḥwuhā

لم يعد بالإمكان محوها

‘it was no longer possible **to erase it**’

(see 3.21.1.1 for *lam ya‘ud* لم يعد ‘no longer’)

- The cognate stems II *makkana* مَكَّن ‘enable [somebody]’ and V *tamakkana* تَمَكَّن ‘become able’ are collocated with *min* من ‘in respect to’ to indicate what is possible:

makkana l-ṣuyū ‘iyyīna min-a l-sayṭarati ‘alā l-‘i‘lāmi

مكن الشيوعيين من السيطرة على الإعلام

‘enabled the communists **to control** the media’, lit. ‘put the communists in position with regard to controlling the media’

li-tamkīnihim min-a l-murāqabati l-fa‘‘ālātī

لتمكينهم من المراقبة الفعالة

‘to enable them **to perform** effective **censorship**’

tamakkanat maṭāfi‘u l-qāhirati min-a l-sayṭarati ‘alā l-ḥarīqi ba‘da sā‘atayni

تمكنت مطافئ القاهرة من السيطرة على الحريق بعد ساعتين

‘the Cairo fire brigade was able **to control** the fire in two hours’

- *qadara* ‘be capable of’, ‘have power over’, with ‘*alā* على ‘over’ (sometimes omitted) and either a subord. verb or verbal noun:

lā yaqdirūna ‘alā muḡādarati buyūtihi

لا يقدرّون على مغادرة بيوتهم

‘they are unable **to leave** their houses’

qāla ‘aṣḡar al-fuṭṭan ‘anā ‘aqdiru ‘alā waḍ‘i l-jarasi ḥawla raqabati l-qitti

قال أصغر الفئران أنا أقدر على وضع الجرس حول رقبة القط

‘the smallest of the mice said, ‘I can **put** the bell around the neck of the cat’

- The active participle has the same syntax:

‘inna l-ṭifla qādirun ‘alā l-ṣu‘ūri bi-l-mahānati

إن الطفل قادر على الشعور بالمهانة

‘a child [generic] is capable **of feeling** humiliation’

‘idā kunta qādiran ‘aṣlan ‘alā l-ḡahābi ‘ilā l-baḥri l-mutawassiṭi

إذا كنت قادراً أصلاً على الذهاب إلى البحر المتوسط

‘if you are able at all **to go** to the Mediterranean’

lā ṣay‘a qādirun ‘an yaḥmiya laylati min ṣūratī l-wajhi

لا شيء قادر أن يحمي ليلتي من صورة الوجه

‘nothing is able **to protect** my night from the image of [that] face’,

i.e. ‘can protect me tonight’, cf. 2.14.5 on personalized time expressions

- *istaṭā‘a* ‘استطاع ‘be able’, with subordinate verbs:

lam yastaṭī‘ ‘an yuḥaqqiqa ‘ayya ṣay‘in

لم يستطع أن يحقق أي شيء

‘he could not **achieve** anything’

hākaḏā nastaṭī‘u naḥnu l-kuttābu ‘an naḥḡara

هكذا نستطيع نحن الكتاب أن نفخر

‘thus we writers can **be proud**’

qad-i staṭā'a, bi-mtiyāzin, 'an yajida l-ḥalla l-ṣaḥīḥa
 قد استطاع، بامتياز، أن يجد الحل الصحيح
 'he was able, with distinction, **to find** the right solution'

- not infrequently with the equivalent verbal noun:

li-kay nastaṭī'a muwājahata l-ṭalabi l-mutazāyidi
 لكي نستطيع مواجهة الطلب المتزايد
 'so that we can **face** the increasing demand'

lā tastaṭī'u fī'la ṣay'in
 لا تستطيع فعل شيء
 'she cannot **do** anything'

lam tastaṭī'-i l-raḥḍa
 لم تستطع الرفض
 'she could not **refuse**'

3.20.2 Verbs of wanting, wishing

'Want', 'wish' is commonly expressed with 'arāda أراد 'to want', mostly with subordinate verbs:

fa-l-ra'yu l-'āmmu l-'amrīkiyyu lā yurīdu 'an tataḥammala l-wilāyātu l-muttaḥidatu l-'ib'a waḥdahā
 فالرأي العام الأمريكي لا يريد أن يتحمل الولايات المتحدة العبء وحدها
 'American public opinion does not want the US **to carry** the burden alone'

Persons are raised to objects of the main verb:

'innahā turīdunā 'an naẓalla janīnan mutaḥallifan 'aqliyyan, wa-ḥaḍārīyyan, wa-qawmiyyan
 إنها تريدنا أن نظل جنينا متخلفا عقليا، وحضاريا، وقوميا
 'she wants **us to remain** a foetus, mentally, culturally and nationally retarded', lit. 'she wants us, that we remain' (see 3.17.4 for ẓalla ظل 'remain')

Occasionally also non-humans:

yurīdūna l-munāqaṣāti 'an tastamirra
 يريدون المناقشات أن تستمر
 'they want **the discussions to continue**'

In this variant the verb phrase is replaced by the verbal noun:

'arādahā muṭī'atan

أرادها مطيعة

'he wanted **her** [being] obedient'

3.21 VERBS DENOTING 'again', 'still', 'nearly', 'hardly', 'almost'

Verbs denoting 'again', 'still', 'nearly', 'hardly', 'almost' (traditionally 'af'āl al-muqāraba أفعال المقاربة 'verbs of getting close'): these either have the same syntax as the *kāna* كان set (see 3.17) or are used with subordinate clauses with 'an أن (cf. 7.5.1). They are listed purely alphabetically, and those which behave like the *kāna* كان set are indicated; most of these verbs also occur as main verbs in their literal sense, which will be given first and illustrated where appropriate.

3.21.1 'āda عاد 'to return' (▷C3:258), i.e. 'do or become again' (like *kāna* كان)

ya'ūdūna 'atfālan

يعودون أطفالاً

'they become **children** again'

fa-'āda ṣaḍīqī yaqūlu

فعاد صديقي يقول

'and my friend again **said**'

wa-'udtu 'asma'u 'ajalāti l-sayyārāti fī l-šāri'i

وعدت أسمع عجلات السيارات في الشارع

'I **listened** again to the wheels of the cars in the street'

Note the hendiadys option (and cf. *sabaqa* سبق below 3.23.2, also in 6.2.4)

'āda wa-ṣarraḥa

عاد وصرح

'he **repeated his declaration**' lit. 'he returned **and** declared'

3.21.1.1 The neg. of 'āda عاد means 'no longer', 'still not'

naḥnu lam na'ud narahā

نحن لم نعد نراها

'we no longer **saw** her'

lam ta'ud hunāka ḥājatun li-l-juyūši

لم تعد هناك حاجة للجيش

'there was no longer **any need** for troops'

(see 4.2 for neg. agents)

li- 'anna l- 'ālāma l-tālīṭa lam ya 'ud ladayhi qudratun 'alā l-širā'i

لأن العالم الثالث لم يعد لديه قدرة على الشراء

'because the Third World still does not have the purchasing **power**'

(see 3.8.1 for agreement with separated agent)

3.21.1.2 Stem IV, 'a 'āda أعاد 'cause to recur' + verbal noun reproduces verbs with prefix 're-'

dakara 'anna l-wizārata wa-bi-kulli mukawwinātihā yu 'ādu tanzīmuhā

ذكر أن الوزارة وبكل مكوناتها يعاد تنظيمها

'he mentioned that the Ministry, with all its components, **would be reorganized**', lit. 'it's organization will be repeated'

sa-yu 'idūna 'ihrāja al-juttati min-a l-qabri

سيعيدون إخراج الجثة من القبر

'they will **re-exhume** the corpse from the grave', lit. 'repeat the removal'

The verbal noun 'i 'āda إعادة has become an equivalent of the prefix 're-' on nouns (more examples in 12.7.1):

bi-ṣadadi 'i 'ādātī tašgīlī l-turbīni l-tālīṭi

بصدد إعادة تشغيل التربين الثالث

'concerning **re-activating** the third turbine'

3.21.2

'awšaka أو شك 'be on the point of' usually with 'alā على (also min من) and either sub. verb with 'an أن or the equivalent verbal noun:

tūšiku masāwi 'uhum 'an taḥjuba wajha l-šamsi

توشك مساوئهم أن تحجب وجه الشمس

'their vices nearly **veil** the face of the sun'

fīmā nūšiku 'an nadḥula l-qarna l-ḥādiya wa-l- 'iṣrīna

فيما نوشك أن ندخل القرن الحادي والعشرين

'while we are about **to enter** the 21st century'

wa-qabla 'an yūšika min-a l-intihā'i minhā

وقبل أن يوشك من الانتهاء منها

'before he was just about **to finish** it'

'alā waški على وشك variant, with same options:

la-qad 'aḥassat-i l-madīnatu bi 'asrihā 'annahā 'alā waški l-iḥtināqi

لقد أحست المدينة بأسرها أنها على وشك الاختناق

'the whole town realized it was on the point of **choking**'

lākinna 'aynayhā kānatā 'alā waški 'an tadma'ā

لكن عينيها كانتا على وشك أن تدمعا

'but her eyes were on the point of **flowing with tears**'

3.21.3 *kāda* كاد 'to be near to doing' (▷C3:258, 260, 261)

This is either followed by indep. verbs as with *kāna* كان or subordinated *'an* أن clauses. In the positive it covers the meaning of 'almost', 'nearly', while in the negative, *mā kāda* ما كاد, *lā yakādu* لا يكاد, the sense is 'hardly'.

- With indep. verbs, positive *kāda* كاد 'almost', 'nearly':

kādat ḡādatu 'an tabkī

كادت غادة أن تبكي

'Gada almost **cried**'

kādat ba'ḍu l-mihani takūnu maqṣūratan 'alayhim

كادت بعض المهن تكون مقصورة عليهم

'certain professions **were** almost **restricted** to them'

li-mumārasati naṣāḥihā ba'da 'an kādat tatawaqqafu

لممارسة نشاطها بعد أن كادت تتوقف

'to practise its activities after **they had** nearly **stopped**'

yakādu qalbī yatafaṭṭaru ḥuznan wa-'alaman

يكاد قلبي يتفطر حزنا وألما

'my heart is almost **splitting** with sorrow and pain'

- Neg. *kāda* كاد 'hardly':

lā yakādūna yafhamūna mā yuqālu

لا يكادون يفهمون ما يقال

'they hardly **understand** what is said'

wa-laylā lā takādu tufāriqu ḥiḍnī

وليلي لا تكاد تفارق حضني

'while Layla hardly **left** my lap'

'ammā lafzu l-turāṭi fa-lā nakādu na'turu lahu 'alā 'aṭarin fi ḥiṭābihim

أما لفظ التراث فلا نكاد نعثر له على أثر في خطابهم

'as for the term 'heritage', we hardly **come across** any trace of it in their speeches'

- With subordinate verbs, positive *kāda* كاد:

takādīna 'an talmahī min ḥalfihā ḡilālahā

تكادين أن تلمحي من خلفها ظلالهما

‘you [fem. sing.] can just **make out** behind it their [dual] shadows’

yakādu 'an yujanna l- 'āna min sulūki hādīhi l-fatāti

يكان أن يجن الآن من سلوك هذه الفتاة

‘he is nearly **going crazy** now from the behaviour of this woman’

kādat banātu 'urūbbā 'an yunsīnanī wajhaki

كادت بنات أوروبا أن ينسينني وجهك

‘the girls of Europe almost **made me forget** your [fem.] face’

(see 3.11.2 on doubly transitive verbs)

Neg. *kāda* كاد is not found with subord. verbs.

- The combination of *kāda* كاد and *ḥattā* حتى ‘until’ expresses ‘hardly ... when’ (C3:88, and see 7.6.7.8):

lā yakādūna yataḥarrajūna ḥattā inḥaraṭū fī l-jayši

لا يكادون يتخرجون حتى انخرطوا في الجيش

‘they have **hardly** graduated **when** they are enlisted in the army’

lā yakādu yaftaḥu 'aynāyhi ḥattā yunādiya 'alā kulli man fī l-bayti

لا يكاد يفتح عينيه حتى ينادي على كل من في البيت

‘he has **hardly** opened his eyes **before** he shouts at everyone in the house’

3.21.4 *mā zāla* ما زال ‘not to cease’ (▷C2:200, 3:259)

This verb is invariably used in the negative, though there are inconsistencies in the choice of neg. forms: the CA *mā zāla* ما زال is often replaced by *lā zāla* لا زال (▷C1:117) and vice versa, *mā yazālu* ما يزال for the imperf., although the neg. particle *lā* لا is not normally used with perf. verbs except in the optative (see 3.25.2).

Syntactically *mā zāla* ما زال has the same range as *kāna* كان etc.

- Predicate is in dep. form:

mā zālat-i l-mufāwaḍātu mustamirratan

ما زالت المفاوضات مستمرة

‘negotiations are still **continuing**’

mā zālat muḥtafīẓatan bi-jamālihā

ما زالت محتفظة بجمالها

‘she has still **kept** her beauty’

*hāḍiḥi lā tazālu **dirāsatan** taqūmu bihā l-dawlata*

هذه لا تزال دراسة تقوم بها الدولة

‘this is still **a study** the state is carrying out’, or ‘will be carrying out’

*mā zālat ‘āliyyatu l-ṣayḥūḥati **mas’alatan** ḡāmiḍatan*

ما زالت آلية الشيخوخة مسألة غامضة

‘the mechanism of ageing is still **an obscure problem**’

*mā tazālu **tiḥḍat** fi ‘af‘āliḥa*

ما تزال طفلة في أفعالها

‘she is still **a baby** in her actions’

- Pred. is a verb phrase:

*‘inna l-ḥarba lā zālat **tu’attiru** fi kulli ṣay’in*

إن الحرب لا زالت تؤثر في كل شيء

‘the war still **affects** everything’

*mā zilnā **nutābi’u l-taḥqīqāti** l-ḥāṣṣata bi-hāḍiḥi munḍu l-‘āmi l-māḍi*

ما زلنا نتابع التحقيقات الخاصة بهذا منذ العام الماضي

‘we have been continuing **to pursue investigations** into this since last year’

*lā yazālūna **yakrahūna** samā’a smihi wa-ru’yata ṣūratihī*

لا يزالون يكرهون سماع اسمه ورؤية صورته

‘they still **hate** to hear his name and see his picture’

- Pred. is a prepositional phrase:

*mā zāla **‘amāmī** muttasa’un min-a l-waḡti*

ما زال أمامي متسع من الوقت

‘there is still a lot of time **ahead of me**’

*wa-l-dumū ‘u mā zālat **fī** ‘aynayhā*

والدموع ما زالت في عينيها

‘with tears still **in her eyes**’

(see 7.3 for nom. sentence as circ. qual.)

- When the second verb is also negated, the sense is ‘still not’:

*mā zāla l-tābiq l-‘ulwiyyu **lam yurammam** ‘ilā l-yawmi*

ما زال الطابق العلوي لم يرمم إلى اليوم

‘the upper storey has still **not been restored** to this day’

lā zālat-i l-mustašfayātu l-‘āmmatu lā tuqaddimu ‘ilājan ‘aw dawā’an

لا زالت المستشفيات العامة لا تقدم علاجاً أو دواءً

‘the general hospitals still **do not offer** any treatment or medication’ or
‘are still not offering’

fī waqtin mā zālat fīhi l-kaṭīru min-a l-qaḍāyā l-‘arabiyyati

wa-l-‘ālamīyyati lam tuḥalla ba‘du

في وقت ما زالت فيه الكثير من القضايا العربية والعالمية لم تحل بعد

‘at a time when many Arab and global problems were still **not yet solved**’

(note verb agreement with logical ag. *al-qaḍāyā* ‘cases’, not *al-kaṭīru* ‘the many’, see 3.8.4)

- Elliptical:

kāna yafriḍu wa-lā yazālu

كان يفرض ولا يزال

‘he used to suppose **and still does**’, lit. ‘he used to suppose and has not stopped’

muhimmatāni kānatā wa-mā zālatā l-‘aḳṭara ‘ilḥāḥan ‘alā sāsati

l-minṭaqati

مهمتان كانتا وما زالتا أكثر إلحاحاً على ساسة المنطقة

‘two concerns have been **and still are** most persistent for the leaders of the region’

(see 3.7.2.2 for indef. agents)

3.22 VERBS OF BEGINNING AND CONTINUING

Verbs of beginning and continuing (traditionally ‘*af‘āl al-šurū*’ أفعال الشروع ‘verbs of beginning’). These are nearly always followed asyndetically by an imperf. verb, less commonly by a verbal noun (both equivalent to a circ. qual., cf. 7.3). Again the following alphabetical list is not exhaustive, as the set is assuredly not closed, and in addition no account is taken of other meanings of these verbs or their homonyms, as these are lexical rather than syntactical issues.

3.22.1 ‘*aḥāḍa* أخذ lit. ‘to take’ i.e. ‘begin’ (▷C3:69)

Usually with imperf. verb:

‘aḥaḍat-i l-sur‘atu tazdādu

أخذت السرعة تزداد

‘the speed started **to increase**’

'aḥadā yata'arrafu 'alā [alf layla wa-layla]

أخذ يتعرف على [الف ليلة وليلة]

'he began **to familiarize himself** with [*The 1001 Nights*']

'aḥadū yatadārasūnahu min kulli zāwiyatin

أخذوا يتدارسونه من كل زاوية

'they began **studying it** together from every angle'

Alternatively with verbal noun with *fī* 'in', 'on':

'aḥadā fī l-ṣiyāḥi

أخذ في الصياح

'he took to **shouting**'

3.22.2 bada'a بدأ 'to begin' (▷C3:69)

Usually with imperf. verb:

al-ḥadīthū bada'a yakturu

الحديث بدأ يكثر

'talk has started **to multiply**'

bada'a kullun minhumā yarwī li-l-'āḥari qisṣata ḥayātihī

بدأ كل منهما يروي للآخر قصة حياته

'each of the two began **to tell** the other the story of his life'

bada'at-i l-suluṭātu l-'amrīkiyyatu tadda'u fī 'aydī quwā l-'amni ...

بدأت السلطات الأمريكية تضع في أيدي قوى الأمن ...

'the American authorities started **putting** ... into the hands of the security forces'

qad bada'a yašīḥu bi-ṭarīqatin sarī'atin

قد بدأ يشيخ بطريقة سريعة

'he had begun **to age** quickly'

Alternatively with verbal noun as dir. obj.:

bada'nā l-tadrība 'alā l-silāḥi yawmahā

بدأنا التدريب على السلاح يومها

'we started weapons **training** that same day'

(see 2.14.5 on this use of time expressions)

li-ma bada'u l-kalāma 'alā ḍarūratī l-iḥtīfāzi bi-l-laḡabi l-'āsiyawiyyi?

لم بدأوا الكلام على ضرورة الاحتفاظ باللقب الآسيوي؟

'why did they start **talking** about the necessity of keeping the Asian title?'

(see 10.5.1 on interrog. *li-ma* لم ‘why?’)

3.22.3 *inṭalaqa* انطلق ‘to depart’ (▷C3:259), i.e. ‘proceed to do something’

With imperf. verb:

inṭalaqat-i l-qittatu tamū’u
انطلقت القطة تموء
‘the cat [fem.] proceeded **to miaow**’

3.22.4 *istamarra* استمر ‘to continue’ (▷C3:257)

With imperf. verb:

wa-bayrūtu ... qad ‘afrazat jawwan ḥāṣṣan-i stamarra yasūdu ḥattā fī ‘aqbiyatihā ḥilāla l-ḥarbi
وبيروت ... قد أفرزت جوا خاصا استمر يسود حتى في أقبيتها خلال الحرب
‘and Beirut ... gave off a special atmosphere which continued **to reign** even in its shelters during the war’
istamarra ya’dū ḥattā nqaṭa ‘at ‘anfāsuhu
استمر يعدو حتى انقطعت أنفاسه
‘he continued **running** until his breath failed him’

3.22.5 *ja’ala* جعل ‘to make’, i.e. ‘start’, ‘begin’ (▷C3:69)

With imperf. verb (contrast the doubly transitive function in 3.11.2.1, ‘to make sb do sth’):

ja’altu ‘antaṣīru dawrī جعلت أنتظر دوري ‘I began **to wait for** my turn’
ja’alat taṣīḥu جعلت تصيح ‘she started **shouting**’
ja’ālū yataḡāfalūna جعلوا يتغافلون ‘they proceeded **to feign ignorance**’

This verb is commonly used in the absolute sense of ‘put’:

ja’ala yadahu fī jaybihi جعل يده في جيبه ‘he **put** his hand in his pocket’

3.22.6 *maḍā* مضى ‘to pass’, i.e. ‘proceed’ (▷C3:256)

With imperf. verb, in the sense of ‘beginning’, ‘proceeding’:

maḍaytu ‘ahbiṭu darajāti l-sullami l-‘arīḍi
مضيت أهبط درجات السلم العريض
‘I started **going down** the steps of the broad staircase’

wa-maḍā yaḥtalifu ma'a šaḡiqihi

ومضى يختلف مع شقيقه

'and he proceeded **to differ** with his brother'

It also occurs in the literal sense:

wa-yamḍī l- 'umru mal'āna muzāḥiman mušāri'an

ويمضي العمر ملآن مزاحما مصارعا

'and life **proceeds**, full, jostling, wrestling'

(see 3.29.7 on circ. qual.)

3.22.7 *rāḡa* راح 'to go' (▷C3:259), i.e. 'start', 'proceed'

With imperf. verb:

rāḡa yabkī wa-huwa yaḡūlu ...

راح يبكي وهو يقول ...

'he began **to cry**, saying ...'

ruḡtu 'urāqibuhu wa-huwa yantaḡilu bayna l-mawā'idi

رحت أراقبه وهو ينتقل بين الموائد

'I proceeded **to observe him** as he moved between the tables'

3.22.8 *šara'a* شرع 'to start', 'to embark on'

With imperf. verb:

šara'a yukawwinu li-naḡsihi tarwatan kabīratan

شرع يكون لنفسه ثروة كبيرة

'he started **to create** a large fortune for himself'

Often with *fī* 'in', 'on' and verbal noun:

'indamā šara'a fī mu'ālaḡati raḡabatī ḡaṭṭā wajhī bi-qinā'in 'azraqa ḡaṭṭīn

عندما شرع في معالجة رقبتني غطى وجهي بقناع أزرق خفيف

'when he started **on the treatment** of my neck he covered my face with a light, blue veil'

lā budda 'an tašra'a fī 'i'dādi l-ḡarā'iti l-ḡarūriyyati

لا بد أن تشرع في إعداد الخرائط الضرورية

'you must start **to prepare** the necessary maps'

3.22.9 *ṭafiqa* طفق, 'to start immediately/suddenly' (▷C3:69)

With imperf. verb:

ṭafiqa yu'īdu tanzīma l-ḥujrati

طفق يعيد تنظيم الحجرة

'he immediately began to **re-arrange** the room'

(see 3.21.1.2 on 'a'āda أعاد 'to do again')

3.23 OTHER COMPOUND VERBS AND IDIOMATIC STRUCTURES

This is a catch-all section, but if there is any uniting feature it may be that most of the items here can be regarded as process verbs.

3.23.1 *tamma* تم 'to complete' and *jarā* جرى 'to go'

These are combined with verbal nouns to convey performance or completion. In their absolute use:

wa hādā mā tamma fi 'lan

وهذا ما تم فعلا

'this is what **happened** in fact'

jarat-i l-mufāwaḍātu fi sirriyyatin kāmīlatin

جرت المفاوضات في سرية كاملة

'the negotiations **proceeded** in complete secrecy'

As an auxiliary, *tamma* تم frequently paraphrases a passive, i.e. impersonal sense (see 3.12):

tammāt tarqiyatuhu ḥadīṭan

تمت ترقيته حديثا

'his **promotion** was recently effected'

tamma faḥṣuhā hunāka fi l-ḥālī

تم فحصها هناك في الحال

'an **examination of her** was performed there immediately'

rubbamā yatimmu l-wuṣūlu 'ilā ḥallin 'āḥara

ربما يتم الوصول إلى حل آخر

'perhaps another solution **will be reached**', lit. 'reaching will be completed'

The preference for *tamma* تم + verbal noun over the formal passive depends on the nature of the event, the tendency now being to use the passive if the punctual nature of the event is dominant, hence in the first example above the synonymous passive *ruqqiya ḥadītan* رقي حديثا ‘he was promoted recently’ would emphasize the singularity and historicity of the event rather than the process. Not every verb can be used indifferently in either construction: an example from 3.12 *quddirat qīmatuhā bi-mablaḡi* قدرت قيمتها بمبلغ ‘their value **was estimated** at the amount of’ would not be acceptable in the form **tamma taqdīru qīmatihā bi-mablaḡi* تم تقدير قيمتها بمبلغ except in the unlikely even that it meant ‘**the estimation** of its value at ... **was carried out**’.

As an auxiliary *jarā* جرى generally indicates a process:

hāḍihi hiya l-qawānīnu llatī yajrī l-‘amalu bihā fī l-maḥākimi l-‘askariyyati

هذه هي القوانين التي يجري العمل بها في المحاكم العسكرية
‘these are the laws which **are in effect** in military courts’,
lit. ‘on which action proceeds’

taqdīmu l-musā‘ādātī l-‘āmmati wa-l-ḥāṣṣati li ‘ayyi ḥukūmatin mu‘aqqatatin jadīdatin yajrī takwīnuhā fī janūbi ‘ifriqiya

تقديم المساعدات العامة والخاصة لأي حكومة مؤقتة جديدة يجري تكوينها في جنوب أفريقيا
‘the offer of public and private help to any temporary government **formed** in southern Africa’, lit. ‘[whose] formation occurs’

The CA idiom *qāma bi-* قام بـ ‘to carry out’, ‘to perform’ survives:

qāmat-i l-ḥukūmatu l-‘amrikiyyatu bi-mumārasati l-ḍaḡṭi ‘alā l-ṭarafayni

قامت الحكومة الأمريكية بممارسة الضغط على الطرفين
‘the American government **applied** pressure to the two parties’,
lit. ‘**carried out** the application of’

The syntax with the verbal noun is the same:

qiyāmu l-jamā‘āti l-mutaṭarrifati bi-‘iṣḍāri l-manšūrāti

قيام الجعاعات المتطرفة بإصدار المنشورات
‘**the carrying out** by extremist groups **of the issue** of publications’

but far more common now are *tamma* تم and *jarā* جرى as illustrated above.

3.23.2 *sabaqa* سبق ‘do previously’

sabaqa ‘an سبق أن ‘[it] happened before that’ reproduces the notion ‘previously’

The ag. is the ‘*an* أن clause, hence this verb is always masc. sing., and the subordinate verb is always perf. (see 7.5.1):

wa-huwa mā sabaqa 'an 'a'lantuhu

وهو ما سبق أن أعلنته

'and this is what I previously **announced**'

'anna firqata l-bālēh bi-l-qāhirati sabaqa 'an qaddamat nafsa l-'araḍi marratayni

أن فرقة البليه بالقاهرة سبق أن قدمت نفس العرض مرتين

'that the ballet company in Cairo previously **presented** the same show twice'

la-qad sabaqa 'an ḥaffṣaḍat 'ūrubbā stiṣmārātihā fī ḥaḍihi l-duwali

لقد سبق أن خفضت أوروبا استثماراتها في هذه الدول

'Europe has previously **reduced** its investments in these states'

An alternative construction simply coordinates the second verb in a kind of hendiadys (see 6.2.4):

kamā sabaqa wa-qulnā

كما سبق وقلنا

'as we have previously **said**'

kamā sabaqa wa-wa'ada l-ra'īsu

كما سبق ووعد الرئيس

'as the president **had** previously **promised**'

ḥayṭu sabaqa wa-'abdawhu

حيث سبق وأبدوه

'where **they had** previously **shown it**'

3.23.3 'do more', 'do less'

The verbs *zāda* زاد, *izdāda* ازداد 'increase', 'be/make more' and *qalla* قلّ 'decrease', 'be less' are accompanied by the specifying complement (2.4.4):

yu'ānūna min zurūfīn tazdādu sū'an

يعانون من ظروف تزداد سوء

'they are suffering from circumstances which **are becoming increasingly bad**'

(see 5.1 on adj. rel. clause)

mimmā yazīdu l-muškilata ta'qīdan

مما يزيد المشكلة تعقيدا

'which **makes** the problem **more complicated**'

(see 5.5.2 on *mimmā* ممّا 'of that which')

wa-ttaba 'athā bi- 'afkārīn taṭrīziyyatin lā taqillu raw'atan

واتبعتها بأفكار تطريزية لا تقل روعة

'she followed them with ideas on embroidery **that were no less amazing**'

(see 5.1 on adj. rel. clause)

3.23.4 Verbs denoting manner

The CA function of stem IV (1.9.0.2) to indicate the manner of an action is still in use (▷C2:165, and cf. 2.5.9); inevitably these verbs translate best as adverbs in English.

It occurs in an absolute sense:

'aḥsana 'a 'dā'u l-jam'iyyati l-'ahliyyati 'indamā 'awḍaḥū 'ayḍan 'anna ...

أحسن أعضاء الجمعية الأهلية عندما أوضحو أيضاً أن ...

'the members of the national [namely, non-governmental] association **did well** when they also made it clear that ...'

but more often with a verbal noun as dir. obj.:

'ajzala lahu l-'aṭā'a

أجزل له العطاء

'he gave **generously** to him', lit. 'did generously the giving'

la-qad 'asa'ta fahmī

لقد أسأت فهمي

'you have **misunderstood** me', lit. 'done badly the understanding of me'

(cf. *sū' tafāhum* سوء تفاهم 'misunderstanding', 2.9.6, 12.7.1)

al-mar'atu llatī tukṭiru l-ḥurūja min manzilihā

المرأة التي تكثر الخروج من منزلها

'the woman who **frequently** leaves her home', lit. 'does often the leaving'

kuntu 'uḥḥilu l-ta'ammula

كنت أطيل التأمل

'I used to ponder **for a long time**', lit. 'make long the pondering'

(see 3.10.6 on the compound tense)

wa-'aḥaḍat tuḥḍu l-'inṣāta li-taṭaratiḥā

وأخذت تجيد الإنصات لثرثرتها

'she began to pay attention **properly** to her chatter', lit. 'to do well the paying attention'

(cf. 3.22.1 on 'aḥaḍa اخذ 'to begin')

Passive verbs occur, in an impersonal sense (cf. 3.12.4):

'uḥsina stiġlāluhā

أحسن استغلالها

‘[the region] **was well** exploited’, lit. ‘its exploitation was done well’

Variants with other stems are also seen:

tāla taṭallu‘ī

طال تطلعي

‘I stared **for a long time**’, lit. ‘my staring was long’

sāra‘a qā‘ilan

سارع قائلا

‘he said **hurriedly**’, lit. ‘he hastened, saying’

(see 2.4.6, 3.29.7 on circ. qual. ‘saying’)

The verbal nouns (2.10) can be used in the same sense:

al-‘iqlālu min ‘akli l-dasami

الإقلال من أكل الدسم

‘the **lowering** of fat consumption’, from *‘aqalla* ‘to do little, less’

(cf. 3.23.3)

al-‘isrā‘u fi ‘i dādi l-mašrū‘i

الأسراع في إعداد المشروع

‘preparing the plan **quickly**’, lit ‘hastening in preparing the plan’

Alternatively, hendiadys with *fa-* ف ‘and then’ may be used (see 6.3.2).

3.24 MISCELLANEOUS VERB PHRASES AND STRUCTURES

This chapter concludes with a review of the remaining verb phrases and structures which can still be regarded as simple sentences; if a more detailed treatment is found elsewhere (e.g. with negation or the various dep. complements) only token examples are given. The treatment of complex sentences begins in Chapter 5.

Imperatives and indirect commands: there are special forms for the direct imperative and a set of specific (apoc.) structures for prohibitions and indirect commands. Although several verb forms clearly display their apocopation it is not always possible to identify the verbal inflection, and in the following it will be assumed to be regular unless there is good evidence to the contrary (e.g. 3.24.3).

3.24.1 Positive direct commands

Positive direct commands use the simple imperative (1.5.2.2):

zāwil riyādataka bi- 'tidālin

زاول رياضتك باعتدال

'pursue [masc. sing.] your exercise with moderation'

uḥrujī ma 'ī 'ilā l-nāsi

اخرجني معي إلى الناس

'come out [fem. sing.] with me to the people'

intahizū l-furṣata l-kubrā!

انتهزوا الفرصة الكبرى!

'seize [masc. plur.] the great opportunity!'

Often with vocative elements (see 2.15):

hayyā ta 'āla ma 'ī

هيا تعال معي

'hey there, come with me'

Imperative with the emphatic suffix *-anna* ٱَنَّ (▷C1:83 and cf. 3.26) was not found.

3.24.2 Positive indirect commands

Positive indirect commands use the apoc. verb (1.5.2.2), sometimes bare:

nantaqil 'ilā ḥāriji l-qal 'ati li-našhada baṣamāti wa- 'injāzāti l-duktūri A. F.

ننتقل إلى خارج القلعة لنشهد بصمات وإنجازات الدكتور أ. ف.

'let us move outside the Citadel to see the traces and accomplishments of Dr A. F.'

but more usually prefixed with *li-* لـ (▷C:1:80). When this *li-* لـ is prefixed with *wa-* و or *fa-* ف (▷C3:29; and see 6.3.3) the *li-* لـ conventionally loses its vowel for reasons of euphony, and this will be reflected in the transliteration:

li-nabda' 'idan bi-l-tasā 'uli

لنبدأ إذن بالتساؤل

'let us begin therefore by wondering'

fa-l-takun qimmatan bi-lā siyāsatin

فلتكن قمة بلا سياسة

'so let it be a summit without politics'

li-yadḥabū li-l-šayṭāni jamī 'an

ليذهبوا للشيطان جميعا

'let them all go to the devil'

The passive is often used idiomatically as an indirect imperative: see 3.12.4.

3.24.3 Periphrastic commands

Periphrastic commands and calques with *da* 'دع, *taraka* ترك (▷C3:71).

The imperative *da* 'دع 'let' from *wada* 'a ودع 'to let', and *utruk* اترك 'leave' from *taraka* ترك 'to leave' are used with other verbs as also in CA, though now often as calques of 'let me', etc. The collocated verbs fluctuate between indep. (i.e. circumstantial qualifiers) and apoc. (i.e. pseudo-commands with perhaps a tinge of conditional syntax, cf. 8.1.2), as far as we can read in unvowelled texts.

The following can only be an indep. verb:

da 'ūnā **narā**

دعونا نرى

'let [masc. plur.] us **see**', namely, 'let us be seeing'

while here only an apoc. reading is possible:

da 'ūnā **nakun** wāqī 'iyyīna

دعونا نكون واقعيين

'let us **be** [apoc.] realistic', i.e. pseudo-conditional, 'leave us alone [and if you do] we will be realistic'

The following, however, are indeterminate:

da 'ūnī fī l-bidāyati 'u'abbir# 'an sa'ādātī l-ṣaḥṣiyyati

دعوني في البداية أعبر عن سعادتي الشخصية

'let me first **express** my personal happiness'

utrukūhā tulaqqin#hu darsan yanfa 'u

اتركوها تلقنه درسا ينفع

'let [masc. plur.] her **teach him** a lesson which will be useful'

In non-imperative contexts the two verbs are combined with circ. qualifiers (cf. 3.11.2.2, 3.11.2.3) in slightly divergent meanings of 'leave', with *wada* 'a ودع tending to denote 'allow' and *taraka* ترك 'leave [alone]', though with both there is a blurring between 'leave' and 'let' which cannot always be resolved.

wada 'a ودع:

kāna yuḥāwīlu juhdaḥu 'an lā yada 'a laḥẓatan tatasarrabu bayna yadayhi dūna kasbi ma'rifatin mā

كان يحاول جهده أن لا يدع لحظة تتسرب بين يديه دون كسب معرفة ما

'he tried his best not to let a moment **slip** between his hands without acquiring some knowledge or other'

yajibu 'an tada 'ahu yufakkiru fī l-munāsabati

يجب أن تدعه يفكر في المناسبة

'she must let him **think** about the occasion' or 'leave him **to think**'

taraka ترك. These are clearly circ. qual.:

taraka l-ba‘ḍa yatasā’alu ‘an sirri mā ḥadaṭa

ترك البعض يتساءل عن سر ما حدث

‘he left some [people] **wondering** about the secret of what had happened’

tarakūhu ya‘uddu ‘aṣābi‘a l-nadami

تركوه يعد أصابع الندم

‘they left him **counting** the fingers of regret’

but here the difference is not so clear:

tarakūhu ya‘ūdu

تركوه يعود

‘they let him **return**’ or ‘they left him **to return**’

tarakū l-‘umūra tasīru min sayyi‘in ‘ilā ‘aswa’a

تركوا الأمور تسير من سيء إلى أسوء

‘they left things **to go** from bad to worse’ or ‘let things **go**’

3.24.4 *halumma* هَلُمَّ + apoc. verb, ‘come on’, ‘hey there’ etc. (▷C3:11)

halumma natanāwal ṭa‘āma l-‘aṣā‘i

هلم نتناول طعام العشاء

‘**come on, let us take** the evening meal’

It inflects for number, as in the Egyptian national anthem:

halummū halummū li-majdi l-waṭani

هلموا هلموا لمجد الوطن

‘**Up! Up!** [masc. plur.] for the Glory of the Nation!’

3.24.5 Prohibitions

Prohibitions are expressed with *lā* لا ‘not’ and the 2nd person apoc. verb: (C1:81, 116, and see 4.4.1 for details). Only token examples are given here:

lā takun malakiyyan ‘aktara min-a l-maliki

لا تكن ملكيا أكثر من الملك

‘**do not be** more royalist than the king’

lā tajlis ‘alā l-ḥaṣā‘iṣ

لا تجلس على الحشاش

‘**do not sit** on the grass’

lā tadhashu

لا تدهسه

‘do not run him over’

3.24.6 Indirect prohibitions

Indirect prohibitions are expressed by *lā* لا ‘not’ and 1st or 3rd person apoc. verbs, commonly suffixed with *-anna* اِنَّ (▷C1:83, 117, and see 3.26) (see 4.4.2). Token examples:

wa-lā yazunnanna ‘aḥadun min banī ‘ādama ‘anna l-kilāba bi-lā ḍamīrin,
fa-hiya wafīyyatun ‘aktaru minka wa-minnī

ولا يظنن احد من بني آدم ان الكلاب بلا ضمير، فهي وفية اكثر منك ومني

‘let no human being suppose that dogs are without a conscience, for they are more faithful than you or I’

‘iḍan fa-lā naḥsabanna wa-l-ḥālatu hādīhi, ‘anna ...

إذن فلا نحسبن والحالة هذه، أن ...

‘so let us on no account reckon, while the situation is so, that ...’

3.24.7 Coordination of imperatives

Imperatives are coordinated in the usual way (▷C3:15, and see 6.2.1):

isma’ wa-ntabih

اسمع وانتبه

‘listen and pay attention’

arḥamnī wa-ḡfir lī

ارحمني واغفر لي

‘have mercy on me and forgive me’

3.25 OPTATIVES (▷C1:61)

Blessings, prayers and curses are still expressed in the CA style with the perfect verb (1.5.2.2). Cf. also 3.29.9 for the expression of wishes in the form of dep. nouns, the verbs elided.

3.25.1 Positive wishes

Positive wishes (*du'ā* 'calling down [blessing]') are expressed with the simple perfect verb:

būrikti بورككت 'may you be blessed', addressed to 2nd sing. fem.

rāfaḡatka l-sa'ādatu رافقتك السعادة 'may happiness accompany you'

Inevitably many of them are part of the religious vocabulary:

allāhu 'azza wa-jalla

الله عز وجل

'Almighty God' lit. 'God, may he be exalted and glorified'

Note: this translation reflects only the grammatical features of the construction, not its theological implications.

jaddī raḡimahu llāhu

جدي رحمه الله

'my [late] grandfather, may God have mercy on him'

ṣāḡhibu l-sumuwwi ra'īsu l-dawlati ḡafīḡahu llāhu

صاحب السمو رئيس الدولة حفظه الله

'His Excellency the Head of State, may God preserve him'

The occurrence of the imperf. in blessings may on the other hand reflect colloquial usage, especially with ag. + verb word order (hence transliterated here without inflection):

allāh yaḡfir lah wa-yarḡamuh

الله يغفر له ويرحمه

'may God forgive him and have mercy on him'

In religious contexts the target of the blessing is often elided as needing no mention (the blessings being in many cases specific to God, the Prophet, the early caliphs or saints):

nahānā ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama 'an ...

نهانا صلى الله عليه وسلم عن ...

'may God bless him and give him peace [i.e. Muḡammad] has forbidden us to ...'

Verbless sentences can also express a wish:

jibrā'īlu 'alayhi l-salāmu

جبرائيل عليه السلام

'Gabriel, upon him [be] peace'

3.25.2 Negative wishes

Negative wishes are expressed as in CA with *lā* لا ‘not’ and the simple perfect verb (▷C1: 61, 117, and see 4.2.1):

lā samaḥa llāhu لا سمح الله ‘God forbid’ lit. ‘**may** God **not** permit’

lā fuḍḍa fūka لا فض فوك ‘**may** your mouth **not** be broken’

Neg. wishes are also now expressed with *mā* ما:

wallāhi mā kāna ḍālika yā ‘abdallāhi

والله ما كان ذلك يا عبدالله

‘by God, **may** that **not** be, ‘Abdullāh’

The defective verb *laysa* ليس ‘not to be’ (see 4.2.8) is never used in optative meaning.

3.26 ENERGETIC FORM AND OATHS (▷C1:82)

The verb in oaths and other highly charged discourse (e.g. in indirect prohibitions, see above, 3.24.6) is often suffixed with *-anna* نَنْ (nūn al-tawkīd نون التوكيد ‘the *n* of emphasis’) producing the so-called energetic form (see 1.5.2.2; the lighter form of the suffix *-an* نْ survives only as an archaism). The energetic verb is mostly now prefixed with *la-* لـ, see 1.6.7. These forms are found mainly in literary contexts.

3.26.1

The energetic form of the verb is used to make very strong assertions:

la-’adḥabanna ’ilā l-ṣurṭati qabla ḍahābī ’ilā baytī

لأذهبن إلى الشرطة قبل ذهابي إلى البيت

‘**I shall definitely go** to the police before I go home’

ḥalaftu la-’aqūmanna bi-hāḍihi l-’iṣlāḥāti dūna ma’ūnatin min ’aḥadin

حلفت لأقومن بهذه الإصلاحات دون معونة من أحد

‘I swore **I would definitely carry out** these repairs without help from anyone’

3.26.2 Conditional

It may also be used in the apodosis of conditional sentences, in which case it is generally reinforced with *la-* لـ (▷C3:369, and cf. 8.2 for this particle in apodosis of *law* لو ‘if’ clauses):

'in 'as 'afanī l-ḥaẓẓu **la-'usaddidanna** kulla hādīhi l-duyūni

إن أسعفني الحظ لأسددن كل هذه الديون

'if fortune helps me, **I most certainly will settle** all these debts'

The same structure is used after formal oaths (see 2.17), though no examples were found in the data.

3.27 EXCLAMATORY VERBS

Here a number of miscellaneous structures are presented, some archaic or fossilized and in the process of replacement by new expressions.

3.27.1 Exclamatory 'how'

Exclamatory 'how + predicated quality' sentences (▷C2:210) are expressed by two constructions, both involving the elative pattern (see 1.8.6.2; 2.11, though the historical relationship is quite uncertain). One, the *mā 'af'ala* ما أفعل pattern, is still common, but the *'af'il bi-* بـ أفعل alternative has become rare and has not been seen in the data.

Syntactically these structures are now unanalysable: the presumption is that *mā 'aḥsanahu* ما أحسنه 'how handsome he is', for example, breaks down into '*what has made him handsome!' and the synonymous alternative *'aḥsin bihi* به أحسنه as '*make something handsome with him!'. The constructions are now completely fossilized, though apparently in no way threatened by replacement with calques.

In the *mā 'af'ala* ما أفعل type the quality to be exclaimed is expressed as an invariable elative and the bearer of the quality appears in the dep. form as if a dir. object:

mā 'aṭwala l-masāfata

ما أطول المسافة

'how **long the distance** [dep.] was'

mā 'aḥlāhā warā' al-yašmaki

ما أحلاها وراء اليشمك

'how **sweet she** [dep.] was behind the yashmak'

mā 'aktara l-majānīna fī hādīhi l-'ayyāmi

ما أكثر المجانين في هذه الأيام

'how **many lunatics** [dep.] there are nowadays'

mā 'ašadda waq'ahu 'alā nafsī

ما أشدّ وقعه على نفسي

'how **intensely it affected me**', lit. 'how **strong** was **its falling** upon me'

(contrast with *šadda mā* شدّ ما 3.27.3)

A variant with partitive or explanatory *min* من (2.6.12) is also seen:

mā 'arwa'ahu min gibṭatin

ما أروع من غبطة

'what **amazing bliss** it was', lit. 'how **amazing it was of bliss**'

In common with the elatives, this pattern can be formed on any type of word, there being no need (as in western languages) for a positive adjectival form as a base (e.g. long, longer, longest). Thus in *mā 'ahwajanī 'ilayki* ما أحوجني إليك 'how **much I [dep] need you**' *'ahwajanī* أحوجني '*great my need' is derived directly from the root letters *h-w-j* of the word *hājatun* حاجة 'need'. To be sure, MWA prefers the periphrastic *mā 'ašadda hājaṭī 'ilayki* ما أشد حاجتي إليك 'how **strong** is my **need** for you', but the CA construction is still recognized and seen occasionally.

If the focus of the exclamation is an action, it takes the form of a clause, either a subord. clause with *'an* أن (▷C3:274), functioning as the implicit object of the exclamation:

fi majāli l-šinā 'ati mā 'aṣ'aba 'an taltāqiya bi-l-ruwwādi

في مجال الصناعة ما أصعب أن تلتقي بالرواد

'in the field of industry **how difficult it is to meet** the pioneers',

lit. 'how difficult that you should meet'

mā 'ajmala 'an tataḥallā l-ma'ratu bi-l-'unūṭati

ما أجمل أن تتحلى المرأة بالأنوثة

'**how beautiful it is** for a woman **to adorn herself** with femininity',

lit. 'how beautiful that she adorn herself'

or a nominal rel. clause introduced by *mā* ما (▷C3:228, and see 5.6.2), again functioning as the implicit object of the exclamation:

wa-yakūnu 'ālamān ṣaḡīran, lākinnaḥu hašṣun mā 'asra'a mā yazūlu

ويكون عالما صغيرا لكنه هش ما أسرع ما يزول

'it may be a small world, but it is fragile, and **how quickly it will pass**

away', lit. 'how quickly what will pass'

mā 'aktara mā sa-yukšafu li ḥilāla l-'ayyāmi l-mutabaqqiyati

ما أكثر ما سيكشف لي خلال الأيام المتبقية

'**how much will be revealed** to me during the remaining days',

lit. 'how much what will be revealed'

mā 'ašadda mā 'u'ānī min 'alami l-ḡurbati wa-l-firāqi!

ما أشد ما أعاني من ألم الغربة والفراق!

'**how intense is** the pain of exile and separation **I am suffering!**'

lit. 'how intense what I am suffering of pain ...'

mā 'aktara mā yulāqīhi l-mar'u min dahrihi

ما أكثر ما يلاقيه المرء من دهره

'how much a man meets from his fate', lit. 'how much what a man meets'

To put these expressions into the past (which may also have conditional meaning, cf. 8.5.1) *kāna* كان is used (cf. *kāna* كان as a tense modifier in equational sentences, 3.16.3):

'innanī lam 'astakin-i l-'āna li-'uslūbin wāḥidin, mā kāna 'ashala ḍālika miṭlamā yaf'alu kaṭirun min-a l-kuttābi

إنني لم أستكن الآن لأسلوب واحد، ما كان أسهل ذلك مثلما يفعل كثير من الكتاب

'I have not now surrendered myself to a single style: **how easy that would be**, like many authors do'

See also 3.27.3 for a related construction.

For quantitative 'how much/many' + statements, see exclamatory *kam* كم in 3.28.2, which is beginning to overlap now with these exclamatory verbs.

3.27.2 'how good', 'how bad'

ni'ma نِعْم and *bi'sa* بِئْس are fossilized verbs restricted to exclamations in the pattern *ni'ma/bi'sa* نعم\بئس + agent. A fem. option was available in CA but was rare even then and has not been seen in the data:

fa-'anta ni'ma l-ṣadīqu

فأنت نعم الصديق

'and you, **what a good friend** [you are]', lit. 'you, how good [verb] the friend [agent]'

If the focus of the exclamation is an action it takes the form of a nominal rel. clause beginning with *mā* ما 'what' (see 5.4):

ni'ma mā tuqaddimu lī min-a l-naṣā'ihī

نعم ما تقدم لي من النصيحة

'**what good** advice **you are offering me**', lit. 'how good [verb] what you are offering me of advice [nom. rel. clause as agent]'

(for *mā ... min* ما ... من see 5.4.4)

bi'sa mā 'ulāqī min dahri wa-'ihwānī

بئس ما ألاقي من دهري وإخواني

'**how bad is what** I encounter from my time and my brethren', lit. 'how bad [verb] what I encounter [nom. rel. clause as agent]'

bi'sa mā tuḥaddituka bihi nafsuka min ḥiyali l-ṣayṭāni

بئس ما تحدثك به نفسك من حيل الشيطان

'**how bad is what** your mind **tells you** of the schemes of the Devil'

ni'imma نِعِمَّا (C3:194) is a respelling of the *ni'ma + mā* ما + نعم construction above, in which the rel. pron. *mā* ما has become fused with the verb. No examples were found in the data.

3.27.3 Other exclamatory expressions with *mā*

The following exclamatory expressions have nominal rel. clauses with *mā* ما + verb (see 5.6.2) as their agent or topic:

- *šattāna mā* شَتَّانَ ما, 'how different!' (▷C2:209, 3:194, and cf. *šattā* شَتَّى in 2.9.1.9):

lākin šattānā mā bayna 'amṭāri l-qāhirati wa-'āṣifati klīflānd

لكن شتان ما بين أمطار القاهرة وعاصفة كليفلاند

'but **what a difference** between the rains of Cairo and the storm[s] of Cleveland', lit. 'how **different is what** there is between'

- *sur'āna mā* سُرْعَانَ ما 'how quickly!' (▷C2:209, 3:217):

sur'āna mā yansā

سرعان ما ينسى

'how quickly he forgets'

sur'āna mā sayṭara farīqu ḡānā 'alā l-mubārātī

سرعان ما سيطر فريق غانا على المباراة

'how quickly the Ghana team took control of the match'

sur'āna mā taḥawwala l-ta'āṭifu 'ilā raḡbatin ḥaḡīqiyyatīn

سرعان ما تحول التعاطف الى رغبة حقيقة

'how quickly sympathy changed into a real desire'

- *šadda mā* شَدَّ ما 'how strongly!' (▷C3:217 and cf. ▷C2:458, and see also the exclamatory verbs in 3.27.1):

šadda mā 'aḥbābtuhum jamī'an kamā 'aḥabbūnī

شد ما أحببتهم جميعا كما أحبوني

'how strongly I loved them all as they loved me'

šādda mā tuḥzinunī

شد ما تحزنني

'how strongly it saddens me'

- *qallamā* قَلِمَا 'how rarely', spelt as one word (▷C3:213, and cf. *qalīlan mā* قَلِيلًا ما, 'rarely' 5.8.6) has the same syntax, though no examples were seen in the data.

3.27.4 Miscellaneous exclamations

The fossilized verb *ḥabbaḍā* حَبَّبَا contains the elements of the verb *ḥabba* حَبَّ ‘to love’ and a demonstrative *ḍā* ذَا ‘that’, but is completely invariable and simply used to introduce sentences expressing a strong wish, usually with *law* لَوْ ‘if only’ (see 8.2.8):

ḥabbaḍā law raja‘nā ‘ilā mā kāna baynanā min maḥabbatin

حَبَّبَا لَوْ رَجَعْنَا إِلَى مَا كَانَ بَيْنَنَا مِنْ مَحَبَّةٍ

‘how good it would be if we returned to the love that was between us’

It can be reinforced with the exclamation *yā* يَا ‘O’ (see also 2.16.1):

yā ḥabbaḍā law sami‘ta ba‘ḍa ḥāḍiḥi l-naṣā ‘iḥi

يَا حَبَّبَا لَوْ سَمِعْتَ بَعْضَ هَذِهِ النَّصَائِحِ

‘how lovely it would be if you listened to some of this advice’

Other uses of *yā* يَا:

With explanatory *min* مِنْ (cf. 2.6.12):

yā lahā min ta‘āsatin wa-ḥirmānin!

يَا لَهَا مِنْ تَعَاسَةٍ وَحِرْمَانٍ!

‘what misery and deprivation!’

yā lī min ḥā‘ulā‘i l-‘awlādī!

يَا لِي مِنْ هَؤُلَاءِ الْأَوْلَادِ!

‘God help me with these children!’

With *la-* لَ (cf. 2.**):

yā la-l-barā‘ati llatī kānat taṣī‘u ka-hālatin ḥawla wajhihā l-‘asmari!

يَا لِلْبَرَاءَةِ الَّتِي كَانَتْ تَشَعُّ كَحَالِهِ حَوْلَ وَجْهِهَا الْأَسْمَرِ!

‘O, what innocence radiated like a halo around her brown face!’

yā la-kaṭrati mā waqa‘a fī l-ikṭi‘ābi

يَا لَكثْرَةِ مَا وَقَعَ فِي الْاِكْتِنَابِ

‘O how often he fell into dejection’

The exclamation *hayhāta* هَيْهَاتَا (see also 2.16.7) expresses despair and disbelief, and introduces subordinate clauses with *‘an* أَنْ:

lākin hayhāta, hayhāta ‘an yalḥaqū bī ‘aw yaṣḥamūnī

وَلَكِنْ هَيْهَاتَا، هَيْهَاتَا أَنْ يَلْحَقُوا بِي أَوْ يَصْغَمُونِي

‘but how unlikely, how unlikely, that they will catch me up or understand me’

wa-lākin hayhāta lahā ‘an tanjaḥa fī šay‘in min ḍālika

وَلَكِنْ هَيْهَاتَا لَهَا أَنْ تَنْجَحَ فِي شَيْءٍ مِنْ ذَلِكَ

‘how remote it was that she would succeed in anything of that’

here with *hayhāta* هيهات localized with *li-* لـ ‘to’ as in *waylun laka* ويل لك ‘woe to you’ etc., see 2.16.4.

Elliptical exclamations usually assume an elided verb:

makānaka مكانك ‘[stop] **where you are!**’

a dep. locative qual. with elided verb *qif* قف ‘stop’, see 3.29.4.

However the verb may be unrecoverable or at least compulsorily deleted:

’ilayka ‘*annī* إليك عني ‘[get] **away from me**’, lit. ‘to you from me’

hāka هاك ‘[take] **this**’

An unrecoverable elided verb must be assumed with the dummy pron. prefix *’iyyā-* إيا (cf. 3.11.1.1) used in warnings and threats:

’iyyāka ‘*an taqūma bi-ḥarakatin* ‘uḥrā

إياك أن تقوم بحركة أخرى

‘don’t make another move’, lit. [watch out for] **yourself** that you make another move’

’iyyāki *wa-ṣadīqātiki l-mutabarrijāti*

إياك وصديقاتك التبرجات

‘**you** [fem. sing.] watch out for your prettied-up girl-friends’

This isolated variant may have accidentally lost the conjunction *’an* أن:

’iyyāka taḏunnu ‘*annanā* ‘*adīmātu l-raḥmati*

إياك تظن اننا عديمات الرحمة

‘you beware of **thinking** that we are devoid of mercy’

for *’an taḏunna* أن تظن ‘that you think’

See further 2.16.4 on the *wa-* و ‘and’ with dep. form in this construction.

3.28 EXCLAMATORY SENTENCES WITH *wa-* و, *rubba* رَبّ, *kam* كم AND OTHER INTERROGATIVES

3.28.1 *wa-* and *rubba*

wa- و and *rubba* رَبّ (cf. ▷C2:207) are two particles which take oblique nouns as the topics of exclamatory sentences, though no example of this construction with *wa-* و was found in the data, and it can be presumed to be obsolete.

While etymologically *rubba* رَبّ is undoubtedly connected with the idea of ‘much’, ‘many’ (cf. also *rubbamā* رُبّما ‘frequently’, ‘maybe’ etc., 3.30.2), the history of *wa-* و in this function is not clear. Like the *wa-* و which takes dep.

forms (3.29.8) it is a homophone of the simple conjunction *wa-* و ‘and’ (6.1) but may not be etymologically related; at all events it is termed *wāw rubba* ‘the *wa-* و which means *rubba* رَبّ’ to distinguish it from the other function of *wa-* و with obl. nouns used with curses and oaths (see *wāw al-qasam* ‘the *wa-* و of swearing an oath’ in 2.17).

rubba faqīrīn muhānin yakūnu lahu min-a l-sumuwwi mā yafūqu ‘a ‘āzima l-‘arḍi

رب فقير مهان يكون له من السمو ما يفوق أعظم الأرض

‘many a despised **poor man** may have a share of majesty which exceeds that of the great ones of the earth’

3.28.2 *kam*, exclamatory

kam كم ‘how much’, ‘how many’ (▷C1:158) is used both interrogatively (with dep. nouns, see 10.7) and expletively. Unlike interrogative *kam* كم, the expletive *kam* كم is followed by obl. nouns in the position of topics, or, when the sense requires it, by nominal or verbal sentences. There is now some overlap between *kam* كم sentences and the traditional CA exclamatory verbs which are still used, see 3.27.1.

- With nouns:

ḍā‘at minnī .. kam marratīn ḍā‘at

ضاعت مني .. كم مرة ضاعت

‘she eluded me .. how many **times** she eluded me’

- Alternatively with an explanatory *min* من: (see 2.6.12):

wa-kam min-a l-bākīna! .. kam min-a l-bukā‘i!

وكم من الباكين! .. كم من البكاء!

‘And how many **weepers**! How much **weeping**!’

kam min-a l-sanawāti marrat

كم من السنوات مرت

‘**how many years** passed’

- With nom. sentences:

kam hiya sa‘īdatun fī bilādikum

كم هي سعيدة في بلادكم

‘how **happy she is** in your country’

allāh# kam ‘anti jamīlatun yā ‘ummi

الله كم أنت جميلة يا أمي

‘God [probably uninflected, pausal], how **beautiful you are**, mother’

kam huwa muḥtālun, yā laylā

كم هو محتال، يا ليلي
'how **cunning** he is, Layla'

- With verbal sentences:

fa-kam wajadtuhu ṭarīfan

فكم وجدته طريفا
'and how witty I **found** him'

(cf. *wajada* وجد + 2 obj., 3.11.2.3)

kam ḥannat rūḥi 'ilā tilka-l-'ayyāmi l-ba'īdati

كم حنت روحي إلى تلك الأمني البعيدة
'how my spirit **yearned** for those distant days'

kam 'atamannā faṣlaka 'anta wa-jamī'i l-'aṭibbā'i 'amtālika

كم أتمنى فصلك أنت وجميع الأطباء أمثالك
'how I **hope** for your dismissal, you and all doctors like you!'

(cf 6.2.2 on coordination of bound pron. to noun in *faṣlaka 'anta wa-jamī'i l-'aṭibbā'i* 'the dismissal of you and of all doctors' and 2.9.2.1 for *amtālika* أمثالك lit. 'the likes of you' in apposition to 'doctors')

kam kuntu ḥamqā'a

كم كنت حمقا
'how stupid I **was**' (fem. speaker)

- *kam* كم is sometimes reinforced with the emphatic prefix *la-* لـ (see 1.6.7):

la-kam-i ntaẓartu 'an ta'tiya

لكم انتظرت أن تأتي
'how **very long** I waited for you to come'

wa-la-kam 'addā 'ilā faṣli kaṭīrin min-a l-zijāti fī hūliwūd

ولكم أدى الى فشل كثير من الزيجات في هوليوود
'how often it led to the failure of marriages in Hollywood'

3.28.3 Exclamatory rhetorical questions

The interrogatives 'ayyu أي 'which', 'what?' (see 10.6) and kayfa كيف 'how?' (10.9) are used in rhetorical questions with exclamatory force:

ba'da 'an yabisat šifāhā min-a l-ḥawfi wa-'ayyi ḥawfin

بعد أن يبست شفاها من الخوف وأي خوف
'after its [= Beirut's] lips had dried from fear, and **what** fear'

'*ayyu muṣādafatin* 'an nusāfira jamī 'an fī qīṭārin wāḥidin!

أي مصادفة أن نساfer جميعا في قطار واحد!

'**what a coincidence** that we are all travelling in the same train!'

(note that 'ayyu أي need not agree in gender with its noun)

'ayyu أي is also found in the form 'ayyumā أيما (▷C3:228), which would eliminate the interrogative sense (cf. 5.6.3 for this mā ما suffix):

tuḥadditunī nafsī bihā wa-lākin 'ayyumā ḥadīṭin

تحدثني نفسي بها ولكن أيما حديث

'my inner self talks to me about it, but **what talk**'

(default indep. 'ayyumā أيما here)

istafza 'a l-'amra 'ayyamā stifẓā'in

استفزع الأمر أيما استفزع

'he was **utterly appalled** at the matter', lit. 'was appalled, with what being appalled'

here with a displaced abs. obj. after 'ayyamā أيما, see 2.4.2.3, 3.29.3

kayfa كيف (▷C1:163, and see 10.9):

kayfa lī 'an 'aṣifa ḥalāwata tilka l-'ayyāmi

كيف لي أن أصف حلاوة تلك الأيام

'**how shall I explain** the sweetness of those days',

lit. 'how is it for me to ...?'

3.29 DEPENDENT NOUN OBJECTS AND COMPLEMENTS

Dep. noun objects and complements are only briefly illustrated here: the details are in other sections as indicated, esp. their phrase structure in 2.4. The common feature of all these dep. complements is that they occur after the minimal sentence has been formally completed, either subj. + pred or verb + agent, though they have considerable freedom in position in relation to the other two elements (3.7.4).

Complementized clauses with 'anna أن and 'an ان are dealt with in Chapter 7.

3.29.1 Direct object

Direct object, *maf'ūl bihi* به مفعول 'thing to which the action is done' (2.4.1 and cf. transitivity in 3.11):

ṣāra 'at-i l-mawta

صارعت الموت

'she fought **death**'

yusā 'idna **l-maḥrūmīna** wa-yaqṭa 'na 'ālāfa l-'amyāli li-najdati l-'atfāli
يساعدن المحرومين ويقطعن آلاف الأميال لنجدة الأطفال
'they [fem. plur.] help the **deprived** [dir. obj.] and cover **thousands**
[dir. obj.] of miles to aid children'

This includes all the other dep. elements with dir. obj. status, e.g. pred. of *kāna*
كان 'to be' (3.16.2) and its related verbs:

kāna **muhandisan** zirā 'iyyan
كان مهندسا زراعيا
'he was an agricultural **engineer**'

3.29.2 Two direct objects

There are various kinds of double transitivity (see 3.11.2), and only token
examples are given here:

tuḥammilu 'amrīkā mas'ūliyyata mā yaḥduṭu
تحمل أميركا مسؤولية ما يحدث
'[they] charge **America** [1st dir. obj.] with **the responsibility** [2nd dir. obj.]
for what is happening'

bi-sur'atin 'ansathu **tiqla** ḥaqābatihī
بسرعة أنسته ثقل حقيبته
'with a speed which made **him** [1st dir. obj.] forget **the weight** [2nd dir. obj.]
of his suitcase'

3.29.3 Absolute object

Absolute object, *maf'ūl muṭlaq* مفعول مطلق, lit. 'unqualified thing done'
(▷C2:170, 444; and see 2.4.2), is so called because it consists of a verbal noun
cognate with the verb as an unqualified object, i.e. not labelled as being one of the
other objects. It has no closely equivalent structure in English and is usually
translated adverbially or periphrastically:

wa-mtaṣṣahā hādā l-ta'abu mtiṣāṣan
وامتصها هذا التعب امتصاصا
'this tiredness **completely swallowed her up**', lit. 'swallowed her up a
swallowing'

ḥasira ḥasāratan fādiḥatan
خسر خسارة فادحة
'**he lost heavily**', lit. 'he lost a heavy losing'

'a-laysa *wāḍiḥan wuḍūḥa* l-šamsi?

أليس واضحاً وضوح الشمس؟

'is it not **as clear as** the sun?', lit. 'clear the being clear'

With passive verbs:

'*uniya* l-fuqahā'u 'ināyatan kabīratan bi-

عني الفقهاء عناية كبيرة بـ

'the jurists were **greatly concerned** with ...', lit. 'were concerned a great being concerned'

'*ūmilā mu'āmalatan* mumtāzatan

عوملاً معاملة ممتازة

'they were both **treated** splendidly', lit. 'were treated a splendid treating'

With verbless (nom.) sentences:

huwa šaḥīḥun kulla l-šihḥati

هو صحيح كل الصحة

'it is **completely true**', lit. 'it is true [with] the whole of truth' (see 2.4.2.3)

3.29.3.1 The abs. obj. is to be distinguished from dir. objs which happen to be cognate, e.g. *sa'ala su'ālān* سأل سؤالاً 'he asked **a question**'. Some instances are simply paranomasia (see 11.7.4), serving as semantic fillers rather than emphasisers >C2:442, 443):

yaqifu l-yawma *mawqifa* l-'ājizi 'an tanfiḍihi

يقف اليوم موقف العاجز عن تنفيذه

'he **stands** today in the position of one incapable of carrying out [his promise]', lit. 'in the **standing place** of'

hādīhi l-'amā'iru l-ḡaḥmatu matā *ḥallat maḥalla* l-buyūti l-'atīqati l-mutahāwiyati??

هذه العمائر الضخمة متى حلت محل البيوت العتيقة المتهاوية؟؟

'these huge buildings, when did they **take the place of** the old, crumbling houses?'

qabiltu šābban ya'malu 'amalan mihniyyan muḥtaraman

قبلت شاباً يعمل عملاً مهنيًا محترمًا

'I accepted a young man who **worked in** a respectable professional **job**'

la-qad quddira lahu 'an yajlisa majlisa 'ustāḍihi

لقد قدر له أن يجلس مجلس أستاذه

'he was destined to **sit in the place of** his professor'

For paranomasia to denote a vague dir. obj. see 3.11.1.2

3.29.3.2 Although they are now syntactically autonomous, the many new adverbials in the masc. *nisba* نسبة adj. form (see 2.5.1) might well have been originally qualifiers of an elided abs. obj. of either gender, but have now become fixed in the masc.:

taḥsaru l-ḥarba siyāsiyyan
 تخسر الحرب سياسيا
 ‘will lose the war **politically**’

with masc. adverbial although the verbal noun here would be fem. *ḥasāratan* خسارة ‘a losing’.

3.29.4 Locative object

Locative object, *mafʿūl fihi* مفعول فيه ‘thing in which the action is done’ or *ẓarf* ظرف ‘container’, ‘vessel’, 2.4.3.

Time, *ẓarf al-zamān* ظرف زمان ‘time container’ (▷C2:173; and see 2.4.3.1):

lākin ḥādīhi l-marrata kāna l-muṣawwirūna ḥādīrīna
 لكن هذه المرة كان المصورون حاضرين
 ‘but **this time** the photographers were present’
kānat jamīlatan tilka l-ʿayyāma
 كانت جميلة تلك الأيام
 ‘she was beautiful **in those days**’

kutaybun kuntu qaraʾtuhu ẓamāna l-murāḥaqati
 كتيب كنت قرأته زمن المراهقة
 ‘a little book I had read **in the time of** [my] adolescence’

Place, *ẓarf al-makān* ظرف مكان ‘place container’ (▷C2:180; and see 2.4.3.2):

yaltafītu l-nāsu yamīnan wa-yasāran baḥṭan ʿan maḥrajīn
 يلتفت الناس يمينا ويسارا بحثا عن مخرج
 ‘the people look **right and left** searching for a way out’

(the last phrase is a purposive obj., see 3.29.6)

daḥḥa ʿalā jānībīn
 دفعته جانبا
 ‘I pushed her **aside**’ or ‘**to one side**’

3.29.5 Specifying complement

Specifying complement, *tamyīz* تمييز ‘distinguishing element’ (▷C2:184). At the phrase level (see 2.4.4) this is an indef. dep. noun which indicates the content of a

number between 11 and 99 (e.g. 'išrūna *raġulan* 'عشرون رجلا' '20 men', see 2.4.4, 2.12.4) or the term of a comparative or superlative structure (e.g. 'akbaruĥum *sinnan* 'أكبرهم سنا' 'the greatest of them in age', see 2.11). At the sentence level this complement is an indef. dep. noun which provides specific information about an antecedent, usually the agent or subject, and loosely corresponds to expressions such as 'in terms of', 'as to':

daḡa 'ū 'a 'māraĥum tamanan li-l-ḡuṣūli 'alā l-ma'rifati

دفعوا أعمارهم ثمنا للحصول على المعرفة

'they paid their lives **as the price** of obtaining knowledge'

al-ḡadītu yaḡūlu 'an ṣarīf 'abāza 'insānan wa-fannānan

الحديث يطول عن شريف أبازة أنسانا وفنانا

'there is a lot to say about Sharīf 'Abaza **as a person and artist**'

yakādu yatawawḡaju ta'alluḡan wa-jamālan wa-ṣiḡḡatan wa-'āfiyatan

يكاد يتوهج تألقا وجمالا وصحة وعافية

'he almost glows with [inner] **radiance, beauty, health and well-being**'

Commonly with *zāda* زاد 'to increase', *izdāda* ازداد 'to increase', *qalla* قل 'to be little', 'to be few':

al-iḡtirā'ātu l-muyassiratu li-l-ḡayāti tazdādu 'adadan

الاختراعات الميسرة للحياة تزداد عددا

'inventions making life easier **are increasing in number**',

lit. 'grow more as to number'

yu'ānūna min ṡurūḡin tazdādu sū'an

يعانون من ظروف تزداد سوءا

'they are suffering from circumstances which **become increasingly bad**'

i.e. 'worse', see 2.4.4.1

mimmā yazīdu l-muṣkilata ta'qīdan

مما يزيد المشكلة تعقيدا

'which makes the problem **more complex**'

There is now an overlap with *ka-* كـ 'as' (see 2.6.8):

ṡāra ṡituhu ka-kātibin

طار صيته ككاتب

'his fame **as a writer** spread'

3.29.6 Purposive object

Purposive object, *maḡ'ūl lahu*, *min 'ajlihi* or *li-'ajlihi* لأجله، من أجله، all 'thing for [the sake of] which the action is done' (l>C2:172; and see 2.4.5), an indef. dep. verbal noun which expresses the reason for an action:

sa-takūnu jāhizatan ma'a nihāyati l-šahri l-jārī tamhīdan li-raḥīhā 'ilā wazīri l-ṣiḥḥati

ستكون جاهزة مع نهاية الشهر الجاري تمهيدا لرفعها إلى وزير الصحة
'it will be ready by the end of the current month **in preparation for** submitting it to the Minister of Health'

daf'an li-'ayyi ltibāsin 'akkada 'alā 'anna ...

دفعاً لأي التباس أكد على أن ...
'to dispel any confusion he stressed that ...'

(note flexible word order, see 3.7.4)

wa-qad daḥalat fī l-ḥilfi ta'zīzan li-quḍratihā 'alā muwājahati 'ayyi tahdīdin

وقد دخلت في الحلف تعزيزاً لقدرتها على مواجهة أي تهديد
'it entered into the alliance **in order to strengthen** its ability to face any threat'

raddan 'alā ḥiṭaṭi turkiyā li-l-ḥaddi min ḥarakati murūri nāqilāti l-naḥṭi qāla l-wazīru ...

رداً على خطط تركيا للحد من حركة مرور ناقلة النفط قال الوزير ...
'**in response to** Turkey's plans to restrict the movement of oil tankers the minister said ...'

(the verbal noun retains the prep. of its indirectly trans. verb, 3.11.4, and note flexible word order, 3.7.4)

wa-dālika buḡyata 'iḡrā'i 'asyādihi bi-suhūlati faṭḥihā

وذلك بغية إغراء أسياها بسهولة فتحها
'that being **in the desire of spurring on** his leaders by the ease of conquering it'

(note annexation to another verbal noun)

kāna sukūtu l-'alsuni 'an-i l-ḥawḍi fī l-ḥadīṭi 'anhumā ḥtirāman wa-'ijlālan li-tilka l-'aḥlāqi

كان سكوت الألسن عن الخوض في الحديث عنهما احتراماً وإجلالاً لتلك الأخلاق
'the silence of the tongues from talking about them [dual] was **out of respect and reverence** for those morals'

3.29.6.1 It is still very common, but can always be paraphrased with *li-* 'for', 'in order to' with a verbal noun:

li-ta'zīzi l-minṭaqati l-ḥudūdiyyati

لتعزيز المنطقة الحدودية
'**for the strengthening of** the border region'

3.29.7 Circumstantial qualifier, *ḥāl* حال ‘situation’, ‘circumstance’

This is a dep. noun, adj. or participle (▷C2:192, and see 2.4.6) which indicates the circumstances (in principle temporary) of its antecedent. It thus denotes a quality, state or process, and answers the question ‘how?’. It is always dep. and normally also indef., but unless it is a noun it agrees in number and gender with its antecedent:

maḍā muqāṭi‘an-i l-ḥiwāra

مضى مقاطعا الحوار

‘he went, **breaking off** [masc. sing.] the conversation’

saqāṭat ṣarī‘ata naẓratin ḥāṭifatin li-l-muḥāsibi l-ṣābbi

سقطت صريعة نظرة خاطفة للمحاسب الشاب

‘she fell **victim** [fem. sing.] to a stolen glance from the young accountant’

(see 2.3.2 for the indef. status of *ṣarī‘ata* by annexation to an indef. noun)

ḥarajtu qāṣidan maktaba l-ṣayḥi

خرجت قاصدا مكتب الشيخ

‘I left, **making for** [masc. sing.] the chief’s office’

With nouns:

kāna ya‘malu qunṣulan

كان يعمل قنصلا

‘he was working **as a consul**’

lam taḥḍuṭ lahu ṣudfatan

لم تحدث له صدفة

‘they did not happen to him **accidentally**’, lit. ‘being an accident’

tarakatnī yaṭīman

تركتني يتيما

‘she left me **an orphan**’

For the sentence-*ḥāl* both verbal and nominal see subordinate clauses in 7.3.

3.29.8 Accompanying object

Accompanying object, *maf‘ūl ma‘ahu* مفعول معه ‘thing with which the action is done’, and regarded as an obj. even though it must always be prefixed with *wa-* و ‘and [together with]’. This *wa-* و (treated as a variety of the coordinating conjunction *wa-* و ‘and’, see 6.2) is therefore termed *wāw ma‘īyya* ‘“and” meaning “together with”’: see 2.4.7 for details. It was never a very common construction

(and occurs now mostly with reciprocal verbs), and can be replaced by *ma'a* مع 'with' or an appropriate verb form (cf. 3.11.4):

hāḏā l-ta'yīdu llaḏī yattaḏīqu wa-juhdahu l-da'ūba

هذا التأييد الذي يتفق وجهوده الدؤوب

'this support which agrees **with** his constant **effort**'

tumattīlu taṣ'idan ḥaṭīran lā yattaḏīqu wa-l-mawāṭiqā l-duwaliyyata

تمثل تصعيدا خطيرا لا يتفق والمواثيق الدولية

'it represents a dangerous escalation which does not agree **with** international **covenants**'

See also 3.27.4 for *'iyyāka* إياك 'you watch out!' in expressions of warning, often combined with this *wa-* و.

3.29.9 Free dependent forms

A great many expressions, mostly wishes, greetings, etc. consist of dep. nouns (nearly always indef.) which are taken to be the objects (of one sort or another) of elided verbs, usually with compulsory deletion of the relevant verb. In the samples below no attempt is made to reconstruct the elided elements, which may in fact no longer be recoverable (▷C2:206, and see also 2.16.3):

'ahlan wa-sahlan

أهلا وسهلا

'welcome', lit. 'as one of the family and in ease'

qudūman mubārakan

قدوما مباركا

'a blessed arrival' (on return from pilgrimage)

šukran

شكرا

'thank you'

'afwan

عفوا

'excuse me, don't mention it'

hanī'an marī'an

هنيئا مريئا

'good appetite', lit. 'tastily and easily'

For the general expression of wishes see 3.25.

3.30 RESTRICTIVES

Restrictives with *'innamā* إنما, *rubbamā* ربّما, *faqat* فقط (and cf. *la'alla* لعل 'maybe' 3.2.5, and *bal* بل 'nay', 'but' 6.6).

3.30.1 *'innamā* إنما 'only'

'innamā إنما 'only' (▷C3:202) is nearly always used contrastively, i.e. to contradict or modify a previous assertion in the sense of 'only', 'merely', 'simply'. It has the peculiarity (contrast *faqat* فقط below, 3.30.3) that it never restricts the immediately following element in the Arabic, as will be apparent from the highlighted words in the examples (though the translation attempts to apply the restriction in the natural English way):

'ulā 'ika llaḍīna lam yu'minū bi-l-'islām, wa-'innamā ṣālahū l-dawlata al-'islāmiyyata

أولئك الذين لم يؤمنوا بالإسلام، وإنما صلّحوا الدولة الإسلامية

'those who did not believe in Islam, but had come to terms with the Islamic **state only**', i.e. had a purely secular affiliation

ya'taqidūna 'anna ḍālika 'innamā yatimmu 'alā ḥisābi l-ihtimāmi bi-l-ḥadāṭati

يعتقدون أن ذلك إنما يتم على حساب الاهتمام بالحدّات

'they believe that this can be accomplished **only at the cost of** concern for modernism', i.e. not by any other means

In this example the *huwa* هو is interposed to ensure that *'innamā* إنما restricts *naw'un* نوع 'kind' and not *ra'simāliyya* رأسمالية 'capitalism':

lam yamutta 'ilā l-iṣṭirākiyyati bi-ṣīlatin 'innamā huwa naw'un min ra'simāliyyati l-dawlati

لم يمت إلى الاشتراكية بصلة إنما هو نوع من رأسمالية الدولة

'it had no connection at all with socialism, but was **merely a kind of** state capitalism', not 'a kind of mere state capitalism'

Occasionally the emphasis is achieved through more than one restrictive:

'innamā yarjī 'u stiḥdāmuhā 'ilā zīrā'ati l-quṭni faqat

إنما يرجع استخدامها إلى زراعة القطن فقط

'its use relates **merely to cotton farming only**'

wa-hum laysū kuttāban wa-'innamā mujarradu muwazzafīna

وهم ليسوا كتابا وإنما مجرد موظفين

'they are not secretaries, they are **only mere bureaucrats**'

in this case *mujarradu* مجرد (see 2.8.4, here read in indep. form as a pred. of *hum* هم 'they') intervenes to allow *'innamā* إنما to restrict *muwazzafīna* موظفين.

A reading *mujarrada* مجرد would be possible if it were in apposition to *kuttāban* كتابا, dep. pred. of *laysa* ليس, 'not secretaries [dep.] but only mere [dep. by apposition] bureaucrats'

3.30.2 *rubbamā* ربما 'frequently', 'perhaps'

rubbamā ربما originally meant 'occasionally' or 'frequently' but has since come to replace *la'alla* لعل 'perhaps', 'maybe' (▷C1:62, ▷C3:225, and see 3.2.5) in many contexts. It is sometimes difficult to determine which meaning is intended:

*bi-l-raḡmi min dālika yuṭlabu min-a l-mar'ati 'allā tu'abbira mubāšaratan
'an ḡaḍabihā wa-rubbamā 'allā ta'iyahu 'ayḍan*

بالرغم من ذلك يطلب من المرأة ألا تعبر مباشرة عن غضبها وربما ألا تعيه أيضا
'in spite of that it is demanded of a woman that she not express her anger
directly and **often/maybe** that she not be aware of it either'

3.30.2.1 In its original meaning of 'frequently':

rubbamā yamūtūna fī sabīli 'afkārihim

ربما يموتون في سبيل أفكارهم
'**often** they die for the sake of their ideas'

3.30.2.2 In its modern meaning of 'perhaps', 'maybe':

rubbamā ya'tī raddu l-fi'li salbiyyan

ربما يأتي رد الفعل سلبيا
'**perhaps** the reaction will be negative'

taqtaribu min-a l-'alfi junayhin wa-rubbamā yazīdu

تقترب من الألف جنيه وربما يزيد
'it approaches a thousand pounds and **perhaps** more', lit. 'it exceeds'

*rubbamā lam nakun nastahiqqu mā kāna ladaynā wa-rubbamā kunnā
fawḍawīyyīna*

ربما لم نكن نستحق ما كان لدينا وربما كنا فوضويين
'**perhaps** we did not deserve what we had and **perhaps** we were anarchists'

rubbamā ربما differs from *la'alla* لعل (3.2.5) structurally in that it is an adv. and need not be first in the clause or followed by a complete sentence (thus it can stand alone as the complete answer to a question, see 10.12.4), and also that it is less concerned with expressing hopes or expectations. Thus in the following example *la'alla* لعل could not be used:

sa-'ūladu marratan tāliṭatan rubbamā bi-ṭarīqati l-'anābībi

سأولد مرة ثالثة ربما بطريقة الأنبيب
'I shall be born a third time, **perhaps** by the method of test tubes'

3.30.3 *faqat* فقط 'only'

faqat فقط 'only' (cf. 2.5.1) is a free adverbial and is positioned nearest (before or after) to the element it restricts, and often seen in the calque 'not only ... but also' (see 4.2.8.4). Unlike *'innamā* إنما it restricts only the adjacent element and is generally confined to its clause rather than contrasting with the previous context as *'innamā* إنما does:

faqat 'aradtu 'an 'unāqiṣa

فقط أردت أن أناقش

'I **only** wanted to discuss'

taḥtāju *faqat* 'ilā tabwibin

تحتاج فقط إلى تبويب

'it needs **only** to be put into chapters'

kānat 'asliḥatunā *faqat* hiya 'aydiyanā

كانت أسلحتنا فقط هي أيدينا

'our weapons were **only** our hands'

See 2.5.1 for *fa-ḥasbu* فحسب 'and that is enough' and *ḥasbuka* حسبك 'enough for you' (▷C3:21, refers to ▷C1:32). Cf. also 2.8.4 *mujarrad* مجرد 'mere[ly]'.

3.31 *'idā* إذا and *'id* إذ of surprise

'idā إذا and *'id* إذ can introduce nom. sentences with the sense of 'all of a sudden', 'lo and behold!'. The predicates are usually verbs (effectively comment on the topic, cf. 3.7.2.1) or prepositional phrases.

3.31.1 *'idā* إذا

The so-called *'idā l-mufāja'a* إذا المفاجأة 'the *'idā* of surprise' (▷C3: 253, 292) introduces sentences in the pattern *'idā* إذا + indep. noun + pred., retaining its original deictic sense of 'lo' and focusing on the topic, with the subsequent comment being regarded as a sudden or unexpected event:

yataṭalla 'u fa-*'idā* huwa fī muntaṣafi l-taqāṭu 'i

يتطلع فإذا هو في منتصف التقاطع

'he looks around and there **he is in the middle of the intersection**'

fa-*'idā* hiya tufīḍu 'alayya 'anwārahā ḡayra l-mawṣūfati

فإذا هي تفيض علي أنوارها غير الوصوفه

'and suddenly **she radiated** over me her indescribable lights',

lit. 'there she [was] radiating ...'

wa- 'idā hiya ta 'kifu 'alā l-dirāsati bi-nahmin wa-ḥamāsin

وإذا هي تعكف على الدراسة بنهم وحماس

'lo, she was immersing herself in study with appetite and enthusiasm'

Verbs with *qad* قد clearly denote a pluperfect sense (▷C3:293, and cf. 3.10.6):

jaraytu 'abḥaṭu 'anhum fa- 'idā hum qad-i ḥtafaw fī-l-ḍabābi

جريت أبحث عنهم فإذا هم قد اختفوا في الضباب

'I ran to look for them but, lo and behold, they had disappeared in the fog'

An alternative and equally common structure is with *bi-* ب + noun (▷C3:253, 294):

fataḥat māriyā 'aynayhā fa- 'idā bihā fī nafsi l-ḡurfati

فتحت ماريًا عينيها فإذا بها في نفس الغرفة

'Maria opened her eyes and, lo and behold, she was [still] in the same room' (non-verbal pred.)

'idā bi-l-zamāni yafqidu manṭiqiyatahu

إذا بالزمان يفقد منطقيته

'suddenly time is losing its logicity'

wa- 'idā bi- 'ammatihā tašma 'izzu minhā

وإذا بعمتها تشمئز منها

'and now here was her aunt being disgusted by her'

wa 'idā bi-mutaḥaddiṭin yasta 'riḍu jumlatan min-a l- 'injāzāti l-maw 'ūdati li-l-mustaqbali

وإذا بمتحدث يستعرض جملة من الإنجازات الموعودة للمستقبل

'and then suddenly there was a speaker reviewing a number of the achievements promised for the future'

'ida bī ... ka- 'annī إذا بي ... كأني (▷C3:295):

wa- 'ida bī 'uḥissu bi-nafsī wa-ka- 'annī 'asbaḥu fī 'ālamīn min-a l- 'awhāmi wa-l- 'aḥyilati

وإذا بي أحس بنفسي وكأنني أصبح في عالم من الأوهام والأخيلة

'and I suddenly felt as if I was swimming in a world of illusions and fantasies', lit. 'lo with me, I have a sense of myself and as if'

(cf. *wa-ka- 'anna* وكان in 7.1.2 introducing circ. qual.)

3.31.2 'idā

The 'id of surprise' *'id al-mufāja'a* المفاجأة (▷C3:285) has the same syntax as *'idā* إذا above but is never followed by *bi-* ب:

tasallaltu dāḥilan fī l-ẓalāmi wa- 'id-i l-'anwāru tuḍā'u faj'atan

تسللت داخلا في الظلام وإذ الأنوار تضاء فجأة

'I slipped in, entering in the dark, and lo and behold **the lights** are suddenly **switched on**'

Examples with verbal sentences were not found.

4 NEGATIVES

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Negation in MWA is effected by a spectrum of particles and verbs determined by the particular item being negated, which ranges from the whole sentence to any part of it.

The position of certain negative particles and their concomitant parts in relation to the rest of the sentence or phrase is becoming more and more flexible in MWA. Nonetheless it is a minimum rule that all neg. particles precede the element they negate. Some neg. particles negate more than one type of sentence, which may also necessitate a different accompanying grammatical structure such as the use of a different form of the verb.

One major change in the more recent history of the negative structure has been the gradual reduction in the use of the particle *mā* ما ‘not’ for negation, especially in verbal sentences. It is generally held that the wide use of this particle in many dialects has been largely responsible for its decreased usage in MWA, with many writers perhaps regarding it as a stigmatized form in writing. All the old structures using this particle still occur however, but with less frequency than before.

4.1 NOMINAL SENTENCES

(Neg. compound nouns and adjs are dealt with at 12.6)

4.1.1 *mā* ما ‘not’ (▷C1:44; 106; 108; 110)

The use of *mā* ما to negate nom. sentences (cf. *laysa* ليس below 4.2.8; cf. also 9.1 for its use in exceptive sentences) appears to have been the preserve of CA. No examples of the type *mā hādā bašarun/bašaran* ما هذا بشرًا/بشرا were found as part of the data collected for this book. However, that is not to say that archaic structures of this type would not be used occasionally by some writers.

mā ما ‘not’ + partitive *min* من ‘of’ followed by an indef. noun denies the existence of one entity of a category, e.g. there is not a single doubt (here, though there may be elsewhere); but it does not deny the existence of the whole category like the *lā* لا of categorical denial, 4.1.2:

wa-mā min šakkin 'anna l-kaṭīra min duwali l-'ālamī tu'ānī min 'azamātin-i qtiṣādiyyatin

وما من شك أن الكثير من دول العالم تعاني من أزمات اقتصادية
'there is not a doubt that many world states are suffering from economic crises'

(note that fem. sing. *tu'ānī* تعاني 'suffer' agrees by attraction with broken plur. *al-duwali* الدول 'states', and not its grammatical agreement *al-kaṭīra* الكثير 'a large quantity', cf. 3.8.4):

mā min mudā'abatīn 'aḥḍaṭat radda fī 'līn

ما من مداعبة أحدثت رد فعل
'not one joke caused a reaction'

mā min rajulīn taraddada 'alā l-sarāy li-ša'nīn mā

ما من رجل تردد على السراي لشأن ما
'not one man frequented the harem for any reason at all' (see 5.6.3 for *mā* of vagueness in *ša'nīn mā* شأن ما)

- *mā* 'not' with a noun/pronominal subj. and its pred. – either adj. or noun – introduced by the prep. *bi-* بـ (▷C1:102; ▷C2:308; also ▷C1:115 for *lā* لا with the same function) (cf. 4.2.8.1 *bi-* بـ with *laysa* ليس).

mā huwa bi-l-futūri faqaṭ wa-lākinmahu l-zuhdu

ما هو بالفتور فقط ولكنه الزهد
'it is not only langour but also indifference'

- *mā ... 'illā ... ḥattā ...* ما ... إلا ... حتى type, a literary idiom (see 4.2.6, 7.6.7.8 and 9.1)

mā hiya 'illā ṭarfatu l-'ayni ḥattā lamasa l-zināda

ما هي إلا طرفة العين حتى لمس الزناد
'in the twinkling of an eye he touched the trigger', lit. 'it was not except the twinkling of an eye until ...'

4.1.2 Categorical denial with *lā* لا 'no' (in pure nominal sentences only; see elsewhere for verbal preds. 4.2.1; ▷C1:114; ▷C2:220)

To negate an entire category MWA uses *lā* لا 'no' followed by the dep. noun without *tanwīn*. The pred. may hypothetically be of any of the types associated with nom. sentences, although in practice they are nearly always prepositional phrases:

lā 'ayba bi-l-ṭab 'i fī ntiqāli l-ṭaqāfati samā 'iyyan

لا عيب بالطبع في انتقال الثقافة سماعيا

'there is naturally **nothing wrong** in transmitting culture aurally'

lā 'ilma lahu bi-'asbābi hādīhi l-muṣādarāti

لا علم له بأسباب هذه المصادرات

'he has **no knowledge** of the reasons for these confiscations'

lā 'asāsa lahā

لا أساس لها

'it has no foundation', lit. 'there is **no foundation** for it'

lā šay'a fī dālika

لا شيء في ذلك

'there is **nothing** in this' (see also compound nouns in 12.6, and see 4.2.1.1)

rajuḷun jāddun lā mawḍi'a fīhi li-l-maraḥi

رجل جاد لا موضع فيه للمرح

'a serious man **with no place in him** for mirth' (see 5.1 for adj. rel. clauses qualifying indef. antecedent)

For the restricted subsets *lā 'aḥada* لا أحد 'no-one' and *lā šay'a* لا شيء 'nothing' see below 4.2.1.1.

Adjs. modifying the denied noun are normally in the dep. case like the noun but with *tanwīn* (see 1.5.1):

li-dā yaḍhabu l-ba'ḍu 'ilā 'tibāri 'an lā šī'ra haqīqiyyan bi-lā 'uṣṭūratin

لذا يذهب البعض إلى اعتبار أن لا شعر حقيقيا بلا أسطورة

'therefore some are of the opinion that **there is no real poetry** without legend'

(for annexation of *i'tibār* اعتبار **to a clause** see 7.5.2.9; see also 4.1.5 for neg. subordination).

But they may also be indef. indep., although the following example is inconclusive:

lā fā'idata kabīratun/an fihā

لا فائدة كبيرة فيها

'there is no **great** use in it'

With more than one noun (▷C1:115):

lā 'aṣla wa-lā faṣla wa-lā juḍūra li-miṭli hādīhi l-'azmati

لا أصل ولا فصل ولا جذور لثل هذه الأزمة

'there is **no basis whatsoever and no roots** for such a crisis'

With plurals:

lā mawāsima lahu wa-lā tawārīḥa muttafaqun ‘alayhā

لا مواسم له ولا تواريخ متفق عليها

‘it has no seasons or agreed dates’ (see imperfect passive 2.1.3.3)

4.1.3 Subset *lā budda* لا بد type (▷C2:226) (for main treatment see 7.5.1.6 and 7.5.2.8)

lā budda لا بد, lit. ‘no avoiding [exists]’ originally with *min* من ‘from’, but this is now often omitted:

lā budda ‘an yaḍ‘ufa ‘intājuhā

لا بدّ أن يضعف إنتاجها

‘its productivity will **inevitably** weaken’, lit. ‘no avoiding [exists] from that it will ..’

lā šakka لا شك ‘no doubt [exists]’ originally with *fī* في ‘about’, but this is now often omitted:

lā šakka fī ‘anna l-namūdaja l-tāḡiya ... ḡalla l-riḥlata l-makkiyyata

لا شك في أن النموذج الطاغي ... ظلّ الرحلة المكية

‘there is no doubt that the dominant model ... remained the Journey to Mecca’ (see 3.17.14 on *ḡalla* ظلّ ‘to remain’)

lā šakka ‘anna kulla hādīhi l-mu‘attirāti ...

لا شك أن كلّ هذه المؤثرات ...

‘there is no doubt that all these stimuli ...’

(contrast the above with the *mā min šakkin* ما من شك example in 4.1.1)

lā ba’sa لا بأس ‘no harm [exists]’ (▷C2:220):

lā ba’sa ‘idā lā tuḥibbīna l-ḥalība min-a l-ḥuṣūli ‘alā l-kālsiyūmi min ‘aṭ‘imatīn ‘uḥrā

لا بأس إذا لا تحبّين الحليب من الحصول على الكالسيوم من أطعمة أخرى

‘there is no harm, if you [fem.] do not like milk, in obtaining calcium from other foods’ (see 8.3.8 for inverted conditionals)

lā maḥālata لا محالة ‘no avoiding’:

lā maḥālata ‘anna l-qaḥṭa sa-yazdādu sū’an

لا محالة أن القحط سيزداد سوءاً

‘there is no doubt that the drought will get worse’ (see *tamyīz* 2.4.4.1)

Note that *lā maḥālata* لا محالة and some other expressions of this type can also occur elliptically as adverbial phrases, e.g., *sa-tanhāru l-’awḍā’u l-’amniyyatu lā maḥālata* ستنهـار الأوضـاع الأمنـية لا محالة ‘the security conditions will inevitably collapse’ (see 2.18.1).

lā rayba لا ريب ‘no doubt’:

ḥuluwwun lā rayba fihi, min ’ayyi ḥudūrin bašariyyin

خلوّ لا ريب فيه ، من أيّ حضور بشري

‘an emptiness[,] **which could not be doubted**, of any human presence’

lā sabīla لا سبيل ‘no way’:

lā sabīla ’iḍan ’ilā qalbi l-’awḍā’i ra’san ’alā ’aqibin

لا سبيل إذا إلى قلب الأوضاع رأساً على عقب

‘there is thus **no way** to turn the circumstances upside down’

4.1.4 *law-lā* لولا type ‘if it were not for’ (▷C1:7) (see 8.2.11)

This construction hypothetically denies the existence of a subj., **with its pred. usually elided**, i.e., ‘if it were not for ...’, without which the event of the second main clause would not take place. The noun following the construction is always in the indep. case. If a pron. occurs in this position it must be attached to *lā*- لا ‘not’. This construction is also part of the cond. sentence group of MWA (see **Chapter 8**). In keeping with the rules of cond. syntax, the *law-lā* لولا phrase normally precedes its apodosis:

law-lā l-ḥubbu la-mā kāna l-ṣi’ru

لولا الحبّ لما كان الشعر

‘**if it were not for** love [then] poetry would not exist’, lit. ‘if not love [in existence] then...’

However, it is not uncommon for the Western order to be followed:

kiliobatra lam takun šay’an law-lā ’ilizabet taylar

كليوبترا لم تكن شيئاً لولا إليزابيث تيلور

‘Cleopatra would be nothing **if it were not for** Elizabeth Taylor’

jasaduhā kāna qad tabaḥḥara minhā tamāman lam ta’ud tuḥissu bihi law-lā l-ṭiqalu

جسدها كان قد تبخّر منها تماماً لم تعد تحسّ به لولا الثقل

‘her body had completely evaporated from her: she would no longer have been aware of it **if it were not for** the weight’

(for this use of ‘āda عاد ‘do no longer’ see 3.21.1.1)

law-lā لولا + pron. (see 8.2.11):

wa-law-lāka la-dā‘at ‘alaynā ‘amwālunā

ولولاك لضاعت علينا أموالنا

‘and **if it were not for you**, our money would have been lost’

law-lā ‘anna لولا أن + subordinate clause with noun phrase function
(see also 8.2.12, 7.5.2 and 3.2.2).

When the hypothetical topic is a subord. clause it is introduced after *law-lā* لولا by the complementizer ‘anna أن :

*kāna min-a l-mumkini ‘an taḥḍuṭa kāriṭatun law-lā ‘anna jirānahum
tanabbahū li-tasarrubi l-ḡāzi*

كان من الممكن أن تحدث كارثة لولا أن جيرانهم تنبهوا لتسرّب الغاز

‘there could have been a disaster **but for** their neighbours becoming alerted to the gas leak’

4.1.5 ‘an al-muḥaffafa أن المخففة and subordination of negative nominalized clauses (see 7.5.1.9 and 7.5.2.5)

Neg. nom. clauses, such as those containing *laysa* ليس ‘not be’ (see 4.2.8.1) and cat. neg. *lā* لا ‘not’ (see 4.1.2) are subordinated by ‘an al-muḥaffafa أن المخففة (cf. also 3.2.2). These clauses are not to be confused with neg. subord. clauses introduced by ‘an lā أن لا ‘that not’ which often contracts to ‘allā ألا , 7.5.1.8):

*kāna Ṭaha Ḥusayn yarā ‘an laysa kullu muta‘allimin muṭaqqafan
bi-l-ma‘nā l-daḡiqi li-l-kalimati*

كان طه حسين يرى أن ليس كلّ متعلّم مثقّفًا بالمعنى الدقيق للكلمة

‘Taha Husayn was of the opinion **that not every educated person was cultured** in the exact sense of the word’ (see 10.15)

wa-ka-‘annahu yudriku ‘an lā ‘aḍwā’a fī bayrūta wa-lā basmata

وكأنّه يدرك أن لا أضواء في بيروت ولا بسمّة

‘it was as if he realized **that there were no lights** nor smiles in Beirut’

wa-ktaṣafa ‘an lā ‘aḥada yahtammu bī ‘aw ḥattā yurīdu ṣuḥbatī

واكتشف أن لا أحد يهتمّ بي أو حتّى يريد صحبتي

‘he discovered **that no-one** was interested in me nor even wanted my friendship’

(see further on *lā ‘aḥada* لا أحد ‘no-one’, 4.2.1.1)

4.1.6 Negation of indefinite nouns after compound preposition *bi-lā* بلا ‘without’

Nouns negated by *bi-lā* بلا ‘without’ are always indef. obl. (cf. *bi-dūni* بدون ‘without’ 2.7.11):

al-’umūru lā yaṣīḥḥu ’an tasīra bi-lā taḥṭīṭin wā’in
 الأمور لا يصحّ أن تسير بلا تخطيط واع
 ‘matters should not proceed **without** conscious planning’

4.2 NEGATIVES IN VERBAL SENTENCES

Verbs are negated by a number of particles. These are as follows:

lam لم + apoc. (3.10.2, 3.24, 4.2 and 8.0) or less frequently *mā* ما + perf. (3.10.1) ‘did not’, ‘has not’

lā لا + indep. imperf. (3.10.2) ‘does not’

lan لن + dep. imperf. (3.10.3) ‘will not’

In CA direct negation of the verb was the norm. With indef. agents, however, Arabic does not have the choice between ‘a man did not come’ and ‘no man came’, and only the former is found in CA. It survives intact in MWA, but there is now a calque, *lā ’aḥada* لا أحد (4.2.1.1) for the special case of ‘no-one’. Otherwise MWA follows the CA practice:

tilka ḥaqīqatun lā yunkiruhā miṣriyyun
 تلك حقيقة لا ينكرها مصري
 ‘that is a fact which **no Egyptian will deny**’

ya’taqidūna ’anna taḡayyuran lam yaṭra’
 يعتقدون أن تغيراً لم يطرأ
 ‘they believe no change has arisen’, lit. ‘**a change has not arisen**’

wa-lākinna ’ayyan minhū lam yaṣīl ’ilā baṣīṣin min-a l-nūri
 ولكنّ أيّاً منهم لم يصل إلى بصيص من النور
 ‘but none of them was able to find any glimmer of light’, lit. ‘**any of them was not able to find**’

’abadan lan takūna hunāka muqāwamatun
 أبداً لن تكون هناك مقاومة
 ‘there will be no resistance there ever’, lit. ‘ever there **will not be a resistance**’

4.2.1 *lā* لا 'not'

With indep. imperf. verb (▷C1:115): (see unmarked imperf. at 3.10.2)

- Active:

wa-hāḏā l-naw'ū min-a l-ḥaṣā 'iṣi lā yanmū fī l-manāṭiqi l-ḥarrati

وهذا النوع من الحشائش لا ينمو في المناطق الحارة

'and this type of grass **does not grow** in hot regions';

wa-lā yabdū 'annahu lā yulhimu 'ulā'ika llaḏina ...

ولا يبدو أنه لا يلهم أولئك الذين ...

'and **it does not seem** that **he does not inspire** those who ...'

wa-hāḏā lā yumkinu 'an yastamirra

وهذا لا يمكن أن يستمر

'and this **cannot** continue' (see 7.5.1)

- Passive (see 3.12):

wa-lā tu'raḏu miṭlu hāḏihi l-taqārīru 'alā l-majlisi

ولا تعرض مثل هذه التقارير على المجلس

'and such reports are not to be given to the scrutiny

[lit. "**not to be shown**"] of the council'

With future verbs (*sa-* س , *sawfa* سوف) (see *lan* لن 4.2.5)

- Although generally considered ungrammatical, the particle *sawfa* سوف sometimes occurs with *lā* لا:

wa-'aḏāfa 'annahu sawfa lā yusmaḥu lahum bi-duḥūli 'arāḏihim

وأضاف أنه سوف لا يُسمح لهم بدخول أراضيهم

'and he added that they **will not be** allowed to enter their territories',

lit. 'lands

(see *ḍamīr al-ša'n* ضمير الشأن 3.4)

sawfa lā yata'aḥḥaru kaṭīran

سوف لا يتأخر كثيراً

'he **will not** be very late'

- With emphasis on the subj. (▷C1:103). When the subj. needs emphasis the particle precedes it rather than the verb:

lā 'anā wa-lā 'anta nastaṭī'u 'an nu'attira 'alayhi

لا أنا ولا أنت نستطيع أن نؤثر عليه

'neither you nor I can influence him'

- With imperatives (see 4.3; also 3.24.5).
- With negative wishes (see optatives, 4.5 also 3.25.2):
lā kānat 'ayyāmuḥu
 لا كانت أيامه
 'let us hope that his days will never return'
- *wa-lā* ولا 'and not', 'nor' as neg. correlative (see 4.7, 2.19.10, 6.12.1, 6.12.2)

4.2.1.1 Subset *lā 'aḥada* لا أحد 'no-one'

As noted above (4.2), in CA direct negation of the verb was the norm, namely, *lā ya'rifu 'aḥadun* ... لا يعرف أحد 'no-one knows ...', lit. 'not knows someone'. In MWA the *lā 'aḥada* لا أحد 'no-one' phrase appears to be a calque and *lā 'aḥada yadrī* لا أحد يدري 'no-one knows' for example, may be parsed as a cat. neg. followed by an adj. rel. clause, 'there is no-one in existence who knows':

min-a l-mu'akkadi 'an lā 'aḥada yastaṭī'u 'an yalūmahu

من المؤكد أن لا أحد يستطيع أن يلومه

'it is certain that no-one can blame him'

lā ya'rifu 'aḥadan wa-lā 'aḥada ya'rifuḥu

لا يعرف أحدا ولا أحد يعرفه

'he does not know anyone and no-one knows him'

lā 'aḥada ḥālīn min-a l-'uyūbi

لا أحد خال من العيوب

'no-one is free from faults'

However, the CA order of negation of the verb (see 4.2) still occurs:

wa-lam yakun 'aḥadun yantabihu 'ilā miṭli ḥāḍihi l-māddati

wa-'āṭāriḥā l-ḥaṭīrati

ولم يكن أحد ينتبه إلى مثل هذه المادة وآثارها الخطيرة

'and no-one has been paying attention to this kind of substance and its dangerous effects', lit. 'someone was not paying attention'

(see 3.10.6 on compound tenses with *kāna* كان 'be')

al-yawma lā yajī'u 'aḥadun

اليوم لا يجيء أحد

'today no-one will come'

'inna 'aḥadan *lā ya'rifu* kayfa tantaqilu l-ḥaḍāratu 'alā fūḥati midfa'in

إنَّ أحدا لا يعرف كيف تنتقل الحضارة على فوهة مدفع

'no-one knows how civilization is transmitted through the mouth of a gun'

The same applies to *lā šay'a* لا شيء 'nothing' when it is the topic (as for *lā 'aḥada* لا أحد):

lā šay'a yatasarrabu 'abra l-ḥudūdi l-ġarbiyyati

لا شيء يتسرب عبر الحدود الغربية

'nothing is smuggled through the Western frontiers'

But when *lā šay'a* لا شيء 'nothing' is not the topic, then the verb itself must be negated (see 4.2.3). Note that the cat. neg. *lā šay'a* لا شيء is not the same as the compound noun *lā šay'* لا شيء 'nonentity' of the type dealt with at 12.6.

- Note use of 'insān إنسان 'person' as alternative for any/no-one, although verb, not agent, is negated:

lā yataṣawwaru 'insānun 'anna ...

لا يتصور إنسان أن ...

'no one can imagine that ...'

lā yastaṭī'u 'insānun 'an ...

لا يستطيع إنسان أن ...

'no one is able to ...'

4.2.2 *mā* ما 'not' + verb (▷C1:109)

The past is sometimes negated by *mā* ما + perf. (cf. 4.2.3) although its usage appears to be restricted to durative contexts, unlike *lam* لم + perf., 4.2.3:

mā 'aḥabbathu fī-l-māḍi wa-lā tuḥibbuhu fī l-ḥāḍiri

ما أحبته في الماضي ولا تحبه في الحاضر

'she did not love him in the past nor does she love him at present'

mā jā'athu 'illā wa-wajadat mā turīdu min 'atfin wa-ta'yīdin

ما جاءته إلا ووجدت ما تريد من عطف وتأييد

'she never came to him without finding what she wants in the way of kindness and support' (see 5.4.4 and 9.4.6)

Also occurs with indep. imperf. (▷C1:102, 109) to convey emotional intensity:

mā yasma'u kalāmī

ما يسمع كلامي

'he does not listen to what I am saying'

mā 'adrī 'a-ṣadīqun huwa 'am 'aduwwun

ما أدري أصدق هو أم عدو

'I do not know whether he is a friend or foe'

(see indirect questions 10.17)

mā 'ašukku fī dālika

ما أشك في ذلك

'I do not doubt that'

Common with certain idiomatic expressions:

mā talbaṭu 'an tazūla

ما تلبث أن تزول

'it will soon disappear'

(see 3.17.12 for the idiomatic *labīṭa* لبث 'to tarry', see also 3.21.4)

mā 'in ما إن with *hattā* حتى, see 4.2.6 and 7.6.7.8.

4.2.3 *lam* لم 'not' (▷C1:127)

lam لم occurs only with the apoc., and is generally used in a punctual context. It is probably the most common way of negating the past in MWA:

lam 'aša'-i l-safara

لم أשא السفر

'I did not want to travel'

(for verbal nouns and sub. clauses see 7.5.1.1)

lam 'afham-i l-maṭlūba

لم أفهم المطلوب

'I did not understand what was wanted'

(for pass. part. as noun see 2.10.4)

lam 'altaqi bihi min qablu

لم ألتق به من قبل

'I have not met him before'

lam yu'raf šay'un 'an 'asbābi l-kārītati

لم يعرف شيء عن أسباب الكارثة

'nothing was known about the cause of the disaster'

(see 4.2.1.1, neg. agent)

- With *ba'du* بعد (▷C1:130) (cf. *lammā* لَّ 4.2.4 below).
lam لم 'not' + apoc. + *ba'du* بعد 'afterwards', 'since' is the most common way of expressing 'not ... yet' in MWA. The position of the invariable adverb *ba'du* بعد (see 2.5.4) in the sentence is variable, sometimes occurring immediately after the verb, especially with pron. agents:

lam nanjaḥ ba'du fī ḍālika

لم ننجح بعد في ذلك

'we have **not yet** succeeded in that'

lam tartafī 'ba'du 'ilā hāḍā l-mustawā

لم ترتفع بعد إلى هذا المستوى

'it has **not yet** risen to this level'

and sometimes directly after the explicit agent (or even at the end of the whole clause in some cases):

lam tastaqirra 'aḥwāluhā ba'du ḥattā l-'āna

لم تستقر أحوالها بعد حتى الآن

'her circumstances have **not (yet)** stabilized up to now'

It also occurs before the overt agent, a structure that is more common in literary Arabic:

ba'du lam yartawī qalbī 'ilā l-ḥubbi

بعد لم يرتو قلبي إلى الحب

'**as yet** my heart has not been quenched by love'

'Not yet' may also be expressed by *lam* لم 'not' + *ḥattā l-'āna* حتى الآن 'until now':

lam yuktaṣaf ḥattā l-'āna 'ayyu 'ilājin

لم يُكتشف حتى الآن أيّ علاج

'**no** treatment has **up to now** been discovered'

4.2.4 *lammā* لَّ 'not yet' (▷C1:129)

(See 7.6.3.2 with sense of 'when', 'since'.)

This was the CA way of negating the past in the sense of 'had not yet', 'has not yet', although it has been largely replaced by *lam ... ba'du* بعد ... لم (see previous section). The particle is followed by the verb in the apoc., often with the verb *zāla* زال *yazālu* يزال 'to cease' in its neg. form meaning 'to still do' (see 3.21.4):

'inna hāḍā l-mawqifa ... kāna fī naẓari Ḥ.M., wa-lammā yazāl, min 'abrazi l-'awā'iqi

إنّ هذا الموقف ... كان في نظر ح. م. ولمّا يزل من أبرز العوائق

‘this position ... was in the view of H.M., and **still is**, one of the most prominent obstacles’

wa-huwa lammā yazal ḥadīṭa l-sinni

وهو لما يزل حديث السنّ

‘while **he was still** a young man’, lit. ‘**he not yet having ceased** [being] young of age’

4.2.5 *lan* لن ‘not’ (▷C1:126)

lan لن ‘not’ is followed only by dep. verbs and gives the sense of neg. future. While it was almost the only neg. fut. in CA it is tending to be replaced in MWA by the fut. prefixes *sa-* سـ or *sawfa* سوف (see 3.10.3) and *lā* لا ‘not now’ for simple fut. neg. (see 4.2.1), with the CA *lan* لن ‘not in the future’ evidently being retained for a more emphatic negation:

wa-huwa yuḥbiruhā ‘annahu lan yastaḥī’a l-ḥayāta bi-dūnihā

وهو يخبرها أنّه لن يستطيع الحياة بدونها

‘as he told her that **he will not be able** to live without her’

(see syndetic circ. quals 7.3.2)

al-‘ahlu lan yusāri‘ū ‘ilā širā‘i ḥaḍiḥi l-dumyati

الأهل لن يسارعوا الى شراء هذه الدمية

‘families **will not rush** to buy this doll’

(note plur. verb with collective *al-‘ahlu* الأهل ‘the people’, see 3.8.2)

lākinanā nuḥissu ‘annahā lan taḍwiya wa-lan tantahiya

لكنّا نحسّ أنّها لن تذوي ولن تنتهي

‘but we feel that **it will not fade away nor will it come to an end**’

(note repetition of neg., cf. coordinate neg. below, 4.7)

qāla ... ‘innahu lan yata‘aḥḥara kaṭīran

قال ... إنّهُ لن يتأخر كثيراً

‘... said he would not be very long’, lit. ‘**will not delay long**’

(see 10.15.1 for indir. speech)

4.2.6 ‘*in* إن and *mā* ما ‘in (▷C1:128, also nominal sentence) ‘no sooner ... than’

CA ‘*in* إن as a neg. seems to have disappeared except as part of an exceptive compound (see also 9.4.4):

‘in ḥiya ‘illā niṣfu sā‘atīn wa-‘iḍā bi-l-ḡubāri yataṣā‘adu

إن هي إلا نصف ساعة وإذا بالغبار يتصاعد

‘**it was only** half an hour before the dust suddenly rose’

The construction *mā 'in* ما إن appears to be used in MWA only with *hattā* حتى (see also 7.6.7.8) as a time idiom. It is an unusual structure in that it contains a double neg., i.e., *mā* ما and *'in* إن:

mā 'in 'aḍa'tu l-nūra hattā 'asra 'at-i l-ṣarāṣīru taḥṭabi'u fī šuqūqin lam 'akun qad lāḥaṣṭuhā min qablu

ما إن أضأت النور حتى أسرع الصراصير تختبئ في شقوق لم أكن قد لاحظتها من قبل
'no sooner had I put on the light than the cockroaches rushed to hide in cracks I had never noticed before'

4.2.7 Neg. reinforcements with *'abadan* أبدا (▷C1:131) and others (see also further under adverb(ial)s)

To emphasize the negation of a sentence a qual. may be used. These reinforcers occur with both nom. and verbal sentences, but they are not neg. in themselves. They generally follow the elements they qualify, i.e., they function adverbially. Inversions are governed by rhetorical considerations:

- *'abadan* أبدا 'never' (see 2.4.3.1 for affirmative usage):

wa-hāḍā mā lan 'a'rifahu 'abadan

وهذا ما لن أعرفه أبدا

'and this is what I shall **never** know'

lan ya'ūda 'abadan

لن يعود أبدا

'it will **never** come back'

- *qaṭṭu* قط (not) at all' (▷C1:111,131), purely neg. reinforcer:

sami'ū wa-lam yubṣirū qaṭṭu

سمعوا و لم يبصروا قط

'they have heard but have not seen **at all**'

lākinnanī lam 'ahjur-i l-ḥawḍata qaṭṭu

لكنني لم أهرج الخوذة قط

'but I did not run away from the helmet **at all**'

mā sami'nā bi-miṭlihi qaṭṭu

ما سمعنا بمثله قط

'we have not heard the like of it **at all**'

- *al-battata* البتة 'at all' (▷C1:132), also purely neg. reinforcer:

hāḍā laysa min qabili l-istqlāliyyati l-battata

هذا ليس من قبيل الاستقلالية البتة

'this is not in the category of independence **at all**'

lā faḍla liya l-battata

لا فضل لي البتّة

‘there is no credit to me **at all**’

(see categorical neg. *lā* لا 4.1.2)

4.2.8 *laysa* ليس (▷C1:119) (see also *kāna* 3.16 كان ‘not to be’)

4.2.8.1 *laysa* ليس is a verb with the same syntax as *kāna* كان ‘to be’ of which it is a ‘sister’ (see 3.16 for *kāna* كان and 3.19.1 for *laysa* ليس). Unlike *kāna* كان *laysa* ليس has no tense or modality (cf. *qad lā yakūnu* قد لا يكون, *mā kāna* ما كان 3.10.6 and 3.16.2) and simply negates predicates in the pres. tense, and in this function, i.e. ‘incomplete’. As with all ‘sisters’ of *kāna* كان, *laysa* ليس sentences must contain a subj. and pred.:

wa-lākin laysa l-waḍ‘u ḥaḫīran

ولكن ليس الوضع خطيرا

‘but **the situation** [indep. subj.] is not **serious** [dep. pred.]’

lastu muta’akkidan

لست متأكدا

‘**I** am not **sure**’

lastu mašgūlan bi-smihi faqaṭ

لست مشغولا باسمه فقط

‘**I** am not **preoccupied** with his name only’

laysa muhimman

ليس مهما

‘**it** is not **important**’

šāhadtu ‘adadan laysa qalīlan min-a l-marḍā

شاهدت عددا ليس قليلا من المرضى

‘I saw **not a small** number of patients’

- Pred. as prepositional phrase:

laysa li-l-maṣlaḫati l-‘āmmati

ليس للمصلحة العامة

‘it is not **for the general good**’

- With indef. subj. (see 4.2):

laysa ladayhi šay‘un jadīdun yaqūluhu

ليس لديه شيء جديد يقوله

‘he has **nothing** new to say’, lit. ‘there is not to him **something**’

- With *bi-* بـ:

Preds of *laysa* ليس may be introduced by *bi-* بـ, in which case the pred. is in obl. case. The pred. may be either indef. or def.:

wa-huwa laysa bi-šāhidin 'aw bi-qāri'in

وهو ليس بشاهد أو بقارئ

'while he is not **one who witnessed** [it] or read [it]'

(see circ. quals 7.3.2)

laysa bi-mustaḡrabin 'an

ليس بمستغرب أن ...

'it is not **unusual** that'

- *laysa* ليس with *bi-* بـ may also negate formally def. nouns (in generic sense):

wa-lākinna l-ḥayāta laysat bi-l-la'ibi

ولكنّ الحياة ليست باللعب

'but life is not **a game**'

laysa bi-l-'adadi l-kabīri llaḍi yu'attiru salban 'alā 'adā'i l-madārisi

ليس بالعدد الكبير الذي يؤثر سلباً على أداء المدارس

'it is not **a large number** which negatively affects the schools' performance'

(note idiomatic generic art. with *al-'adadi* العدد 'the number', i.e. 'a[ny] number', see 1.12.3.1)

- It may also negate def. adjs (▷C2:20):

wa-kitābu 'l-tanwīr' yumattilu 'iḍāfatan laysat bi-l-qalīlati 'ilā turātīnā l-ṭibbī

وكتاب التنوير يمثل إضافة ليست بالقليلة إلى تراثنا الطبي

'the book 'al-Tanwīr' represents a **substantial** addition to our medical heritage' lit. 'not the, [generically] small one'

- With partitive *min* من (see 2.6.12, cf. 4.1.1 with neg. *mā* ما):

'iḍ laysa min ḥarakatin ṭawriyyatin lā yataqāta 'u fihā l-bu'du

l-waṭaniyyu l-qawmiyyu wa-l-bu'du l-ṭabaqīyyu

إذ ليس من حركة ثورية لا يتقاطع فيها البعد الوطني القومي و البعد الطبقي

'since **there is no** revolutionary **movement** in which the ethno-nationalist and the class dimensions do not intersect'

laysa li-l-turātī min ḥarakati taṭawwurin wa-ṣayrūratin

ليس للتراث من حركة تطوّر وصيرورة

‘heritage has no movement of development and transformation’, lit.
 ‘**there is not** to heritage **any movement of development** and transformation’

laysa hunāka min ‘aflāmin ‘insāniyyatin ḡakiyyatin

ليس هناك من أفلام إنسانية ذكية

‘there are no intelligent humane films’, lit. ‘there **are not of films**’

Note the reported variants with *kāna* كان in its neg. form with *bi-* بـ. This structure may well have assumed the syntax of *laysa* ليس:

lam ‘akun bi-qādirin ‘alā šarḥi mā ‘indī

لم أكن بقادر على شرح ما عندي

‘I was **unable** to explain what was with me’

‘illā ‘anna ‘ayna l-suluṭāti l-musta‘mirati mā kānat bi-ḡāfiyyatin

إلا أن عين السلطات المستعمرة ما كانت بغافية

‘however the eye of the imperialist authorities **was not closed**’

lam takun-i l-masāfatu bayna “l-‘arūsati” wa-tilka l-sayyārati bi-l-qaṣīrati

لم تكن المسافة بين “العروسة” وتلك السيارة بالقصيرة

‘the distance between “the bride” and that car **was not short**’

4.2.8.2 Compound negative, i.e. with other verbs (▷C1:124)

laysa ليس with another verb in the pres. (cf. *kāna* كان which also occurs with the pres. tense but in a different function, see 3.10.6) negates the emphasized identity of the preposed pronoun agent, see 3.9.1, i.e., *naḥnu nurīdu* نحن نريد ‘we want’ v. *lasnā nurīdu* لسنا نريد ‘we do not want’:

lasnā nurīdu l-‘ifāḡata bi-taḡāṣīli l-juz‘iyyāti

لسنا نريد الإفاضة بتفاصيل الجزئيات

‘**we do not want** to expand on details of the particulars’

lastu ‘uqīmu fī hāḡā l-manzili

لست أقيم في هذا المنزل

‘**I do not live** in this house’

4.2.8.3 Neg. conjunction (cf. *lā* لا 4.7 and 6.12.3)

huwa ša‘bu mišra, laysa ḡukūmatu mišra

هو شعب مصر، ليس حكومة مصر

‘it is the people of Egypt, **not the government of Egypt**’

Variant with *wa-* و:

wa-l- 'umru yataḍāfa 'u 'amāma l-sinīna wa-laysa ḥalfahā

والعمر يتدافع أمام السنين وليس خلفها

'and the lifespan is pushed along in front of the years, **not behind them**'

'an yakūna hunāka mas 'ūliyyatun bi-l-fi 'li wa-laysa bi-l-ismi

أن يكون هناك مسؤولية بالفعل وليس بالاسم

'that there should be responsibility in fact and **not in name**'

sa-yaḥla 'u 'anhu l-ḥijāba lāḥiqan, wa-laysa l-'āna

سيخلع عنه الحجاب لاحقا وليس الآن

'he will remove the veil from it subsequently, **not now**'

In the following examples *laysa* ليس is not a conjunction:

ta'akkadtū 'annahū tašrīfun wa-laysa taklīfan

تأكدت أنه تشریف و ليس تكلیفا

'I assured myself that it was an honour and **was not an imposition**'

(note indirect speech criteria for tenses, 10.14, 10.15, and see also 7.5.2 under 'anna أن)

'anna l-quwwata tafriḍu l-šar 'iyyata ... wa-laysat-i l-'umamu l-muttaḥidatu

أن القوة تفرض الشرعية ... و ليست الأمم المتحدة

'that power determines legality ... **not the United Nations**'

4.2.8.4 *laysa* ليس with other words, *laysa 'illā* إلا ليس, *laysa ḡayru* غير ليس 'nothing more', 'nothing else', 'nothing but'

laysa occurs at the end of a noun-phrase or sentence as a qual. to restrict the event to that noun only with either *'illā* إلا or *ḡayru* غير as invariable forms that cannot be further qualified:

ḥuṭwatu tamhīdin laysa 'illā

خطوة تمهيد ليس إلا

'a preparatory step, **nothing else**'

fa-huwa taqlīdun muqtabasun laysa 'illā

فهو تقليد مقتبس ليس إلا

'this is an acquired practice, **nothing but**'

fa-'inna mašīra l-majma 'i l-intihābiyyi wa-huwa ḥāsimun rahnun bi-mi'ātin

min-a l-'aṣwāti *laysa 'illā*

فإن مصير المجمع الانتخابي و هو حاسم رهن بمئات من الأصوات ليس إلا

'then the fate of the electoral body, which is crucial, rests on a few hundred votes, **nothing more**'

'urīdu maḥabbataka *laysa ḡayru*

أريد محبتك ليس غير

'I want your love, **nothing more**'

Also occurs with quantifiers 'akṭaru أكثر 'more', 'aqallu أقل 'less':

hudnatun mu 'aqqatatun ... *laysa 'akṭaru*

هدنة مؤقتة ... ليس أكثر

'a temporary truce ... **nothing more**'

4.2.8.5 With verbal noun of *kāna* كان

(For *kāna* كان syntax see 3.16.2):

kawnuhu *laysa bankan tijāriyyan*

كونه ليس بنكا تجاريا

'its **being not** a merchant **bank**'

For use of *laysa* ليس in 'not only ... but also' calque, see 4.9.

4.3 NEGATIVE OF *kāna* كان

Unlike *laysa* ليس "not be", which is intrinsically neg., the verb *kāna* كان "be" must be negated by whatever particle is required by its form, like any other verb.

4.3.1 As modalized equivalent of *laysa* ليس (cf. 3.10.6 and 3.16) in various functions:

Negating the pred., perf., tense with *mā* ما:

lam yakḏib wa-mā kāna kāḏiban 'alayhā

لم يكذب وما كان كاذبا عليها

"he did not lie and **he would not** lie to her"

Negating the past with *lam* لم:

lam takun taḏāhurātu mu 'āriḏi l- 'awlamati l-iqtiṣādiyyati ḥāddatan hāḏihi l-sanata

لم تكن تظاهرات معارضي العولمة الاقتصادية حادة هذه السنة

'the demonstrations of the opponents of economic globalization **were not fierce** this year' (see 3.16.2 for 'incomplete' *kāna* كان)

wa-l-wāqi 'u annahu lam yakun li-K 'uslūbun wāḥidun bal 'uslūbāni

والواقع أنه لم يكن لك. أسلوب واحد بل أسلوبان

"and the reality is that K. **did not have** one way but two ways" (see li- ل 'to have', 2.6.9)

Negating the future with *lan* لن:

'anna hāḍihi l-ḥarba lan takūna ḥallan
 أَنَّ هذه الحرب لن تكون حلاً
 "that this war **will not be** a solution"

Negating subordinate clause with *lā* لا:

na'malu 'allā takūna
 نأمل ألا تكون
 'we hope **they will not be** [namely, that hearts will not be full]', lit. 'that they not be' (see 7.5.1.8 for 'allā takūna)

Negating modalized equat. sent. with *qad* قد + *lā* لا (see 3.10.5 for *qad* قد and 3.16.3 for its use with *kāna* كان)

wa-ḥiyāla hāḍihi l-'āṣifati l-'āṭiyati qad lā takūnu kalimatu l-'irāqīyyīna muwaḥḥadatān
 وحيال هذه العاصفة الآتية قد لا تكون كلمة العراقيين موحدة
 'and in view of this approaching storm the word of the Iraqis **may not be** united'

Negating imperf. with *lā* لا:

li-'anna 'amaliyyata l-tajyīri hunā lā takūnu li-maṣlaḥati murašṣaḥin muwālīn
 لأن عملية التجيير هنا لا تكون لمصلحة مرشح موال
 'because the endorsement process here **will not be** to the advantage of a loyal candidate' (see also 3.16.3.2)

4.3.2 *mā kāna* ما كان and other negatives + *lām al-juḥūd* لم الجحود

(Cf. 3.16.4; see also *li-* ل at 7.6.1.2.)

kāna كان still occurs in its negative form with the *li-* ل of denial followed by the dep. verb. This occurs often with *mā* ما:

bi-'anna hāḍihi l-taḥqīqāti mā kanat li-tajrīya 'aṣlan law-lā 'iṣrārūnā
 بأن هذه التحقيقات ما كانت لتجري أصلاً لولا إصرارنا
 'that these investigations **would not be taking place** at all were it not for our insistence'

(see *law-lā* لو لا 8.2.11)

mā kāna R.H. li-yakuffa 'an ...

ما كان ر. خ. ليكفّ عن ...

'R.H. was never one to hold back from' ...

lam takun li-tataḥaqqqa bi-hāḍā l-ṣakli

لم تكن لتتحقّق بهذا الشكل

'would [namely, proposals] not have been realized in this form'

4.4 PROHIBITIONS

(See also imperatives; 3.24.5, 3.24.6.)

MWA has two ways of rendering prohibition, i.e., neg. imperatives.

4.4.1 Negative direct

lā لا + apoc. (▷C1:81, 116). Direct negative commands are expressed by the neg. *lā* followed by the apoc.:

lā tatamarran bi-mufradika bal-i nḍamma 'ilā fariqin

لا تتمرّن بمفردك بل انضمّ إلى فريق

'do not train by yourself, but join a team'

lā tatajāhal 'ayya 'alamin qad yuṣībuka

لا تتجاهل أيّ ألم قد يصيبك

'do not ignore any pain that might afflict you'

(see 3.10.5 on the force of *qad* قد here)

lā tansaw mā yuqālu

لا تنسوا ما يقال

'do not forget what is said'

4.4.4.1 Negative indirect (▷C1.83)

lā لا + apoc. plus or minus *-anna* َـنْ without *la-* لـ (see further 3.26). No examples were found during the course of this study.

4.5 OPTATIVES

Classical negative, with *lā* لا + perf. (▷C1:117) (see also 3.25.2).

Neg. wishes (optatives) with sense of 'may something not happen' are rendered by neg. *lā* لا + perf. They are still common in MWA, particularly in religious expressions:

lā bāraka llāhu fī l-ḥayāti bi-dūnika ma'ī

لا بارك الله في الحياة بدونك معي

'Shame on life without you with me', lit. 'May God not bless'

(see *dūna* دون 2.7.11)

lā sāmaha llāhu ... lā yumkinu 'an 'aẓunna dālika

لا سامحك الله ... لا يمكن أن أظن ذلك

'God forbid ... I could not think in this way',

lit. 'May God not forgive you'

4.6 EXCEPTIVES

Negation in exceptive sentences (see Chapter 9):

fa-majlisu l-'umanā' i lā yaẓharu 'illā fī l-iḥtifālāti l-sanawiyyati

فمجلس الأمراء لا يظهر إلا في الاحتفالات السنوية

'the Board of Trustees only appears at the annual celebrations',

lit. 'the Board of Trustees **does not** appear **except** at the annual celebrations'

4.7 RESUMPTIVE NEGATIVES

[*wa*]-*lā* لا [و] (see phrase coordination 2.19.10 and sentence coordination 6.12.1) (▷C2:501).

Neg. particles are generally correlated with *wa-lā* ولا (although the particle may be elided or repeated):

lam yuḥaṭṭiṭū li-hāḍiḥi l-'amaliyyati wa-lā fakkarū fī l-taḥṭiṭi lahā

لم يخططوا لهذه العملية ولا فكروا في التخطيط لها

'they have not planned for this operation, and nor have they thought about planning for it'

The perf. may also be negated by *lā* لا with modal and auxiliary verbs (see 3.15 for general reference) when correlated with *wa-lā* ولا:

lā rāḥa yaṭ‘anuhu wa-lā lamasahu

لا راح يطعنه ولا لمسه

‘he **neither** began to stab him **nor** even touch him’

Also with ordinary verbs in perf.:

lā ‘ādat li-l-ša‘bi l-filistīniyyi ‘arḍuhu wa-ḥuqūquhu wa-lā tawaḥḥadat-i l-‘ummatu l-‘arabiyyatu

لا عادت للشعب الفلسطيني أرضه وحقوقه ولا توحدت الأمة العربية

‘**neither** have the land and rights been returned to the Palestinian people **nor** has the Arab nation become united’, lit. ‘has not returned to the Palestinian people its land and its rights’

When the ag. is def. and negated with *lā* لا the neg. particle must be repeated. Note that when the emphasis is on negation of the topic the neg. particle is separated from the verb by the topic (cf. **Chapter 3** on topics + verb):

lā ‘anā wa-lā ḡayrī yastaṭī‘u ‘inkara dawrihi

لا أنا ولا غيري يستطيع إنكار دوره

‘**not I nor anyone else** can deny his role’

lā ‘umm kulṭūm wa-lā ‘abd al-wahhāb wa-lā ‘abd al-ḥalīm ‘arafū ...

لا أم كلثوم ولا عبد الوهاب ولا عبد الحليم عرفوا ...

‘**neither Umm Kulthum nor ‘Abd al-Wahhāb nor Abd al-Halim** knew ...’

lā l-ta‘dīlāt l-‘idāriyyatu l-‘ulā šamilathum wa-lā ḥattā l-tāniyatu

لا التعديلات الإدارية الأولى شملتهم ولا حتى الثانية

‘**neither the first administrative modifications** included them **nor** even the second’

Elliptical with sense of ‘not even’:

lam yatakarrar ma‘ī wa-lā marratan wāḥidatan

لم يتكرر معي ولا مرة واحدة

‘**it did not recur** with me, **not even once**’

In neg. correlative constructions not connected by *wa-lā* ولا (see 4.7) the particle may be repeated:

‘a-lam tusallimhum-i l-šuqaqa fī l-mawā‘idi wa-lam tu‘awwīḍhum ‘alā fatrati l-intizāri?

ألم تسلمهم الشقق في المواعيد و لم تعوّضهم على فترة الانتظار؟

‘**did you not give them** the apartments on time **and not** compensate them for the waiting period?’

but not necessarily:

li'-annahum lam yaḥḍurū fī l-mawā'idi l-muqarrarati wa-yuqaddimū
ṭalabātihim ḥasba l-lawā'ihi

لأنهم لم يحضروا في المواعيد المقررة ويقدموا طلباتهم حسب اللوائح
 'because **they did not come** at the appointed times **and [0] submit** their
 applications according to regulations'

Note these calques in which only the second particle operates upon the verb:

lam wa-lan yatawaqqafa

لم ولن يتوقف

'has not and will not stop'

lam wa-lan yaṣila

لم ولن يصل

'has not and will not reach'

4.8 NEGATIVE INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

(For main treatment see 10.1.2, 10.13.)

Generally conveyed by the particle 'a أ + neg. particle at the beginning of the question:

'a-lā tatimmu l-mutāba'atu bi-l-ṣūratī l-maṭlūbatī

ألا تتم المتابعة بالصورة المطلوبة

'is the follow-up **not being carried out** as requested?' (see 2.5.8.2)

The interrog. particle *hal* هل + positive clause/phrase may also be used in a rhetorical sense, where the expected answer is negative:

hal tumṭiru l-samā'u ḥulūlan jāhizatan li-maṣākilinā?

هل تمطر السماء حلولاً جاهزة لمشاكلنا؟

'do the skies rain ready-made solutions for our problems?!' (where 'no' is the expected answer)

4.9 CALQUE 'not only ... but also'

There are two main ways of rendering the meaning of 'not only ... but also'.

The first way (that of CA) is with combinations of the following components: *laysa* ليس (or frequently *lā* لا or *lan* لن or *lam* لم + their respective verbs depending on context, see below) + *fa-ḥasbu* فحسب or *wa-ḥasbu* وحسب (see 2.5.1 for affirmative) in the first clause, and *bal* (wa-) بل or less frequently *wa-lākin* ولكن at the head of the second clause:

laysa bi-faḍli l-taqniyāti l-mutaṭawwirati llati zuwwida bihā 'iyādatuhu fa-ḥasbu bal wa-bi-faḍli l-'alāqati l-mumayyazati llati yuqīmuhā ma'a marḍāhu

ليس بفضل التقنية المتطورة التي زُوِّدت بها عيادته فحسب بل وبفضل العلاقة المميزة التي يقيمها مع مرضاه

'not just because of the developed techniques that his surgery has been provided with but also because of the outstanding relationship he establishes with his patients'

laysa ḍālīka fa-ḥasbu wa-lākin li-l-siyāḥati 'aṭarun ṣadīdu l-'ijābiyyati 'alā ...

ليس ذلك فحسب ولكن للسياحة أثر شديد الإيجابية على ...

'it is not only that, but tourism has a very positive effect on ...'

(see unreal annexation 2.1.3.2)

allatī lā tajma'u bayna tanāquḍāti l-'arabi wa-l-inklīzi fa-ḥasbu bal tabnī ka-ḍālīka jisran

التي لا تجمع بين تناقضات العرب و الإنكليز فحسب بل تبني كذلك جسرا

'which not only accommodates the differences between the Arabs and the English but also builds a bridge'

lā tu'attīru nuḥumu l-tawjīhi 'alā ... fa-ḥasbu bal tal'abu 'ayḍan bi-ṣifatin mubāṣṣiratin 'aw ḡayri mubāṣṣiratin dawran mu'taraḥan bihi fī ...

لا تؤثر نظم التوجيه على ... فحسب بل تلعب أيضا بصفة مباشرة أو غير مباشرة دورا معترفا به في ...

'the guidance systems do not only have an effect on ... but they also play directly or indirectly an acknowledged role in ...'

lam ta'ud tal'abu dawran mukmilan fa-ḥasbu ... bal 'aṣḥabat 'unṣuran markaziyyan

لم تعد تلعب دورا مكملًا فحسب ... بل أصبحت عنصرا مركزيا

'it [namely, the helicopter] no longer plays just a complementary role ... but it has become a central element'

Sometimes includes intensifiers e.g., 'ayḍan 'also' or ka-ḍālīka 'likewise', which may occur either immediately after *bal* 'but' or at the end of the sentence:

laysa li-mukawwanātihi l-ḥāṣṣati wa-ḥasbu bal 'ayḍan li-mawqifi l-nāsi minhu

ليس لمكوناته الخاصة وحسب بل أيضا لموقف الناس منه

'not just for its particular contents but also because of peoples' attitude to it'

The second way is with a calque set using the qualifier *faqat* فقط (see 3.30.3 and 2.5.1 for affirmative). The word order is conspicuously variable:

laysa faqat bi-l-nisbati li-l- 'asliḥati l-taqīlati bal-i l-ḥafīfati 'ayḍan

ليس فقط بالنسبة للأسلحة الثقيلة بل الخفيفة أيضا

‘not only with regard to heavy weapons but light ones as well’

laysa faqat li- 'annahā 'awwalu ziyāratin rasmiyyatin yaqūmu bihā munḍu tawallīhi mahāmma maṣṣibihi, wa-lākin li- 'anna l-ziyārata ta 'tī fī tawqītīn bālīgi l-ḥasāsīyati

ليس فقط لأنها أول زيارة رسمية يقوم بها منذ توليه مهام منصبه و لكن لأن الزيارة تأتي في توقيت بالغ الحساسية

‘not only because this is the first visit he has carried out since he assumed the duties of his office, but because the visit comes at an extremely sensitive time’

(see unreal annexation 2.1.3.2)

'inna l-namīmata wa 'iṭlāqa l-ṣā 'i 'āti laysā ḥikran 'alā l-nisā 'i faqat bal humā simatāni baṣariyyatāni 'āmmatāni

إنّ النميمة وإطلاق الشائعات ليسا حكرا على النساء فقط بل هما سمتان بشريتان عامتان

‘gossiping and spreading rumours is not the exclusive domain of women only but they are two general human characteristics’

5 ADJECTIVAL AND RELATIVE CLAUSES

5.0 GENERAL PRINCIPLES (▷C3:147)

In the traditional Arab analysis adjectival clauses qualifying indef. nouns are taxonomically the same as adjectives, and both are termed *ṣifa* صفة ‘adjective’ (cf. 2.1), while clauses qualifying def. nouns are treated as adjuncts and thus termed *ṣila* صلة ‘adjunct’, lit. ‘attachment’. Both are ‘adjectival clauses’ and will be so referred to hereafter, but when appropriate they will also be termed more generally ‘relative clauses’. This will be necessary when dealing with the third category of relatives, those introduced by *mā* ما ‘that which’ and *man* من ‘he who’ which are exclusively nominal, a function which is shared by the syndetic rels (‘adjunct’), which may be either adjectival or nominal.

The feature which determines the syntactic behaviour of both types of adjectival rel. is definiteness, which combines with a/syndesis to produce the following structures (‘head’ will be used throughout in preference to ‘antecedent’ in this chapter):

- Def. head + syndetic clause = relative structure:

jalasa l-rajulu llaḏī yataḥaddatu

جلس الرجل الذى يتحدث

‘the man **who is talking** sat’

- Def. head + asyndetic clause = circumstantial qual. (see 7.3):

jalasa l-rajulu yataḥaddatu

جلس الرجل يتحدث

‘the man sat **talking**’

- Indef. head + asyndetic clause = either rel. or circum. qual.:

jalasa rajulun yataḥaddatu

جلس رجل يتحدث

either ‘a man who is talking sat’ or (more commonly)

‘a man sat **talking**’, cf. 7.3.1

- The fourth category, indef. head + syndetic clause, is empty, and there is no structure of the type:

**jalasa rajulun-i llaḍī yataḥaddatu*

جلس رجل الذي يتحدث

‘a man, the one who talked, sat’

as a def. adjunct clause cannot qualify an indef. head (even if such a structure may appear possible in a translation).

When the clauses are replaced by adjectives or participles, the difference between adjectival qualification (full agreement in case and definiteness) and adverbial qual. (no agreement, i.e. default indef. and dep. form as circ. qual.) becomes apparent:

jalasa l-rajulu l-mutaḥadditu

جلس الرجل المتحدث

‘the **speaking** [def. indep.] man sat’

jalasa l-rajulu mutaḥadditan

جلس الرجل متحدثاً

‘the man sat **speaking** [indef. dep.]’

jalasa rajulun mutaḥadditun

جلس رجل متحدث

‘a **speaking** [indef. indep.] man sat’

Here the fourth empty class should be the indef. noun as head of a non-agreeing, dep. indef. circ. qual.:

jalasa rajulun mutaḥadditan

جلس رجل متحدثاً

‘a man sat speaking [indef. dep.]’

but the rules are not always observed and in fact this construction does occur (see 7.3), since the agents of verbs do not have to be def. (3.7.1), hence the sentence is complete enough to support further adverbial qualification. However, there is no rel. structure involved here.

The situation can be summed up as follows: rel. clauses with indef. heads are asyndetic and always adjectival (5.1), while those with def. heads are syndetic and may be adjectival or nominal (5.2). However, both types are internally the same, containing an anaphoric pron. linking them to the head (5.0.1).

Although semantically rel. clauses may be restrictive or non-restrictive, this originally had no structural reflection, though ways of marking the distinction are now emerging (see 5.2.5 and cf. 5.4.4).

Nominal rel. clauses (5.3) are headed either by the rel. noun *alladī* الذي, etc. ‘the one [who]’ or the rel. nouns *man* مَنْ ‘he [who]’ and *mā* ما ‘that [which]’, the

latter pair being used exclusively in that function (5.4). The rel. *mā* ما in particular occurs in a number of other functions, e.g. temporal (5.6) and in combination with other elements to form compound conjunctions (5.7, 5.8, 5.9) somewhat like French *que*, and for this reason a number of compound subordinating conjunctions are dealt with in this chapter (see Chapter 7 for the others).

The syntax of rel. clauses is fundamentally different from English, in that the true ‘rel. pronoun’ is always located within the rel. clause (see 5.0.1). The demonstrative element prefixed to syndetic rel. clauses (i.e. with definite heads, see 5.2) does not correspond at all to the English ‘rel. pron.’ even though it is commonly referred to as such.

The syntax of rel. clauses may thus be summarized as follows (see below for details of the example cited).

[indef. head]	+ [none]	+ [clause containing ref. pron.]
<i>sayyāratun</i> سيارة ‘a car		<i>taḥmiluhā</i> تحملها which carries her’
[def. head]	+ [rel. noun]	+ [clause containing ref. pron.]
<i>al-sayyāratu</i> السيارة ‘the car	<i>llatī</i> التي [the one]	<i>taḥmiluhā</i> تحملها which carries her’

5.0.1 The referential pronoun

Regardless of the definiteness of the head noun, both kinds of adj. clause are identical in inner structure and indeed are identical with the structure of comment clauses (cf. 3.3 and further below), i.e. they are complete sentences (nom. or verbal) linked by anaphora to their head.

This can be seen by taking a topic-comment sentence such as this one from 3.2.2, where the boundary between topic and comment is marked by |:

al-ṭabībatu l-‘amrīkiyyatu | *lā yabdū ‘alā wajhihā* ‘ayyu ta‘bīrin
الطبيبة الأمريكية لا يبدو على وجهها أي تعبير
‘no expression appears on the American doctor’s [fem.] face’,
lit. ‘the American doctor | no expression appears **on her face**’

which can be converted to a rel. noun phrase, i.e. noun + adjectival clause, either by making the head noun phrase indef.:

ṭabībatun ‘amrīkiyyatun | *lā yabdū ‘alā wajhihā* ‘ayyu ta‘bīrin
طبيبة أمريكية لا يبدو على وجهها أي تعبير
‘an American doctor | **on whose face** no expression appears’

or inserting the relative noun (see 5.2) after the def. head noun phrase:

al-ṭabībatu l-‘amrīkiyyatu llatī | *lā yabdū ‘alā wajhihā* ‘ayyu ta‘bīrin
الطبيبة الأمريكية التي لا يبدو على وجهها أي تعبير
‘the American doctor [the one] | **on whose face** no expression appears’

Rephrasing with the topic focusser 'ammā أما, 'as for' (see 3.3.4) also helps to emphasize the structural identity of rel. and comment clauses (translating fa- ف 'so' as 'well' here):

'ammā l-ṭabībatu l-'amrīkiyyatu | fa-lā yabdū 'alā wajhihā 'ayyu ta'bīrin
أما الطبيبة الأمريكية فلا يبدو على وجهها أي تعبير
'as for the American doctor, | well, no expression appears on her face'

In each case it is seen that both rel. and comment clauses contain a pron. connecting them to the head. Though they have essentially the same function the referential pron. in rel. clauses is termed 'ā'id عائِد in Arabic, i.e. 'returning element' (▷C3:154, 165), while the pronoun which connects comment to topic is generally termed rābiṭ رابط 'binding element' (see further 3.3).

Since the referential pron. is marked, partly at least, for number, gender and case (5.2), it may be seen as the element carrying the agreement features of pure adjs:

fī 'afrānin darajatu ḥarāratihā 33 mi'awiyyatun
في أفران درجة حرارتها ٣٣ مئوية
'in ovens whose temperature is 33° centigrade', lit. 'ovens, their temperature is 33°'

where the fem. sing. pron. on ḥarāratihā حرارتها lit. 'her temperature' agrees with the non-human broken plural (2.1.1).

Since the function of the referential pron. depends entirely on the clause containing it (▷C3:157), when it is the agent of the verb it may actually be invisible. Thus in fī l-sayyārati l-kabīrati llatī taḥmiluhā في السيارة الكبيرة التي تحملها 'in the large car which is carrying her', the ref. pron. is not 'her' but the hidden agent pron. incorporated in taḥmilu تحمل '[she/it] carries' (3.7; ▷C3:183 seems to overlook this).

Sometimes it may take a second or two to identify the referential pron. from a string of candidates:

al-fatratu llatī kuntu 'ataḥaddatu lakum fihā 'anhu
الفترة التي كنت أتحدث لكم فيها عنه
'the period in which I was talking to you about it'

where fihā فيها 'in it' contains the anaphora to 'the period'. Or:

wa-hiya l-ṭarwatu llatī tarakathā 'usratuhā min 'ajlihā
وهي الثروة التي تركتها أسرتها من أجلها
'this is the wealth for the sake of which her family abandoned her'

where min 'ajlihā من أجلها 'for the sake of it' links the rel. clause to the head 'wealth' (a reading 'the wealth which her family left for her' is possible but was excluded by the context).

5.0.2 Omission

For obvious reasons the omission of the referential pron. is not common (▷C3:158, 167, 183), except with rel. *mā* ما (see below 5.4.3) and in clauses with time expressions as the head:

bal tuḥāwīlu 'iqnā 'ahu fī 'awqātīn takūnu 'a 'šābuhumā 'ahda'a
 بل تحاول إقناعه في أوقات تكون أعصابهما أهدأ
 'on the contrary, she should try to convince him **at times [during which]**
 both their nerves are calmer', lacks *fihā* فيها 'during which'

This is the case also with syndetic rel. clauses (see 5.2) involving time expressions:

lam 'ansa l-fatrata llatī zanantu sū'an bi-sam'āna
 لم أنس الفترة التي ظننت سوءاً بسمعان
 'I have not forgotten **the period [in which]** I thought ill of Sam'ān',
 lacking *fihā* فيها 'in which'

bi-ntizāri l-yawmi llaḍī sa-taltaqī bihi
 بانتظار اليوم الذي ستلتقي به
 'in anticipation of **the day [on which]** she would meet with him',
 lacking *fihī* فيه 'on which'

This is in no way similar to the frequent (and strictly conditioned) omission of the English rel. pron., as in 'the man [0] I saw yesterday': such elisions are impossible in Arabic.

Conversely, in a clause such as *fī 'ayyi waqtin maḍā* في أي وقت مضى 'at any time past', i.e. '**which** had passed', the ref. pron. is present, but concealed as the incorporated ag. of *maḍā* مضى 'it passed' (see 5.0.1).

5.0.3 Order

If the rel. clause is a equational sentence its subj.-pred. order will be reversed when the pred. is more def. than the subj., as with equational sentences generally (▷C3:155, and see 3.1.3):

hiya waḥdatun lahā šaklun ḥāṣṣun mumayyazun
 هي وحدة لها شكل خاص مميز
 'it is a unit which **has** a distinctive, special form',
 lit. 'to it [def. pred.] [there] is a form [indef. subj.]'

(see 2.6.10 on *li-* لـ 'have')

lā yasmaḥūna bi-l-suknā li-l-'ā'ilātī llatī 'indahā 'atfālun
 لا يسمحون بالسكنى للعائلات التي عندها أطفال
 'they do not allow residence to families which **have children**', lit. 'to them [are] children'

5.1 RELATIVE CLAUSES WITH INDEFINITE HEADS (▷C3:147)

These are asyndetic and always adjectival, that is, they cannot stand alone as noun phrases, unlike syndetic rel. clauses. The rel. clause occurs immediately after the head, i.e. in adj. position (the referential prons. are in bold, unless they are agents concealed in their verbs, cf, **5.0.1**):

qadrun lā naẓīra lahu

قدر لا نظير له

‘**an amount which** has no equal’, lit. ‘no equal is to **it**’

(cf. **4.1.2** on cat. neg.)

māddatu ‘aḥādīṭa quddimat

مادة أحاديث قدمت

‘the subject of **lectures which** were presented’

(the annexation unit is indef., see **2.3.1** and **2.3.2**)

72 *su‘ālan ‘ujība ‘anhā šafāhatan*

٧٢ سؤالاً أجيب عنها شفاهة

‘72 **questions which** were answered orally’

(note that the fem. sing. pron. agrees with the grammatical gender of the non-human plur., see **2.1.1**, and **3.12.3**, **3.12.4** on this passive construction)

tamannā jināḥayni yunqidānihi min hāḍā l-zahfi l-mumīti

تمنى جناحين ينقذانه من هذا الزحف المميت

‘he wished for **two wings which would rescue** [dual] him from this deadly crush’, lit. ‘**they two** will rescue him’

mujarradu biḍā‘atin tantamī ‘ilā l-māḍi wa-yajibu ‘an tabqā fi l-māḍi

مجرد بضاعة تنتمي إلى الماضي ويجب أن تبقى في الماضي

a mere commodity which stems from the past and **which must** stay in the past’ lit. ‘**it** stems’ and ‘that **it** stay’

(see **3.15.2** for *yajibu* ‘it is necessary’, which contains no referential pron.)

Negative rel. clauses follow the same rules:

lā tūjadu dawlatun fī l-‘ālamī lā ta‘rifu man huwa l-‘aduwwu wa-man huwa l-ṣadiqu

لا توجد دولة في العالم لا تعرف من هو العدو ومن هو الصديق

‘there is no state in the world which **does not know** who is the enemy and who is the friend’

(and note the nominal rel. clauses which are the objects of ‘know’, see 5.4.1)

mas‘alatun laysat bi-l-hayyinati

مسألة ليست بالهيينة

‘a **not insignificant** matter’, lit. ‘a matter which is not with the insignificant’

(see 4.2.8 on this usage with *laysa* ليس ‘not be’)

The following sentence contains two consecutive asyndetic rel. clauses, one nested (contrast 6.1): *bi-fadli rajulin sānadahā huwa zawjuhā* بفضل رجل ساندها **huwa** *zawjuhā* ‘by the grace of a **man who** helped her, **who** is her husband’, where *sānadahā* ‘he helped her’ contains a concealed agent pron., and in the second clause *huwa* هو is both subj. of the nominal sentence and the referential pron. in its own clause.

Agreement with collectives follows the same principles as for adj. (2.1.1.2), preds (3.1.1) and agents (3.8.2), that is, either sing. or plur. prons occur:

nāsun tuḥibbu l-mut‘ata wa-l-‘amwāla

ناس تحب المتعة والأموال

‘people **who like** [fem. sing.] enjoyment and wealth’

qawmun lā ya‘rifūna llāha

قوم لا يعرفون الله

‘[a] people **who do not know** [masc. plur.] God’

5.1.1 Elative annexation

Since elative annexation to indef. nouns (▷C3:150, and see 2.11.5), including ‘first’ (see 2.13.1) is grammatically indef., it is qualified by asyndetic rel. clauses:

‘awwalu maqālīn nušira lī

أول مقال نشر لي

‘the first article **which was published** of mine’

(referential pron. is incorporated in *nušira* نشر ‘it was published’)

‘akbaru wafdin barīṭāniyyin yazūru ṭihrāna munḍu 20 ‘āman

أكبر وفد بريطاني يزور طهران منذ ٢٠ عاما

‘the biggest British delegation **which will visit** Teheran for 20 years’

(referential pron. is incorporated in *yazūru* يزور 'it will visit')

'awwalu ziyāratin rasmiyyatin yaqūmu bihā munḍu tawallīhi mahāmmi manṣibihi

أول زيارة رسمية يقوم بها منذ تولي مهام منصبه

'the first official visit **which** he will carry out since taking up the duties of his office', lit. 'he will carry **it** [referential pron.] out'

Here can also be included quantifiers and emphasizers such *kullu* كل 'all', 'every' (see 2.9) when annexed to indef. nouns:

kullu qaṭrati mā'in yuwaḥḥiruhā l-mašrū'u ta'nī ziyādatan fī l-'arḍi l-mazrū'ati

كل قطرة ماء يوفرها المشروع تعني زيادة في الأرض المزروعة

'every drop of water **which** the scheme provides means an increase in cultivated land'

'ayyu šay'in yaṣluḥu li-l-zirā'ati 'amla'uhu bi-l-ṭīni

أي شيء يصلح للزراعة أملؤه بالطين

'anything **that** was suitable for cultivation I would fill with earth'

qad 'adraka 'ayya 'ālamīn yaḥyāhu l-fatā

قد أدرك أي عالم يحياه الفتى

'he knew **what world** the boy lived in'

When annexed to def. nouns these units become def., see 5.2.3.

5.1.2 Generic article

Heads bearing the generic article (see 1.12.3.1) may be treated as indef. and thus take asyndetic rel. clauses:

sayyāratun muḥammalatun bi-l-'aqmišati quddirat qīmatuhā bi-mablaḡi

سيارة محملة بالأقمشة قدرت قيمتها بمبلغ

'a vehicle loaded with **fabrics whose value** is estimated at'

kāna lā budda min-a l-wuqūfi 'inda hādā l-ḥaddi l-mutawāḍi'i min-a l-qawli nursiluhu, bi-'ijlālīn, fī rajulin faḍḍīn.

كان لا بد من الوقوف عند هذا الحد المتواضع من القول نرسله، بإجلال، في رجل فذ

'we have had to stop at this modest limit of **our discourse, which we are giving vent to**, with respect, about a unique man'

As a result it is not always possible to distinguish between a rel. and a circumstantial clause (see 7.3.3). The following are formally circ. quals but the possibility of their being rel. clauses qualifying generic heads cannot be ruled out:

yazunnuhu rasūla l-'āmīri jā'a bi-ḥabarin

يظنه رسول الأمر جاء بخبر

‘he thought he was **the messenger of the commandant**, [having] come with some news’ or ‘**some commandant’s messenger** [generic military function] **who had come** with some news’

(‘come with’ is really ‘bring’, see 3.11.4.1)

‘alā ’anna R. Ḥ. lam yaktafi bi-*hāḍihi l-ṣayḥati yuṭliqihā* fī wajhi l-‘arabi, mu’addiyan qisṭahu min-a l-mas’ūliyyati l-qawmiyyati, bal ...

على أن ر. خ. لم يكتف بهذه الصيحة يطلقها في وجه العرب ، مؤديا قسطه من المسؤولية القومية بل ...

‘but R.H. was not content with **this cry which he uttered** in the face of the Arabs, carrying out his share of national responsibility, but rather ...’

or ‘**this cry, uttering it**’ if we take it in tandem with the next phrase *mu’addiyan* مؤديا ‘carrying out’, which is unambiguously a circ. qual. (cf. 2.4.6, 3.29.7).

5.1.3 Ambiguity

With indef. heads there can be complete ambiguity between the asyndetic rel. clause and the equally asyndetic circ. clause (*ḥāl*, see 7.3.3; C3:153):

ṣāḥadtu ‘ābā’an wa-’ummahātin *yarsumūna l-ḍaḥkata* ‘alā wujūhihim

شاهدت آباء وأمهات يرسمون الضحكة على وجوههم

‘I saw fathers and mothers **painting/who were painting** a smile on their faces’

(note the default masc. verb for this mixed gender agent, cf. 3.8.3)

5.1.4 Pronominally linked qualifier

A participial adj. structure of the pattern *al-maqṭū’atu binā l-subulu* المقطوعة بنا السبل ‘with our ways [of escape] cut off’, lit. ‘cut off from us our ways’, with mixed agreement (definiteness and case with grammatical head, number and gender with logical head). This construction is termed in Arabic *na’t sababī* نعت سببي ‘semantically/pronominally linked qualifier’, and because it translates easily into rel. structures it is often erroneously classified as a rel. (e.g. C3:150), but will not be dealt with here. See instead 2.1.3.4.

5.2 RELATIVE CLAUSES WITH DEFINITE HEADS (▷C3:162)

These are syndetic, and introduced by the (historically deictic) *alladī* الذي etc. ‘that one’ (see 1.7.3 for forms), here called the ‘relative noun’. This element,

already def. by nature, also agrees in number, gender and case with its head (not all of these features are marked), to which it is effectively in apposition (cf. agreement with demonstratives in 2.2.6).

The Arabic terms are *mawṣūl* موصول lit. ‘thing connected’ for the rel. noun and *ṣila* صلة lit. ‘adjunct’, ‘attachment’ for the rel. clause (see 5.0), both terms implying the inseparability of the rel. noun from its attached clause.

This element is not a ‘relative pronoun’ in the English sense: that function is performed by the referential pronoun (5.1). The purpose of the *allaḍī* الذي element is to make the whole clause definite, and it may thus be thought of as a determiner, which completes the adjectival agreement with the def. head: compare *sayyāratun kabīratun* [0] *taḥmiluhā* سيارة كبيرة تحملها ‘a large car [0] which is carrying her’, which has an indef. head and indef. agreement in both the adj. and the asyndetic rel. clause (indicated by [0] at the head of the rel. clause), with *al-sayyāratu l-kabīratu llatī taḥmiluhā* السيارة الكبيرة التي تحملها ‘the large car [that one] which is carrying her’ in which all the qualifiers are formally def. in agreement with the def. head *al-sayyāratu* السيارة ‘the car’.

5.2.1 Internal structure

Syndetic rel. clauses nonetheless have the same internal structure as asyndetic rel. clauses, and the referential pron. is therefore shown here in bold in this selection of typical rel. structures:

al-muqābalatu llatī ḥaḍarahā

المقابلة التي حضرها

‘the meeting which he attended’, lit. ‘the meeting, that one, he attended it’

al-makātibu llatī ‘adtu l-taradduda ‘alayhā

المكاتب التي اعتدت التردد عليها

‘the offices which I was accustomed to frequenting’,
lit. ‘to the frequenting of them’

hā’ulā’i l-’atfālu llaḍīna yu’ānūna fī ṭufūlatihim min ‘amrāḍin jasīmatin tamna’uhum min-a l-iḥtilālī bi-zumalā’ihim

هؤلاء الأطفال الذين يعانون في طفولتهم من أمراض جسيمة تمنعهم من الاختلاط بزملائهم
‘those children who suffer in childhood from grave illnesses which prevent them from mixing with their companions’, lit. ‘those ones they suffer’

(note that ‘which prevent them ...’ is an asyndetic rel. qualifying the indef. ‘grave illnesses’)

al-rajulu llaḍī ‘af’āluhu tasbīqu ‘aqwālahu

الرجل الذي أفعاله تسبق أقواله

‘the man whose actions precede his words’ (topic-comment, ‘who, his actions, they precede his words’, cf. 3.3)

Where the rel. clause is an equational sentence with the head as its own subj. a free pron. will be both subject and referential pron., such as **aḥī llaḍī huwa al-'amīnu l-'āmmu* ‘أخي الذي هو الأمين العام’ ‘my brother who [he] is the general secretary’ (though no examples came up in the data).

However, the ref. pron. is usually omitted anyway in equational sentences when the pred. is a prepositional phrase or the equivalent:

al-ḥujratu llatī bi-jānibi l-bābi l-ra'īsīyī

الحجرة التي بجانب الباب الرئيسي

‘the room which is next to the main door’

for *allatī hiya bi-jānibi* ‘التي هي بجانب’ ‘which [it] is next to’

al-misāḥatu l-mustaḥḥatu llatī 'amāma l-mabnā wa-llatī nuṣīru ilayhā

‘bi-l-ḥadīqati’

المساحة المستطيلة التي أمام المبنى والتي نشير إليها ‘بالحديقة’

‘the oblong space which is in front of the building and which we refer to as

“the garden”’

for *allatī hiya 'amāma* ‘which [it] is in front of’ (note the coordination of rel. clauses, not necessarily restrictive as in 5.3.5).

Agreement of the rel. noun with mixed heads follows the rules for adjs (2.1.1.3) and preds (3.1.1), here a masc. dual, for example, qualifying a pair of nouns:

lam tansa 'abadan ḥālata l-qalaqi wa-'adami l-ṭiqati llaḍayni rāfaqā

ḥaṭawātihā l-'adabiyyata l-'ulā

لم تنس أبدا حالة القلق وعدم الثقة اللذين رافقا خطواتها الأدبية الأولى

‘she never forgot the state of anxiety and lack of confidence which accompanied her first literary steps’

with dual obl. اللذين *allaḍayni* (the rel. pron. is the dual agent pron. in *rāfaqā* رافقا ‘those two [masc.] accompanied’).

With mixed genders the default is masc.:

li-nanzur 'ilā l-suḥriyati l-ṣafīfati wa-l-'asā llaḍayni tanimmu 'anhumā

l-'ibāratu l-tāliyatū

لننظر إلى السخرية الشفيفة والأسى اللذين تنم عنهما العبارة التالية

‘let us look at the transparent mockery [fem.] and pain [masc.] which the following expression reveals’

with masc. dual *allaḍayni* ‘those two’ (see 3.24.2 for indirect imperat. *li-nanzur* لننظر ‘let us look’).

Attraction is likely to occur with collectives (cf. adj. 2.1.1.3, and agreement in predicates, 3.1.1, and verb agents, 3.8.2):

al-hay'atu l-tadrīsiyyatu llaḏīna yabluḡu 'adaduhum 43 'ustāḏan wa-muḥāḏiran

الهيئة التدريسية الذين يبلغ عددهم ٤٣ أستاذا ومحاضرا

'the teaching **body** [sing.], whose [plur.] number reaches 43 **professors and lecturers**'

with both the referential noun and referential pron. agreeing either with the natural number of 'professors and lecturers' (here actually grammatically singular, see 2.12 for syntax of numerals) or with the collective *al-hay'atu* 'body'

'an 'adadi l-fatayāti llawāti waqa'na fī ḡarāmihi

عن عدد الفتيات اللواتي وقعن في غرامته

'about **the number** [sing.] of girls who [plur.] had fallen in love with him', lit. '**they** [fem.] fell', agreeing with 'girls', though 'number' is the grammatical head.

al-nāsu llaḏīna lā yaktariṭūna li-'iṣārāti l-sayri

الناس الذين لا يكثرثون لإشارات السير

'the people who **do not take** [masc. plur.] any notice of the "Walk" signs'

The next examples merely emphasize that agreement is nevertheless with the gender of the head even if it is embedded in another construction such as annexation (see 2.3):

ba'da ḥukmi l-maḥkamati l-dustūriyyati l-'ulyā llaḏī ṣadira fī l-muddati l-'aḥīrati

بعد حكم المحكمة الدستورية العليا الذي صدر في المدة الأخيرة

'after the judgement [masc.] of the supreme constitutional court [fem.] which **was issued** [masc.] recently'

da'awātu l-sā'iqi llatī nhālat 'alayhi

دعوات السائق التي انهالت عليه

'the **imprecations** [fem.] of the driver [masc.] which **rained** down [fem.] upon him'

Proper names are of course def. (cf. 1.12.3.2) and take syndetic rels:

yanquṣunī ḥusaynun-i llaḏī kunta ta'rīfuhu

ينقصني حسين الذي كنت تعرفه

'what I am missing is the Husayn whom **you used to know**', lit. '[the] H. fails me'

fī landan wa-bārīs allatayni zurtuhumā

في لندن وباريس اللتين زرتهما

‘in London and Paris, which **I had visited**’,

lit. ‘those two [fem. dual], I visited **them** [dual]’

In the last example a non-restrictive meaning appears in the translation, but there is no reason (apart from the original context) why it should not be restrictive, namely ‘in the London and Paris I had visited [before, when they were different]’, cf. 5.2.5.

5.2.2 Agreement with pronoun heads

The agreement of the referential pron. varies when the reference is to a 1st or 2nd pers. pronoun (▷C3:157). It may agree formally with the head:

‘anā ‘insānatun lī karāmatun wa-‘izzatu nafsīn

أنا إنسانة لي كرامة وعزة نفس

‘I am a person [fem.] who **have** honour and self-respect’, lit. ‘to me’ not *lahā*

لها ‘to her’

‘anā llaḏī ‘aktubu

أنا الذي أكتب

‘it is I who **write**’, lit. ‘I am the one I write’

or be deflected to 3rd person:

lastu ‘anā faqaṭ-i llatī ta‘lamu bi-ḥubbika

لست أنا فقط التي تعلم بحبك

‘I am not the only one who **knows** [fem.] about your love’

With *man* من ‘the one who’ (see 5.4) deflected agreement is probably the norm (following CA):

‘anta man yuḥrijunī

أنت من يخرجني

‘you are the one who **is** embarrassing me’

5.2.3 Elatives in partitive constructions

Elatives in partitive constructions (see *min* من ‘than’, ‘from’ 2.6.12 and cf. 5.1.1) These are def. and therefore take syndetic rel. clauses:

wa-lā šakka ‘anna l-sadda l-‘āliya kāna ‘ahamma l-mašārī‘i llatī

nuffīdat fī miṣra

ولا شك أن السد العالي كان أهم المشاريع التي نفذت في مصر

‘and there is no doubt that the High Dam was **the most important project** which was carried out in Egypt’, lit. ‘the most important of **the projects, those ones**’

with the referential pron. incorporated in *nuffīdat* نفذت ‘**they** were carried out’

wāḥīdatun min ‘aqwā wa-‘a‘zami l-nisā’i llāṭi ‘arafahunna

واحدة من أقوى وأعظم النساء اللاتي عرفهن

‘one **of** the strongest and greatest women whom he knew’,

lit. ‘**those ones** he knew **them**’

min ‘ahammi wa-‘afḍali l-‘azīfāti llāṭi štarakna fī ...

من أهم وأفضل العازفات اللاتي اشتركن في ...

‘**one of** the most important and best musicians who took part in ...’,

lit. ‘**those ones** ... **they** [fem.] took part’

See 2.3.7 for the binomial *iḍāfa* in both the above examples.

Quantifiers and the like (2.8, 2.9) annexed to def. nouns also require syndetic rels.:

bi-nafsi l-fustāni lladī kāna ‘alayhā l-bāriḥata

بنفس الفستان الذي كان عليها البارحة

‘with the **same** dress which she had had on the day before’

5.2.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are very commonly used with syndetic rels in the sense of ‘he who’, ‘those who’, etc.:

hādā lladī ra’athu lam yakun aḥmada

هذا الذي رأيته لم يكن أحمد

‘**this one** whom she had seen was not Ahmad’

li-maddi yadi l-‘awni li-hā’ulā’i lladīna yastaṣriḥūnakum layla nahāra

لدى يد العون لهؤلاء الذين يستصرونكم ليل نهار

‘to stretch out the hand of assistance to **those** who are screaming out at you night and day’

(see 2.4.3.1 for invariable *layla nahāra* ليل نهار, lit. ‘night day’)

min dīnin ḡayri ḍālika lladī naša’a l-ḥizbu ‘alā ‘asāsihi

من دين غير ذلك الذي نشأ الحزب على أساسه

‘from a religion other than **that** on the basis of which the party came into being’, lit. ‘other than that, the one the party came into being **on the basis of it**’

Also with *mā* ما ‘what’ (5.4):

lā 'aḥhamu mā llaḍī yusī'u zumalā'i 'indamā 'azra'u
 لا أفهم ما الذي يسيء زملائي عندما أزرع
 ‘I do not understand **what it is that** annoys my colleagues when I do gardening’

5.2.5 Non-restrictive relative clauses

Restrictive and non-restrictive rel. clauses do not have to be formally distinguished; the following is clearly a non-restrictive rel.:

waqaftu 'amāma šubbāki tašjili l-rasā'ili llaḍī lam yuḥtaḥ ba'du
 وقفت أمام شبك تسجيل الرسائل الذي لم يفتح بعد
 ‘I stood in front of the window for registering letters, **which had not yet been opened**’

and would need a comma in English, but such distinctions are not yet standard in MWA. However, the signs are that the comma is being introduced:

ḥaraqa 'uḍunayhi ṣawtu jirwi jārihi l-'ajūzi, allaḍī yuṣbiḥu ṣawta bukā'i l-ruḍḍa'i
 خرق أذنيه صوت جرو جاره العجوز، الذي يشبه صوت بكاء الرضع
 ‘there pierced his ears the sound of his elderly neighbour’s kid, which resembled the sound of the crying of suckling infants’

(after the comma the rel. noun is pronounced [ʔ]allaḍī with default onset as the beginning of a new utterance after a pause)

An alternative is to introduce non-restrictive rel. clauses with *wa-* و ‘and’, though this occurs only with def. heads:

'illā 'anna fikrahu l-qāṭi'a l-ṣārima l-mutašaddida wa-llaḍī ṭaraḥahu fi kitābihi
 إلا أن فكره القاطع الصارم المتشدد والذي طرحه في كتابه
 ‘although his decisive, severe, relentless thought, **which he presented** in his book’
fi 'awwali ḥiṭābin lahu wa-llaḍī 'alqāhu fi baldatihi
 في أول خطاب له والذي ألقاه في بلدته
 ‘in the first speech of his, which he gave in his home town’

(strictly the head is an indef. elative phrase, see 5.1.1, but when qualified by the elliptical and asyndetic rel. clause *lahu* له '[which was] to him' it acquires enough definiteness to attract the rel. noun *allaḍī* الذي (cf. 1.12.3 on definiteness)

lam tuṣaddiq-i l-jamāhīru fawza farīqihā wa-llaḍī yu'tabaru 'aḡlā fawzin ḥaqqaqahu l-nāḍī

لم تصدق الجماهير فوز فريقها والذي يعتبر أغلى فوز حققه النادي

'the fans did not believe their team's victory, **which is considered** the most valuable victory the club has ever achieved'

(see 5.1.1 for the asyndetic rel. clause qualifying the elative 'aḡlā fawzin فوز أغلى 'the most valuable victory')

For the true coordination of a series of rel. clauses see 6.2.1.

5.3 NOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES (▷C3:168)

As with adjectives (see 2.1), the adjectival rel. clause may also occur without a head, i.e. function as a noun phrase, with the difference that only def. rel. clauses (i.e. those beginning with *allaḍī* الذي, etc.) may do so (see 5.4 for indef. rel. with *mā* ما 'what' and *man* من 'who').

5.3.1 As noun phrases

As noun phrases these rel. clauses occur in all nom. functions (though strangely, no examples were found of nominal rel. clauses in agent position). Note that the structure of the rel. clause remains the same as above, hence the referential pron. is still required:

- Subject/topic (with or without sentence introducers, see 3.2):

allaḍī 'urīdu 'an 'aqūlahu

الذي أريد أن أقوله

'**what** I want to say [is]'

wa-lākin-i llaḍī lam yuḥālif fīhi 'aḥadun huwa 'anna

ولكن الذي لم يخالف فيه أحد هو أن

'but **what** no-one ever disagrees about is that'

lāḥaẓa 'anna llaḍī ḥaddaṭathu lā tartadī malābisa l-ḥidādi l-sawdā 'a

لاحظ ان التي حدثته لا ترتدي ملابس الحداد السوداء

'he noticed **that the one** [fem. sing.] who spoke to him was not wearing black mourning clothes'

- Predicate/comment:

ṭab ‘an zawjuki l-’awwalu, huwa llaḏī sawfa taltaqīna bihi fī l-’āḥirati

طبعاً زوجك الأول، هو الذي سوف تلتقين به في الآخرة

‘of course your [fem. sing.] first husband, **he is the one** you will meet in the afterlife’

dālika llaḏī yakfīhā bi-l-kādi li-ta’īša

ذلك الذي يكفيها بالكاد لتعيش

‘that is **what** suffices her, just, to live on’

- Agent: none found; possibly replaced by the topic-comment type above.

- Dir. object:

la ‘anat-i llaḏī ‘a’ṭāhu l-sayyārata

لعنت الذي أعطاه السيارة

‘she cursed **the one** who had given him the car’

(cf. 3.11.2.1 on doubly transitive ‘a’ṭā أعطى ‘give’)

- After preposition(al)s:

wa-lā yakūnū min-a llaḏīna yaqūlūna mā lā yaf‘alūna

ولا يكونوا من الذين يقولون ما لا يفعلون

‘and they should not be **among those** who say what they do not do’

al-ṭawābu min-a llaḏī faṭaranā

الثواب من الذي فطرنا

‘reward **from the one** who created us’.

- After interrogatives (▷C3:169):

‘ayna llaḏī yafhamu mā hiya l-’iṣārātu l-mubhamatu

أين الذي يفهم ما هي الإشارات المبهمة

‘where is **the one** who understands what the obscure signals are?’

(and cf. 5.4.3 on the embedded *mā* ما clause)

See 10.3, 10.4 for interros of the pattern *man-i llaḏī* من الذي ‘who is the one who?’ and *mā llaḏī* ما الذي ‘what is the one who?’

Cf. also the combinations with dem. and *mā* ما in 5.2.4, which often appear in calques of ‘those who’, etc.

5.4 THE INDEFINITE PRONOUNS *man* مَنْ 'he who' and *mā* مَا 'that which'

These form relative clauses which are exclusively nominal (▷C3:170). Historically these words are both interrogatives, and there are still some syntactic and logical echoes of this (▷C3:172–3), cf. 10.3 and indirect questions in 10.18, and note also that these pronouns occur in conditional sentences, 'whoever', 'whatever' (see 8.6).

The rel. clause itself has the same internal structure as all rel. clauses, though with *man* مَنْ and *mā* مَا there is a tendency for the referential pron. to be omitted when it is obvious, usually in short sentences (see 5.4.3).

Since they occur in all noun phrase positions they will not be subcategorized here; they have the same range of functions as the *alladī* الَّذِي noun clauses illustrated above, differing only in that *alladī* الَّذِي indicates a specific entity 'the one who' (even if sometimes generic) while *man* مَنْ and *mā* مَا are intrinsically non-specific, 'anyone who', 'whatever'.

5.4.1 *man* مَنْ (▷C3:173)

Although the word itself is invariable, its number and gender agreement will emerge elsewhere (▷C1, 75, 3:175), depending on the reference (i.e. the writer's intention), either 'he/she who' or 'they who'.

- With singular agreement (though often a plur. is more natural in English):

fī-man qātala wa-fī-man lam yuqātil

فيمن قاتل وفيمن لم يقاتل

'in regard to him that **fought** [sing.] and him that did not **fight** [sing.]',
i.e. 'those that fought and those that did not' (cf. 11.7 for paronomasia)

jamī 'u man kāna dālika šifatahu

جميع من كان ذلك صفته

'all those of that description', lit. 'all of the one who that was **his** description'

ḥattā yumkinahu l-tawāfuqu ma'a man sa-takūnu šarīkata ḥayātihī

حتى يمكنه التوافق مع من ستكون شريكته حياته

'so that he can conform with the one who **will be** [fem. sing.] his life's partner'

laysa man yuwaqqi' u lī šahādātī

ليس من يوقع لي شهادتي

'there is no-one who **will sign** [sing.] for me my certificate'

- With plural agreement (all verbs masc. plur.):

man taḥāddaṭū 'alqaw 4810 kalimātin

من تحدثوا ألقوا ٤٨١٠ كلمات

‘those that **did speak** gave [a total of] 4810 speeches’

ma 'a man laysū ma 'anā fī l-jamā 'ati

مع من ليسوا معنا في الجماعة

‘with those who **were not** with us in the group’

kullu man fī l-sūqi ša 'arū bihi

كل من في السوق شعروا به

‘all of those in the market **have become aware** of it’

barā 'atu man 'āšartu hum

براءة من عاشرتهم

‘the innocence of those I lived with’, lit. ‘the one who, I lived with **them**’

man hum 'alā ra 'sī 'amalihim

من هم على رأس عملهم

‘those who **are** at the peak of **their** careers’

with masc. plur. referential pron. *hum* هم in the nominal sentence rel. clause, cf. 5.1

- *man* من clauses may overlap with indirect questions (see 10.18):

wa-nasītu man 'anā

ونسيت من أنا

‘and I forgot **who** I was’

man yalūḥūna bi- 'a 'lāmin lā nadrī li-man

من يلوحون بأعلام حمراء لا ندري لمن

‘those who appear with red flags, **whose** we do not know’, lit. ‘we do not know to whom [they belong]’

and note plur. agreement in main clause

- When preceded by partitive *min* من ‘of’, ‘from’, *mā* ما and *man* مَنْ assimilate to *mimmā* مِمَّا (see 5.4.2) and *mimman* مِمَّن and are spelt as one word:

mimman kānū yumārisūna l-riyāḍata

ممن كانوا يمارسون الرياضة

‘of **those who used to practise** sport’

al-malāyīnu min 'amṭālī mimman 'āšū l-nisfa l-tāniya min-a l-qarni l-'iṣrīna

الملايين من أمثالي ممن عاشوا النصف الثاني من القرن العشرين
'the millions like me **of those who** lived [plur.] through the second half
of the twentieth century' (note plur. agreement)

5.4.1.1 Paired verbal *man* مَنْ clauses give the sense 'whoever does x, [also] does y' (not to be confused with genuine conditional sentences, 'whosoever' as in 'whoever does x, y will happen as a result', with apoc. verbs, see **8.5.1**).

In these examples the verbs are visibly not apocopated (cf. **1.2.9**):

'inna man yaqūlu bi-hāḍihi l-'uṭrūḥati yaqīsu l-'amra bi-miqyāsihi

إنّ من يقول بهذه الأطروحة يقيس الأمر بمياسه
'[indeed] **whoever maintains** this thesis **is measuring** the matter by its
[proper] standard'

man yarāhum yaẓunnu 'annahum yaqifūna fī ṭābūrīn

من يراهم يظن أنهم يقفون في طابور
'**whoever sees** them **will think** they are standing in a queue'

In other cases indep. verbs must be assumed from the context:

kullu man yadhūlulhā lā yaḥruju tāniyatan minhā

كل من يدخلها لا يخرج منها ثانية منها
'all those who **enter** [sing.] it will not **go out** [sing.] from it again'

man yaqra'u hādā l-kitāba ... sawfa yajidu nafsahu – bi-l-ta'kid – wa-qad-i studrija 'ilā ḡābatin ṣadīdati l-kaṭāfati min-a l-'aḥdāti

من يقرأ هذا الكتاب ... سوف يجد نفسه – بالتأكيد – وقد استدرج إلى غابة شديدة
الكثافة من الأحداث

'whoever **reads** this book ... will **find** himself, for sure, having been lured
into an extremely dense forest of events'

(note the annexed adj. *ṣadīdati l-kaṭāfati* شديدة الكثافة, lit. 'extreme of denseness', see **2.1.3.2**)

Both verbs may also be perf., with *qad* قد (see **3.10.4**) before the second to distinguish this from a conditional sentence (contrast true conditionals in **8.3.1**):

man ya'isa fa-qad fašila

مَنْ يئس فقد فشل
'he who **despairs** [perf.] **has** already **lost** [perf.]'

Nominal sentences also occur in either clause:

man 'indahu baqaratun ḥalūbun yūwazi 'u 'alā llaḍīna yaḥtājūna bi-dūni muqābilin

من عنده بقرة حلب يوزع على الذين يحتاجون بدون مقابل

'he who has a milch cow distributes [the milk] to those who are in need without recompense'

(for the unmarked fem. *ḥalūb* حلب 'bearing milk' see 1.12.2.1)

5.4.2 *mā* 'what', 'that which' (▷C3:177)

This is masc. sing. by default, though reference to fems will attract agreement, accordingly (cf. interrogative *mā* ما 'what?' in 10.4.1):

lam yaqul lī mā huwa smu l-jarīdati

لم يقل لي ما هو اسم الجريدة

'he did not tell me what the name of the newspaper was', lit. 'what **it** [masc] is the name'

al-ta'arrufu 'alā mā yajhaluhu

التعرف على ما جهله

'getting to know what he does not know', lit. 'what he does not know **it**'

taḍawwuqu l-fannāni li-mā tarāhu 'aynuhu

تذوق الفنان لما تراه عينه

'the artist's sense for what his eye sees', lit. 'sees **it**'

hāḍā mā dafa'ahu 'ilā taṣwīri l-inḥiṭāṭi l-ma'nawiyyi

هذا ما دفعه إلى تصوير الانحطاط المعنوي

'this is what impelled him to portray the moral decline' (the rel. clause is a verbal sentence, so the referential pron. is concealed in the verb as agent pron., i.e. '**it** impelled')

waqa'a mā naḥṣāhu wa-qāmat-i l-ḥarbu

وقع ما نخشاه وقامت الحرب

'what we fear happened and war arose', lit. 'we fear **it**'

'indamā wajadtu l-waḍ'a 'alā mā huwa 'alayhi

عندما وجدت الوضع على ما هو عليه

'when I found the situation to be what it was' lit. 'on what it was on **it**'

For fem. agreement see the example *mā hiya l-'iṣārātu* ما هي الإشارات 'what the signals were' in 5.3.1. Overlap with the interrogatives here, namely, as an indirect question, cannot be excluded, but the agreement feature is the same anyway.

Note regular assimilation *min* + *mā* = *mimmā* (1.2.2, and see further idiomatic use in 5.5.2):

wa-mimmā lā rayba fīhi 'anna ...

ومما لا ريب فيه أن ...

‘among that about which there is no doubt is that ...’,
lit. ‘**from what**’, partitive

'akbaru mimmā taṣawwara

أكبر مما تصور

‘bigger **than [what]** he imagined’

'alayhā 'an tunqida ṣadīqatahā mimmā tūšiku 'an taqa'a fīhi

عليها أن تنقذ صديقتها مما توشك أن تقع فيه

‘it was up to her to deliver her friend **from what** she was about to fall into’

The assimilation also occurs with *'an* عن + *mā* ما = *'ammā* عما ‘from what’:

yaḥtalifu tamāman 'ammā maḍā

يختلف تماما عما مضى

‘it is completely different **from what** has gone before’

5.4.3 Omission of referential pronoun

Frequently the referential pron. is omitted with both *mā* ما and *man* من:

hāḍā mā 'a'taqidu

هذا ما أعتقد

‘this is **what I** believe’,

not *'a'taqiduhu* أعتقده ‘I believe **it**’

qad wa'ā mā ta'allama

قد وعى ما تعلم

‘he remembered what he learnt’

not *mā ta'allamahu* ما تعلمه ‘learnt **it**’

la-qad 'arafat mā yurīdu

لقد عرفت ما يريد

‘she realized **what he intended**’

not *yurīduhu* يريد ‘he intends **it**’

'ahwanu bi-kaṭīrin min-a l-'aḍābi bayna yaday-i man yuḥibbu

أهون بكثير من العذاب بين يدي من يحب

‘much easier than being punished in front of **the one he loves**’

not *yuhibbuhu* من يحبه 'he loves **him**'

In the following case omission is probably the norm, as the rel. clause is an equational sentence with a prepositional phrase as pred. (cf. 5.2.1):

ḥiftu 'an 'alfita naẓara man fī l-bayti

خفت أن ألفت نظر من في البيت

'I was afraid I would attract the attention of those **in the house**'

not *man hum* من هم 'those who'.

5.4.4 *mā ... min ...* 'that which ... of ...'

In combination with an explanatory *min* مِنْ (see 2.6.12), *mā* ما is commonly used in rel. constructions where the head is either inconveniently complex or vague (▷C3:179). Here *mā* ما serves as an empty head whose content will be specified after *min* مِنْ as an open-ended noun phrase. The complete clause is nominal in Arabic (and has the same distribution as any nominal rel. clause) but can always be paraphrased by English restrictive relatives. Their approximate English sense can be schematically represented by various matrices according to whether the noun phrase after *min* من is sing., plur., indef. or def.

- *mā ... min* من ... ما with indef. nouns, sing. or plur., in the matrix 'such indef. x or x's as' (other examples in 5.5.3 with *kullu* كل 'all'):

mā ḥadaṭa min taṭawwurin fī šinā 'ati l-dawā 'i

ما حدث من تطوّر في صناعة الدواء

'such development as has occurred in the manufacture of medicine', lit. 'what has happened **by way of** development'

mā lahā min dawrin bārizin

ما لها من دور بارز

'what prominent role it has', lit. 'what it has **by way of** a prominent role'

mā kāna yuḥīṭu bihi min mamālika

ما كان يحيط به من ممالك

'what kingdoms surrounded it', lit. 'what surrounded it **by way of** kingdoms'

irtadayna 'ajmala mā ladayhinna min ṭiyābin

ارتدين أجمل ما لديهن من ثياب

'they put on the most beautiful clothes they had', lit. 'the most beautiful of **what** they had **of** clothes'

raġma mā marrat bihi min miḥanin wa-laḥazāti nkimāšin wa-tahmīšin
 رغم ما مرت به من محن ولحظات انكماش وتهميش
 ‘in spite of **what** it went through **of** trials and moments of withdrawal
 and marginalization’

- *mā ... min* ما ... من with def. nouns, only with plur., in the matrix ‘those of the x’s which’:

‘an yuḍakkirahum ka-dālika bi-mā ṭālaba bihi min muḍā‘afati l-juḥūdi
 أن يذكرهم كذلك بما طالب به من مضاعفة الجهود
 ‘to remind them also of the redoubling of efforts he had demanded’,
 lit. ‘of **what** he had demanded **by way of** the doubling of [those] efforts’

mā taḥaqqqa bi-l-fi‘li min-a l-‘injāzāti
 ما تحقق بالفعل من الإنجازات
 ‘those achievements that have actually been realized’, lit. ‘**what** has been
 realized **by way of** the achievements’

mā sa-tatimmu munāqaṣatuhu min-a l-masā‘ili l-iqtisādiyyati
 ما ستتم مناقشته من المسائل الاقتصادية
 ‘those economic questions that will be discussed’, lit. ‘**what** will be
 discussed **by way of** the economic questions’

The following, with possessive suffix, is probably a calque:

zanna ‘annahu sa-yufḍi mā yabqā lahu min ḥayātihī, fī ḥudū‘in
 ظن أنه سفضي ما بقي له من حياته، في هدوء
 ‘he thought he would be spending **what** remains for him **of his life**, in peace’

Paraphrasing these as formal rel. structures as described in 5.1 and 5.2 produces clumsy or ambiguous results, because the true head becomes separated from its restrictive rel. clause (the examples are converted from those above):

**al-taṭawwuru fī šinā‘ati l-dawā‘i llaḍi ḥadaṭa*
 التطور في صناعة الدواء الذي حدث
 ‘the development in the manufacture of medicine **which has occurred**’

which also raises a potential interpretation problem with *allaḍi* الذي, which may agree with either of the preceding masc. nouns, ‘development’ or ‘medicine’
**al-masā‘ilu l-iqtisādiyyatu llati sa-tatimmu munāqaṣatuhā* المسائل الاقتصادية التي ستتم مناقشتها
 ‘the economic questions which will be discussed’, is structurally uncomplicated but not unambiguously restrictive, and could have an unrestrictive reading ‘the economic questions, which will be discussed’.

Examples with *man ... min* من ... مَن ‘those people ... by way of’ are found in CA but did not appear in the data.

5.4.4.1 Inversion to *min ... mā* ما ... من and *min ... man* مَنْ ... مِنْ occurs (▷C3:182), supplying emphasis without changing the original sense:

'an yanāla min-a l- 'ilmi wa-l-ṭaqāfati mā yašā'u

أن ينال من العلم والثقافة ما يشاء

‘that he should acquire the [generic] knowledge and culture he likes’, lit. ‘**by way of** knowledge and culture **what** he likes’

(here the ref. pron. is omitted, cf. 5.4.3, namely, *mā yašā'uhu* ما يشاؤه ‘what he wants it’)

ḥattā balaḡa min-a l-majdi wa-l-ṣuhrati mā balaḡahu l-qalīlu min-a l-ṣu'arā'i

حتى بلغ من المجد والشهرة ما بلغه القليل من الشعراء

‘until he reached a glory and fame which few poets reached’, lit. ‘reached **by way of** glory and fame **what** few poets reached’

min-a l-fatayāti wa-l-sayyidāti man tusayṭiru 'alayhinna mazāhiru l-rujūlati

من الفتيات والسيدات من تسيطر عليهن مظاهر الرجولة

‘those girls and women in whom the manifestations of masculinity predominate’, lit. ‘**by way of** girls and women **those who**’

This last example in a different context could be read as an inverted equational sentence with a partitive and generic pred. (see 3.1.4): ‘**among** girls and women [pred.] **are those** [subj.] in whom the manifestations of masculinity predominate’, but this is not the sense of the example as recorded.

5.5 IDIOMATIC COMBINATIONS

The idiomatic combinations *al-'amru llaḏī* الأمر الذي ‘the matter which’ and *mimmā* مِمَّا ‘from what’ and annexation of emphasizees and quantifiers to *mā* ما clauses.

The first is used as a calque of French *ce qui*, i.e. when the head is itself a clause or at least a complex noun phrase, while *mimmā* مِمَّا (= *min* من + *mā* ما, 1.2.2) is an extension of the CA partitive construction ‘among which + sentence’ as an inverted pred. giving the sense of ‘is one of the things which’, ‘is something which’ (cf. 3.1.4). Under Western influence it is not uncommon to find these clauses preceded by a comma or some other separator, but this is not necessary.

5.5.1 *al-'amru llaḏī* الأمر الذي, ‘[the matter] which’

Note that the rel. clause itself is invariably a verbal sentence with *al-'amru* الأمر as its agent, and the normal rel. structure (cf. 5.2):

mašrū 'ātun li-ḥalqī furāṣi 'amalin jadīdatin li-l-šabābi .. al-'amru llaḏī lam yataḥaqqaq ba'du

مشروعات لخلق فرص عمل جديدة للشباب .. الأمر الذي لم يتحقق بعد
'plans to create new job opportunities for young men, .. **which** has not yet been achieved'

(the referential pron. is incorporated in *yataḥaqqaq* يتحقق '**it** has [not] been achieved')

li-baḥṭi wa-munāqaṣati l-'asbābi llatī 'addat 'ilā tadahwuri mustawā l-kurati l-miṣriyyati l-'amru llaḏī n-'akasa bi-šaklin kabīrin 'alā 'adā'i farīqi l-'ahlī

لبحث ومناقشة الأسباب التي أدت إلى تدهور مستوى الكرة المصرية الأمر الذي انعكس بشكل كبير على أداء فريق الأهلي
'to investigate and discuss the reasons for the decline in the standard of Egyptian football, **which** is reflected largely in the performance of the Ahli team'

(referential pron. incorporated in *in-'akasa* انعكس '**it** is reflected')

'ānā l-jihāzu l-fanniyyu min hujūmi l-jamāhīri 'alayhi fī l-fatratī l-'aḥīrati l-'amru llaḏī 'attara 'alā nafsīyyati l-lā-'ibīna

عانى الجهاز الفني من هجوم الجماهير في الفترة الأخيرة الأمر الذي أثر على نفسية اللاعبين
'the tactical system has suffered from the attacks of the fans in the recent period, **which** has affected the spirit of the players'

(referential pron. incorporated in *'attara* أثر '**it** has affected')

5.5.2 *mimmā* مِمَّا, lit. 'from what', i.e. 'something which'

This is less specific than *al-'amru llaḏī* الأمر الذي, though the function is the same, i.e. to qualify a head which is a sentence. One difference between the two is that *mimmā* مِمَّا can precede its referend, and thus has the same structure as the *min* من + participle set in 3.1.4 (for which reason the *mimmā* مِمَّا clause will be treated as pred. regardless of its position). Like *al-'amru llaḏī* الأمر الذي, the agent of the rel. clause is always the *mā* ما 'that which' of *mimmā* مِمَّا:

mimmā mayyazahu 'indī 'aḡtara, 'annahu kāna yaḥmilu naẓratan šumūliyyatan

مما ميزه عندي أكثر، أنه كان يحمل نظرة شمولية
'**what** distinguished him in my opinion more, was that he used to take a comprehensive view', lit. 'from that which ... [inverted pred.] is the fact that ... [subj.]'

lam na'tur 'alā l-ḥarīṭati l-'aṣliyyati l-ḥudūdi miṣra l-šarqiyyati, mimmā 'atāra dahṣata l-murāqibīna

لم نعتز على الخريطة الأصلية لحدود مصر الشرقية، مما أثار دهشة المراقبين

‘we could not find the original map of Egypt’s southern borders, **which** aroused the amazement of the observers’, lit. ‘[is] **from what** aroused’

wa-lākinnaḥu 'ankara mimmā dafa'a l-zawjata l-jadīdata li-l-lujū'i 'ilā l-maḥkamati

ولكنّه أنكر مما دفع الزوجة الجديدة للجوء إلى المحكمة

‘but he refused, **which** impelled the new wife to seek refuge with the court’, lit. ‘[is] **from what** impelled’

5.5.3 Annexation of *min* من and *mā* ما

Emphasizers (2.8) and quantifiers (2.9) are regularly annexed to *mā* ما clauses (as annexation units they thus differ from those in which *mā* ما is a suffix, see 5.9).

- *kullu mā* كلّ ما ‘all of what’ (contrast with the conjunction *kullamā* كلما below, 5.9.10):

bi-kulli mā huwa saṭḥiyyun

بكل ما هو سطحي

‘with **all that** was superficial’, lit. ‘with all of what was superficial’

ḥawla kulli mā laḍḍa wa-ṭāba min ma'kalin wa-mašrabin wa-'aḍbi l-'alḥāni

حول كل ما لذ وطاب من مأكّل ومشرب وعذب الألحان

‘concerning **all that** is delicious and tasty by way of food, drink and sweet songs’

(here also incorporating a *mā ... min* من ... ما construction, see 5.4.4)

bi-kulli mā yaḥwīhi min ḥuznin wa-'asan šafīf

بكل ما يحويه من حزن وأسى شفيف

‘with **all that** it contains of grief and transparent pain’

(another *mā ... min* من ... ما construction, see 5.4.4)

- *ba'ḍu mā* بعض ما ‘some of what’ (▷C2:136)

al-'imānu bi-ba'ḍi mā 'anzalahu llāhu

الإيمان ببعض ما أنزله الله

‘belief in **some of what** God revealed’

- *'aynu mā* ما عين 'the very same as what' (▷C2:143)
hādā 'aynu mā jā 'a fī 'aqwālihi
هذا عين ما جاء في أقواله
'this is **exactly what** he said', lit. 'the self of what came in his sayings'
- *ḡayru mā* ما غير 'other than what' (▷C2:148)
yaqūlu ḡayra mā yaqṣidu
يقول غير ما يقصد
'he says **other than what** he intends'

See 5.9.12 for *qadra mā* ما قدر etc. 'to the extent that'.

5.6 FURTHER FUNCTIONS OF RELATIVE *mā* ما

In combination with verbs *mā* ما 'what' creates the equivalent of a verbal noun and is thus called *mā al-maṣdariyya* ما المصدرية 'the verbal noun *mā*' (▷C3:211, and cf. the 'verbal noun *'an*' in 7.5.1.2). This *mā* ما is present in many compound adverbial phrases, see 5.8, and conjunctions, see 5.9.

A number of different functions of *mā* ما will be gathered here, where the original rel. meaning is either weakened or no longer apparent.

5.6.1 Temporal *mā* ما

Temporal *mā* ما (▷C3:229), see also *dāma* دام 'to last' in 3.17.7, occurs with perf. verbs (the neg. invariably apoc. with *lam* لم 'not', possibly to avoid confusion with neg. *mā* ما 'not', see 4.2) to indicate 'as long as', i.e. as the equivalent of an adverbial clause:

lan tuqbala 'ayyu šahādatin mā lam tuwaqqa'
لن تقبل أي شهادة ما لم توقع
'no certificate will be accepted **as long as** it has not been signed'

(see 2.9.1.6 on optional gender agreement in *'ayyu* أي 'which, any')

sa-yakūnu qarīban, mā lam ya'ḥuḍhu 'aḥadun
سيكون قريباً، ما لم يأخذه أحد
'he will be nearby, **as long as** nobody has taken him'

mā 'aḥla šū li-l-dawlati l-jadīdati
ما أخلصوا للدولة الجديدة
'**as long as** they remained loyal to the new state',
lit. 'for what they remained loyal'

mā lam yakun juz 'an min dīnihim

ما لم يكن جزءا من دينهم

‘as long as it was not a part of their religion’

5.6.2 With exclamatory verbs

With exclamatory verbs (see further in 3.27) and the equivalent, *mā* ما occurs at the head of a clause which is grammatically their agent, e.g. *sur'āna mā* سرعان ما ‘how quickly’, *šadda mā* شد ما ‘how intense ...!’

ka-ḥilyatin saraṭāniyyatin sur'āna mā taḍā'afat wa-takāṭarat 'ašarāti l-marrāti

كخلية سرطانية سرعان ما تضاعفت وتكاثرت عشرات المرات

‘like a cancer cell, **how quickly it doubled and multiplied** tens of times’

If indeed a rel. *mā* ما is involved (which is historically unlikely), the verb of surprise should also be mentioned once here (details in 3.27.1):

mā 'aysara l-sa'ādata

ما أيسر السعادة

‘**how** easy happiness is’

5.6.3 Vagueness

In the sense of ‘whatever’, *mā* ما is placed after nouns to indicate complete vagueness (see further in 1.8.4):

bi-ḥadāratin mā

بحضارة ما

‘in some civilization, whatever’

fa-qad ra'aytu 'annahā tuḥadditu šaḥṣan mā

فقد رأيت أنها تحدّث شخصا ما

‘and I saw that she was talking to **some person**’

wa-l-ḥaḡiqatu 'anna šay'an mā ḡāmiḡan wa-ḡarīban kāna ya'ūqu dā'iman liqā'ahumā

والحقيقة أنّ شيئا ما غامضا وغريبا كان يعوق دائما لقاءهما

‘the truth was that **something** obscure and strange was always preventing their meeting’

Here may be grouped various cases where the suffixation of *mā* ما either (1) inhibits the grammatical effect of an element, e.g. *'annamā* أنما ‘that’ (see 7.5.2), *kaymā* كيما ‘so that’ (7.6.2), *'innamā* إنما ‘only’ (3.30.1), or (2) produces a

conditional from an adverbial interrogative, e.g. *'aynamā* أينما 'wherever', *kayfamā* كيفما 'however'; *haytūmā* حيثما 'wherever'; see 8.5 on these generally.

For exclamatory *'ayyumā* أيما 'whatever!' (▷C1:155), reinforcing the absolute obj., see 3.28.3.

5.6.4 The most x ...

In annexation with elatives *mā* ما reproduces idioms of the type 'the most x that could be' (cf. 2.11.5):

tumma qtarabat minnī ka-'alṭafī, wa-'araqqi mā yakūnu

ثم اقتربت مني كألف، وأرق ما يكون

'then she approached me, like **the nicest and the most delicate** [thing] **that could ever be**', lit. 'of that which could be'

(see 2.3.7 on binomial annexation)

5.7 IDIOMATIC COMBINATIONS OF RELATIVE *mā* ما WITH PREPOSITIONALS

Other idiomatic combinations with prepositionals, excluding those which produce compound conjunctions (on which see 5.8) are:

- *'an mā* ما عن pron. and mostly written *'ammā* عما 'after', with idiomatic time expressions (but see also 10.18.2 for *'ammā* عما in indirect questions):

'ammā qalīlin yaduqqu l-bāba wa-yu'īdu 'alā masāmi'ahā nafsā l-tawassulāti

عما قليل يدق الباب و يعيد على مسامعها نفس التوسلات

'soon he would be knocking at the door and repeat to her the same pleadings', lit. 'after what [was] little'

- *mā bayna* ما بين 'what is between' (▷C3:191) seems to be intended to avoid expressing an actual physical relationship of 'between'. It is not to be confused with *baynamā* بينهما at 5.9.2 (and see 2.7.8 on other peculiarities of *bayna* بين):

kāna l-waqtu laylan mā bayna l-tāsi'ati wa-l-'āširati

كان الوقت ليلاً ما بين التاسعة والعاشرة

'the time was night **between** nine and ten', lit. 'what was between'

kānat tastanidu 'ilā l-fāriqi l-ijtimā'iyyi mā bayna l-ṭarafayni
 كانت تستند إلى الفارق الاجتماعي ما بين الطرفين
 'it was based on the social difference **between** the two parties',
 lit. 'what was between'

- *fawqa mā* فوق ما 'over and above what' (>C3:241):
wa-qad jā'at-i l-natā'iju fawqa mā tamannāhu
 وقد جاءت النتائج فوق ما تمناه
 'and the results came out **above what** he expected'
- *fīmā* فيما, 'in which', written as one word, 'concerning', 'in regard to' (>C3:189, 234):

wa-fīmā yata'allaqu bi-'amaliyyāti l-salāmi fa-qad 'akkada barnāmaju l-ḥizbi

وفيما يتعلق بعمليات السلام فقد أكد برنامج الحزب
 'and **with regard to what** is connected with the peace process, the party's programme has emphasized'

ḥāṣṣatan fīmā yata'allaqu bi-ḥaykaliyyati niẓāmi l-muwaẓẓafīna

خاصة فيما يتعلق بهيكلية نظام الموظفين
 'especially **with regard to what** is connected with the structure of the officials' system'

'ijādu 'ijābatin 'alā tilka l-'as'ilati fīmā 'idā kānat hunāka 'alāqatun

إيجاد أجوبة على تلك الأسئلة فيما إذا كانت هناك علاقة
 'finding answers to those questions **as to** whether there was a connection' (cf. indirect questions 10.19.2)

It is also used in the sense of 'while, during':

qāma l-rajulu mutawa' 'idan fīmā stamarra ḥāḍā qā'ilan

قام الرجل متوعدا فيما استمر هذا قائلا
 'the man stood up threateningly **while** the former continued, saying'

- *fīmā ba'du* فيما بعد 'subsequently', 'later', lit. 'in what was afterwards' (see 2.5.4 on *ba'du* بعد 'afterwards'):

i'tadtu fīmā ba'du 'an 'uṣṣiya 'ilā ḥāḍā l-ta'bīri

اعتدت فيما بعد أن أصغي إلى هذا التعبير
 'later I got used to paying attention to this expression'

wa-kullu hādā lam 'aktašifhu 'illā fīmā ba'du

وكل هذا لم أكتشفه إلا فيما بعد

'all this I only discovered **afterwards**'

(see 3.3.2 for the topic-comment structure and 9.4.1 for the exceptive construction)

allaḍī sa-'ataḥaddatu 'anhu fīmā ba'du

الذي سأحدث عنه فيما بعد

'which I shall talk about **later**'

When *fī mā* في ما occurs as two separate words it is a literal rel. clause:

fī mā sabaqa lanā min-a l-qawli

في ما سبق لنا من القول

'in **what** we said before', lit. 'in what has gone before us of speaking'

(see *mā ... min* ما ... من in 5.4.4)

- *bi-mā fī* بما في 'including', lit. 'along with what is in [it]', construed as an adverbial phrase and inverted pred. of the following noun(s):

al-'awḍā'u l-ijtimā'iyyatu bi-mā fihā l-'iskānu wa-l-ṣiḥḥatu wa-l-ta'limu wa-l-'ujūru

الأوضاع الاجتماعية بما فيها الإسكان والصحة والتعليم والأجور

'the social circumstances, **including** housing, health, education and wages'

fūji'a l-jamī'u – bi-mā fihim riqābatu l-tilifiziyyūni – bi-qarārīn jadīdin min-a l-'azhari

فوجئ الجميع – بما فيهم رقابة التلفزيون – بقرار جديد من الأزهر

'everybody – **including** the television censorship – was surprised by a new decision from the Azhar'

jamī'u l-iḥtiyārāti mā zālat maṭrūḥatan 'alā l-mā'idati bi-mā fī dālika stiḥdāmu l-quwwati

جميع الاختيارات ما زالت مطروحة على المائدة بما في ذلك استخدام القوة

'all the options are still on the table, **including** the use of force'

bi-mā fī dālika l-fasādu l-ḥukūmiyyu fī muḥtalifi l-qitā'āti

بما في ذلك الفساد الحكومي في مختلف القطاعات

'**including in that** the government corruption in various sectors'

See also *bi-mā 'anna* بما أن in nom. clauses below, 5.9.3.

For *mā qabla* ما قبل 'what is before' and *mā ba'da* ما بعد 'what is after' reproducing Western prefixes 'pre-' and 'post-' see 12.7.1 (7).

5.8 QUASI-COMPOUNDS WITH RELATIVE *mā* ما AS THE SECOND ELEMENT

They can be grouped as follows:

- Collocations with adverbials (cf. 2.5.1), producing adverbial phrases (▷C3:210). These do not affect the verb in any way and word order is relatively free, though they usually front the clause. Examples below in this section.
- Annexations of nouns and preposition(al)s producing conjunctions, i.e. which allow the compound *x+mā* ما to subordinate an entire clause, rather like French *après que*, *avant que*, etc. (▷C3:231). Details below in 5.9.

Structurally unrelated to these are compound conditional conjunctions, e.g. *'aynamā* أينما 'wherever', *kayfamā* كيفما 'however' (see Chapter 8). The *mā* ما here is the '*mā* of vagueness' (cf. 5.6.3).

Adverbial phrases with rel. *mā* ما at the head of the clause qualified by the adverb have the following general structure: *kaḡīran mā kāna ramzī yatabādalu l-ra'ya ma'a 'a 'abihi* مع أبيه كثيراً ما كان رمزي يتبادل الرأي 'often Ramzi used to exchange views with his father' in which the parsing would be 'frequently [is] what R. used to exchange' (though C3:214 sees them all as pred. of an elided *kāna* كان 'was', namely, '[it was] frequent, what R. used to exchange').

All the adverbials below belong to the set described in 2.4.8, i.e. dep. nouns which have now acquired an independent adverbial status.

5.8.1 '*ādatan mā* ما عادة 'usually'

wa-'alā l-raḡmi min 'anna hādā l-farīqa 'ādatan mā yad'ū 'ilā ḡurriyati l-fikri

وعلى الرغم من أن هذا الفريق عادة ما يدعو إلى حرية الفكر

'in spite of the fact that this team **usually preaches** freedom of thought'

'iḏ 'ādatan mā yanšaḡilu l-muhtammūna bihā

إذ عادة ما ينشغل المهتمون بها

'since those concerned **are usually preoccupied** with it'

5.8.2 '*aḡyānan mā* ما أحيانا 'sometimes'

'aḡyānan mā yuḡṭi 'ūna أحيانا ما يخطئون 'sometimes they make mistakes'

wa-l-'atfālu 'aḡyānan mā yaqsūna 'alā ba'ḏin dūna 'ilmin bi-muḏā'afāti dālika

والأطفال أحيانا ما يقسون على بعض دون علم بمضاعفات ذلك
 ‘children **are sometimes cruel** to each other without knowing the complications of that’

5.8.3 *gāliban mā* غالبا ‘predominantly’, ‘mostly’

yadhabūna ‘ilā ‘annahu gāliban mā yantaširu fī l-ṣayfī
 يذهبون إلى أنه غالبا ما ينتشر في الصيف
 ‘they maintain that **it mostly spreads** in the summer’

wa-gāliban mā yatimmu l-‘ifrāju
 وغالبا ما يتم الإفراج
 ‘and **mostly** release **is effected**’, i.e. ‘they are mostly set free’

see 3.23.1 on *tamma* تمّ ‘effect’

qīṣaṣu l-ḥubbi llaṭī gāliban mā tantahī bi-l-faṣli
 قصص الحب التي غالبا ما تنتهي بالفشل
 ‘love stories which **mostly end** in failure’

5.8.4 *kaṭīran mā* كثيرا ‘frequently’, ‘often’ (▷C3:214)

kaṭīran mā tadḥulu l-maṭbaḥa
 كثيرا ما تدخل المطبخ
 ‘**frequently** she goes into the kitchen’
‘as ‘āru l-samaki laysa lahā mi ‘yārun tābitun .. kaṭīran mā tartafī‘u
 أسعار السمك ليس لها معيار ثابت .. كثيرا ما ترتفع
 ‘fish prices do not have a fixed standard: **often they go up**’

kaṭīran mā naṣunnu ḥarban dūna ‘an na ‘rifa l-sababa
 كثيرا ما نشنّ حربا دون أن نعرف السبب
 ‘**many times we launch** a war without knowing the reason’

5.8.5 *nādiran mā* نادرا ‘rarely’ (▷C3:216)

‘ammā ‘abī fa-nādiran mā yazūrunī
 أما أبي فنادرا ما يزورني
 ‘as for my father, he **rarely visits** me’

(see 3.3.4 on ‘topicalizer’ *‘ammā* أما ‘as for’)

wa-nādiran mā yaḥḍutu fihā nfiḥāḍun

ونادرا ما يحدث فيها انخفاض

‘and **rarely does it happen** that there is any decrease in them
[= fish prices]’

5.8.6 *qalīlan mā* قليلا ‘seldom’ (▷C3:216), and
cf. *qalla mā* قلّ ما above

qalīlan mā kānat tušāhidu wālida ‘ubayd

قليلا ما كانت تشاهد والد عبيد

‘seldom did she see the father of ‘Ubayd’

qalīlan mā tušriqu l-šamsu fī hāda l-waqtī

قليلا ما تشرق الشمس في هذا الوقت

‘the sun **seldom shines** at this time’

5.9 COMPOUND SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS WITH
mā ما AND PREPOSITION(AL)

A number of compound subordinating conjunctions consist of rel. *mā* ما combined with a preposition(al) (see 2.4.3.1) or noun, either annexed (i.e. spelt as two words) or suffixed (i.e. spelt as one word).

5.9.1 ‘*awwala mā* أول ‘first’, ‘when first’, ‘the first time’
(▷C3:221)

‘awwala mā sami ‘tu bihi

أول ما سمعت به

‘the first time I heard of him’

*fa-qad ḥaraṣa l-‘islāmu ‘awwala mā ḥaraṣa ‘alā l-‘uḥuwwati
il-‘insāniyyati*

فقد حرص الإسلام أول ما حرص على الأخوة الإنسانية

‘the first thing Islam encouraged was human brotherhood’,
lit. ‘Islām encouraged, **as the first of what** it encouraged,
human brotherhood’

(note the paranomasia with *ḥarasa* حرص, see 11.7.7)

This is to be distinguished from the literal *'awwalu mā* أول ما 'the first of what', which follows the syntax of the quantifiers and emphasizees in 5.5.3:

'awwalu mā lafata 'uyūnaki ḍaw'u l-šubbāki

أول ما لفت عيونك ضوء الشباك

'the first thing that caught your eyes was the light of the window',
lit. 'the first of what caught your eyes'

5.9.2 *baynamā* بينما, *baynā* بينا 'during', 'while' (▷C3:232)

wa-baynamā kuntu 'asīru wa-nūru l-nahāri yataḍā'alu 'akṭara fa-'akṭara, ṣa'idtu 'ilā tallatīn munḥafīḍatīn

وبينما كنت أسير ونور النهار يتضاءل أكثر فأكثر، صعدتُ إلى تلة منخفضة

'and while I was walking along, the light of the day growing dimmer and dimmer, I climbed up a low heap'

wa-baynamā tušīru l-'arqāmu li-nḥifāḍi mu'addali l-iddihāri ...

fa-'inna 'arqāma l-banki l-markaziyyi 'ayḍan tušīru li-tarāju 'in fī nisbati l-istiṭmāri

وبينما تشير الأرقام لانخفاض معدل الادخار ... فإنَّ أرقام البنك المركزي أيضا تشير لتراجع في نسبة الاستثمار

'and while the figures point to a drop in average saving, ... the Central Bank figures also point to a reduction in the interest rate'

Often after main clause, perhaps a calque of English 'while' in any sense:

wajadtuhā tajrī bayna l-'ašjāri bi-ḥiffatīn baynamā jalasat wālidatuhā 'alā ba'di l-maqā'idī

وجدتها تجري بين الأشجار بخفة بينما جلست والدتها على بعض المقاعد

'I found her running between the trees playfully while her mother sat on a bench'

laqiya 3 minhum maṣra'ahum baynamā 'uṣība 4 minhum bi-'iṣābātīn ḥaṭīratīn

منهم ٣ مصرعهم بينما أصيب ٤ منهم بإصابات خطيرة

'three of them met their death while four were seriously wounded'

Examples with *baynā* بينا have not been found.

5.9.3 *bi-mā 'anna* بما أن 'since', 'because'

bi-mā 'anna بما أن 'since', 'because', lit. 'by virtue of what, that ...' (▷C3:242; see 7.5.2 on 'anna أن):

bi-mā 'anna ḥālātī l-tawāzuni ta'tī 'alā 'aškālīn muta'addidatīn fa-'inna l-'alāqātī baynahā wa-bayna l-'iqā'i l-'adadiyyi ta'tī 'alā ṣuwarīn mutanawwi'atīn

بما أن حالات التوازن تأتي على أشكال متعددة فإن العلاقات بينها وبين الإيقاع العددي تأتي على صور متنوعة

'because the states of [metrical] balance come in numerous patterns, the connections between them and quantitative rhythm come in various forms'

wa-bi-mā 'anna miyāha l-nahri talawwat fa-qad-i n'adamat fihi l-'asmāku tamāman

وبما أن مياه النهر تلوثت فقد انعدمت فيه الأسماك تماما

'and since the waters of the river are polluted, fish are entirely lacking from it'

5.9.4 *ḥālamā* حالا 'as soon as', 'at the moment when' (▷C3:222)

wa-ḥālamā 'āda zawjī 'ilā kursiyyihi 'alā maqrabatin minnī btasamtu lahu btisāmatan kabīratan

وحالما عاد زوجي إلى كرسيه على مقربة مني ابتسمت له ابتسامة كبيرة

'as soon as my husband returned to his seat near me I gave him an enormous smile'

(see 3.29.3 on the absolute obj. *ibtisāmatan* 'a smile')

hādā 'amrun tattaḍīhu ṣiḥḥatuhu ḥālamā tataqaṣṣā l-sīrata l-dātiyyata

هذا أمر تتضح صحته حالما تتقضى السيرة الذاتية

'this is a matter whose truth becomes obvious as soon as you follow the autobiography'

An alternative is to annex the noun *ḥāla* حال directly to the sentence as a space-time qualifier (cf. 2.4.3.1, 'at the moment of + verb. sentence'):

ḡayra 'anna stislāmī li-l-ḥanīni kāna tāmman – ḥāla ḡalaba 'alayya wa-ṣaddanī

غير أن استسلامي للحنين كان تاما — حال غلب على وصدي

'nevertheless my submission to the yearning was total – the moment it overcame me and hampered me'

5.9.5 *ḥasabamā* حسبما 'according as'

yatalaqqawna min-a l-šamsi dafaqātin mutafarriqatin ḥasabamā tasmaḥu
l-'ağṣānu l-mūriqatu bi-hibatin ṭayyibatin

يتلقون من الشمس دفقات متفرقة حسبما تسمح الأغصان المورقة بهبة طيبة
 'they receive from the sun separate bursts [of light] **according as** the leafy
 branches are allowed [such] a pleasant gift (or *tasmaḥu*, active form 'allow')

yaqūlūna mā yaḥturu bi-bālihim ḥasabamā ttafaqa

يقولون ما يخطر ببالهم حسبما اتفق
 'they say what comes into their minds **just as** it may happen',
 i.e. without thinking

(perf. *ittafaqa* اتفق 'it happened' with a habitual sense, cf. 3.10.1)

When written as two words it is annexed directly to the rel. sentence, with a purely rel. meaning:

ḥasaba mā qarrarahu l-qur'ānu

حسب ما قرره القرآن
 'according to what the Qur'an laid down'

5.9.6 *ḥaytūmā* حيثما 'wherever'

This is also used conditionally (see 8.5.3), and its status is not always clear. However, the following example is significant because the indep. (i.e. non-conditional) form of the hollow verbs (see paradigms 1.9.1) is explicit:

ḥaytūmā yadūrūna bī 'adūru

حيثما يدورون بي أدور
 'wherever they take me round I go round',

not apoc. *yadūrū* يدوروا, 'adur أدور (cf. 3.11.4.1 on verbs of motion meaning 'bring', 'take')

5.9.7 *ḥīnamā* حينما 'when', 'at the time when' (▷C3:224)

'innahā 'aḥṭa'at ḥīnamā ja 'alat li-l-šahādāti l-'ilmiyyati qīmatan .. wa-lam
taj'al li-l-fi'li qīmatan

إنّها أخطأت حينما جعلت للشهادات العلمية قيمة .. ولم تجعل للفعل قيمة
 '[the revolution] erred **when** it gave value to educational certificates .. but
 gave no value to action'

'inna l-ladīna šāgū l-dastūra ... ḥīnamā naṣṣū 'alā man 'i qiyāmi l'aḥzābi
l-dīniyyati kānū yastanidūna 'alā mabda' i l-musāwāti

ان الذين صاغوا الدستور ... حينما نصوا على منع قيام الأحزاب الدينية كانوا يستندون على مبدأ المساواة

‘[indeed] those who fashioned the constitution ... , **when** they explicitly forbade the setting up of religious parties, were basing themselves on the principle of equality’

(note that where CA has *mabda’i* with the obl. case ending, MWA has invariable *مبدأ*, following the new spelling convention for this consonant, cf. 1.2.1.1)

An alternative is to annex *ḥīna* حين directly to the sentence as a space-time qualifier (see 7.6.6):

ḥīna ltafattu naḥwa l-bābi wajadtuhā wāqifatan tanẓuru naḥwī

حين التفت نحو الباب وجدتُها واقفة تنظر نحوي

‘**when** I turned towards the door I found her standing looking towards me’, lit. ‘at the time of + verbal sentence’

ḥuṣūṣan ḥīna yubṣiru fatātan miṭlaki, lahā hādā l-jamālu

خصوصاً حين يبصر فتاة مثلك، لها هذا الجمال

‘especially **when** he sees a girl like you, who has this beauty’

(see 5.0.3 for the inverted rel. sentence *lahā hādā l-jamālu* الجمال لها هذا، lit. ‘to her is this beauty’)

In the combination *fi ḥīni* في حين ‘in the time of’ it is often adversative:

fi ḥīni kānat tuṣīru l-tawaqqu ‘ātu ‘ilā ziyādatin bi-naḥsi l-qadri

في حين كانت تشير التوقعات إلى زيادة بنفس القدر

‘at the [same] **time** as expectations were pointing to an increase of the same amount’

fi ḥīni kāna yurakkizu ‘alā

في حين كان يركز على

‘at the [same] **time** as he used to concentrate on’

5.9.8 ‘*inda mā* عند ما ‘when’

This is increasingly now written as one word عندما and has largely taken over the functions of two CA temporal conjunctions (▷C3:235).

Punctual ‘when’ replacing *lammā* لَمَّا ‘when’ in 7.6.3, with two perf. verbs:

‘indamā *balagat* ‘mayy’ il-sābi ‘ata ‘ašara, *qālat* lahā ‘ummuhā

عندما بلغت ‘مي’ السابعة عشر، قالت لها أمها

‘when Mayy **reached** seventeen her mother **said** to her’

(note that the name is enclosed in single quotes, cf. 1.8.5)

'indamā tadakkartu qultu li-nafsī

عندما تذكرت قلت لنفسي

'when I **remembered** I **said** to myself

'indamā sami'at salīmatu bi-mawtihi, ḍaḥikat ḍaḥkatan majnūnatan tušbiḥu l-nawāḥa

عندما سمعت سليمة بموته ضحكت ضحكة تشبه النواح

'when Salīma **heard** of his death she **laughed** insanely like a keening',
i.e. 'laughed an insane laugh which resembles the sound of mourning', (see
2.4.2 on this construction.)

'indamā rakiba l-ṭā'irata li-'awwali marratin-i rtajafa qalbuḥu

عندما ركب الطائرة لأول مرة ارتجف قلبه

'when he **rode in** a plane [generic] for the first time his heart **trembled**'

Habitual or present, replacing *'idā* إذا 'when[ever]' see 8.3, but, unlike *'idā* إذا, usually with two imperf. verbs:

'indamā yajū'u l-fuqarā'u tanbutu liḥāḥum

عندما يجوع الفقراء تنبت لحاهم

'when the poor **are hungry** their beards **grow**'

'indamā tafqidu l-naḥsu tawāzunahā wa-stiwā'ahā taqa'u farīṣatan li-mā huwa 'aḥṭaru min ḍālika

عندما تفقد النفس توازنها واستواءها تقع فريسة لما هو أخطر من ذلك

'when the soul **loses** its balance and equilibrium it **falls** victim to what is more dangerous than that'

'indamā 'arji'u 'ilā l-bayti 'ada'uhā 'alā quṭnatin muballalatin

عندما أرجع إلى البيت أضعها على قطنة مبللة

'when I **return** home I **put it** [namely, the seed] on a piece of wet cotton'

Clause order is often inverted with both types, probably on the Western pattern:

ḥaddatani bihā 'indamā marra bi-tūnusa

حدثني بها عندما مر بتونس

'he told me about it **when he passed** through Tunis'

ka-ḍālika yaḥzunu l-ṭiflu 'indamā yajidu 'annahu yu'āmalu bi-ṭarīqatin muḥtalifatin 'an bāqī 'iḥwatihi

كذلك يحزن الطفل عندما يجد أنه يعامل بطريقة مختلفة عن باقي إخوته

'likewise a child will be unhappy **when it finds** that it is being treated in a different way from the rest of its brothers'

'aḍḥaku 'indamā 'ataḍakkaru ḍālika l-'āna
أضحك عندما أتذكر ذلك الآن
'I laugh **when I remember** that now'

5.9.9 kamā كما 'just as', 'same as'

kamā كما 'just as', 'same as', lit. 'like what' (see 2.6.8 on *ka-* كـ; a transliteration *ka-mā* etc. would probably be more consistent here but the segmentation is unnecessary). For convenience all comparative conjunctions with *ka-* كـ will be dealt with here, even though some involve subordinating conjunctions 'an أن, 'anna أن, law لو (see appropriate cross-references below).

5.9.9.1 kamā كما in the sense of 'same as', 'just as' (▷C3:236)

- With verb. sentence:

sa-yajiduhā kamā tarakahā munḍu rub'i qarnin
سيجدها كما تركها منذ ربع قرن
'he will find it **as** he left it a quarter of a century ago'

kamā fa'ala mirāran
كما فعل مرارا
'**just as** he often did'

kamā kānat tusammā
كما كانت تسمى
'**as** they used to be called'

- With noun phrases (probably elliptical):

baqiya kamā huwa
بقي كما هو
'he remained **as** he [was]'

'inna muqāwamata l-taḡyīri kamā 'irādatu l-taḡyīri
إنّ مقاومة التغيير كما إرادة التغيير
'opposition to change is **the same** as the wish to change [is]'

'anā 'āḥuḍu l-ḥadāṭata l-'ālamīyyata kamā hiya ka-ḥuḍūrin mustaqillin
أنا آخذ الحداثة العالمية كما هي كحضور مستقلّ
'I take global modernism **as it [is]**, as an independent presence'

- It may also draw comparisons between two statements, the second introduced by a variety of resumptive markers (see further in discourse, 11.1):

kamā l- 'alamu l-jasadiyyu yadfa 'unā 'ilā saḥbi 'aydīnā min-a l-nāri fa- 'inna 'alama l-ḡaḍabi yusā 'idunā 'alā ḥifẓi šaḥṣiyyatinā

كما الألم الجسدي يدفعنا إلى سحب أيدينا من النار فإن ألم الغضب يساعدنا على حفظ شخصيتنا

'just as physical pain makes us withdraw our hands from fire, so the pain of anger helps us to preserve our personality'

kamā tusabbibu māddatu l-diyūksīni ba 'da l-taḡayyurāti l-jidriyyati ... ka-ḡālika tusabbibu māddatu l-diyūksīni ḥalalan wa-naqṣan 'aw ḡa 'fan fī ...

كما تسبب مادة الديوكسين بعض التغيرات الجذرية ... كذلك تسبب مادة الديوكسين خللا ونقصا أو ضعفا في ...

'just as dioxin causes certain radical changes ... likewise dioxin causes disorder and defect or weakness in ...'

- Variant with *wa-* و (cf. 6.2.7):

kamā wa- 'annahu bi-qadri mā kāna ntiṣāran li- ... fa- 'inna ...

كما وأنه بقدر ما كان انتصارا لـ ... فإن ...

'just as to the extent that it was a victory for ... so ...'

(see 5.9.12 on *bi-qadri mā* ما بقدر)

See also *kamā 'anna* كما أن below.

5.9.9.2 *kamā* كما in the sense of 'likewise', 'in the same way as', 'also':

yaqūmu l-banku bi-faṭḥi l-ḥisābāti l-šaḥṣiyyati ... kamā ya 'milu l-banku 'alā tamwīli l-mašrū 'āti l-muḥtalifati

يقوم البنك بفتح الحسابات الشخصية ... كما يعمل البنك على تمويل المشروعات المختلفة

'the bank undertakes the opening of personal accounts ... likewise the bank will endeavour to finance various projects'

kamā ḥaḍara marāsima l-iftitāḥi 'adadun min-a l-šuyūḥi

كما حضر مراسم الافتتاح عدد من الشيوخ

'just as a number of elders attended the opening ceremonies'

5.9.9.3 *kamā 'anna* كما أن 'just as' (▷C3:239) operates on nominal sentences (see 3.2.2 on 'anna أن):

kamā 'anna lahu l-ḥaqqu 'aydan

كما أن له الحق أيضا

'just as he also has the right'

kamā 'annanā yajibu 'an nufarriqa bayna l-bāḥiṭi wa-l-mabāḥiṭi

كما أننا يجب أن نفرق بين الباحث والمباحث

'just as we must distinguish between the [innocent] researcher and the [secret] police'

kamā 'annahu 'aṣbaḥa min al-mu'tādi qiyāmu l-jamā'āti l-mutaṭarrifati bi-'iṣḍāri manṣūrātīn

كما أنه أصبح من المعتاد قيام الجماعات المتطرفة بإصدار منشورات

'just as it has become customary for extremist groups to issue publications'

here in order to operate on a verbal sentence the dummy pron. suffix *ḍāmīr al-ša'n* 'the matter' is used, see 3.4

5.9.9.4 *ka-'anna* 'كأن' 'it is as if' (see 3.2.4), introducing complete and independent nominal sentences:

ka-'annahu lam ya'rif 'illā hādā l-mawḍi'a

كأنه لم يعرف إلا هذا الموضوع

'it was as if he knew only this place'

(see 9.1 on the exceptive construction)

ka-'annahu yaṣūḡuhu ṣiyāḡatan nihā'iyyan

كأنه يصوغه صياغة نهائية

'it is as if he gives it a final form'

(see 2.4.2, 3.29.3 on absolute obj.)

Variant with *wa-*و, as a kind of circumstantial qualifier (see 6.2.7):

ya'tī 'adabu l-riḥlāti ... wa-ka-'annahu ta'kīdun li-ma'rīfatin sābiqatin

يأتي أدب الرحلة ... وكأنه تأكيد لمعرفة سابقة

'travel literature comes [across] ... as if it were a confirmation of some prior knowledge'

fi da'mi zawjihā wa-ka-'annahu daḥala marḥalata ṣāddin wa-jaḍbin ma'a ra'isihi

في دعم زوجها وكأنه دخل مرحلة شدّ وجذب مع رئيسه

'in support of her husband, he seemingly having entered a phase of pulling and tugging with his boss'

This variant is often found after the verb *badā* بدا 'to appear', in the sense 'looks as if' + clause (contrast 3.17.3: 'seems' + noun complement), suggesting strongly that it is felt to be a circumstantial qualifier:

badat lī wa-ka-'annahā fatātun kabīratun

بدت لي وكأنها فتاة كبيرة

'she appeared to me [being] as if she were a grown-up girl'

badat wa-ka'annahā 'akbaru l-banāti

بدت وكأنَّها أكبر البنات

'she looked **like** the oldest of the girls'

The construction with *bi-* ب in the same sense as the '*idā* إذا of surprise' (3.31.1) is occasionally seen:

wa-ka-'annī bihā tunādīnī min warā'ī l-qabri wa-taqūlu

وكانَّي بها تناديني من وراء القبر وتقول

'and it is **for me as if, lo, she** was calling me from beyond the grave, saying'

Contrast the purely hypothetical comparison with *kamā law* كما لو in 5.9.9.7.

5.9.9.5 *ka-'annamā* كأنَّما 'as if' (▷C3:240), with the suffix *mā* ما here neutralizing the grammatical effect of '*anna* أن (contrast *ka-anna* كأن in 3.2.4) on the topic noun, though when it introduces verbal sentences the question does not arise:

ka-'annamā l-'arḍu kulluhā mulkun lahu

كأنَّما الأرض كلها ملك له

'as if the world, all of it, was a possession of his'

ka-'annamā fī rūḥī baqīyyatun min 'uḡniyatin ḥazīnati l-ṣadā

كأنَّما في روحي بقية من أغنية حزينة الصدى

'as if there was in my soul the remains of a song with a sad echo'

(lit. 'sad of echo', cf. unreal annexation in 2.1.3.2)

ka-'annamā nqaṭa'at munnatī min qillatī l-ṣabri

كأنَّما انقطعت منتي من قلة الصبر

'as if my strength had ceased from lack of endurance'

bi-ṣāribayhi l-rafi'atayni ka-'annamā rusimā bi-qalami l-raṣāṣi

بشاربيه الرفيعين كأنَّما رسما بقلم الرصاص

'with his two thin moustaches, **as if** they had been drawn with a pencil'

(the unvowelled passive *rusimā* رسما 'they two were drawn' is easily recoverable from the context (see 3.12), and note that its instrument 'with a pencil' can be mentioned but not its agent (see 3.12.2))

5.9.9.6 *ka-'an* كأنْ 'such as', 'like' (▷C3:144) with dep. verbs (see further in 7.20):

wa-hunāka zurūfun muḥaffifātun li-l-jarīmati ka-'an yakūna l-sāriqu jā'i'an 'aw ṭiflan

وهناك ظروف مخففة للجريمة كأن يكون السارق جائعا أو طفلا

‘and there are mitigating circumstances for the crime, **such as** the thief **being** hungry or a juvenile’, lit. ‘like that the thief is’

5.9.9.7 *kamā law* كما لو ‘as if’ hypothetically (▷C3:240, 324, see further in 8.2.11 on *law* لو)

- With verbal sentences:

tuharriku šifatayhā kamā law kānat tatakallamu

تحرك شفيتها كما لو كانت تتكلم

‘she moves her lips **as if she were speaking**’

fariḥat lī kamā law kānat ‘ummī

فرحت لي كما لو كانت أُمي

‘she was [as] happy for me **as if she were** my mother’

kāna yasharu ‘alā mašāliḥi l-qaryati wa-yar‘ā ‘abnā’ahā kamā law kāna ‘abāhum

كان يسهر على مصالح القرية ويرعى أبناءها كما لو كان أباهم

‘he used to watch over the interests of the village and look after its sons **as if he were** their father’

- With nominal sentence introduced by ‘anna أَنْ (cf. 8.2.5 on *law* ‘anna أَنْ):

kamā law ‘annahā turīdu ‘an tasquṭa

كما لو أنها تريد أن تسقط

‘**as if** it [*dam’atun*, a tear] wanted to fall’ (or ‘wants’ according to context)

tumma nḥanā nḥwahā kamā law ‘annahu yaḥnū ‘alā ṭiflatin

ثم انحني نحوها كما لو أنه يحنو على طفلة

‘then he leaned towards her **as if** he were bending over a baby girl’

wa-‘aḥyānan yatašarraḥu l-iṭnāni kamā law ‘annahumā yamlikāni dimāḡan wāḥidan

وأحياناً يتصرف الاثنان كما لو أنهما يملكان دماغاً واحداً

‘sometimes the two behave **as if** they possess[ed] a single brain’

5.9.10 *kullamā* كلما (▷C3:219) with paired sentences

kullamā كلما (▷C3:219) with paired sentences: ‘the more [x happens], the more [y happens]’ or ‘every time [x happens, y happens]’, (contrast *kullu mā* ما كل as an annexed quantifier above, 5.5.3), and now only seldom with *kullamā* كلما repeated before each verb. In both senses the verb is invariably perf., either

historical or habitual (cf. perf. in conditional sentences, 8.0), hence often corresponding to present tense in English.

5.9.10.1 'the more ... the more'

- Single *kullamā* كلما:

kullamā zāda ḥajmuhu zāda si'ruhu

كلما زاد حجمه زاد سعره

'the more its size **increases** the more its price **increases**' (habitual perf.)

kullamā taqaddamnā laḥiqnā bi-l-šamsi

كلما تقدمنا لحقنا بالشمس

'the more **we advanced**, the more **we caught up** with the sun'
(historical perf.)

kullamā marrat-i l-sanawātu faqadnā l-kaṭira

كلما مرت السنوات فقدنا الكثير

'as the years **passed** we lost a lot'

- Repeated *kullamā* كلما:

wujida 'anna kullamā zdāda ta'āmulu l-'āmili bi-māddati l-šamḡi

kullamā zdādat nisbatu ta'arruḍi l-'āmili ṣiḥḥiyyan li-l-'aḥṭāri

وجد أن كلما ازداد تعامل العامل بمادة الصمغ كلما ازدادت نسبة تعرض العامل
صحيا للأخطار

'it was found that **the more** the worker had to do with resinous
substances **the more** he was relatively exposed to health risks'

5.9.10.2 'every time x ... y'

- Single *kullamā* كلما:

kullamā ra'aytu sayyidatan qultu llati fi 'a'māqī 'ajmalu wa-'akmalu

كلما رأيت سيدة قلت التي في أعماقي أجمل وأكمل

'every time **I saw** a lady **I said** [to myself], the one deep inside me is
more beautiful and more perfect'

kullamā šafā lahu l-waqtu mala'at ḥayālahu

كلما صفى له الوقت ملأت خياله

'whenever his time **was free** she **filled** his imagination'

kullamā ltaqat naẓarātunā waḍa'at ra'sahā l-ṣaḡīra bayna yadayhā

كلما التقت نظراتنا وضعت رأسها الصغير بين يديها

'every time our glances **met** she **put** her little head between her hands'

- Repeated *kullamā* كلما:

kullamā mtaddat 'ayyāmu ġurbatī, *kullamā* zdadt ltiṣāqan bi-jānīt
 كلما امتدت أيام غربتي كلما ازددت التصاقا بجانيت
 'the more the days of my exile stretched out, the more attached I
 became to Janet'

- With inverted clause sequence, probably on the Western pattern (though the perf. verb of habitual action is retained):

taqillu kafā' atuhā kullamā taqaddama l-'umru
 تقلّ كفاءتها كلما تقدم العمر
 'their competence decreases the more the[ir] age advances'
li-mādā tu'riḍina 'annī kullamā naḡartu 'ilayki?
 لماذا تعرضين عني كلما نظرت اليك؟
 'why do you turn away from me every time I look at you?'
ḡattā lā tafūtāni furṣatu l-istimā'i 'ilā 'ārā'ika wa-ḡikmatika kullamā
sanaḡat-i l-furṣatu
 حتى لا تفوتني فرصة الاستماع إلى آرائك وحكمتك كلما سنحت الفرصة
 'so that I should miss no opportunity to hear your views and wisdom
 every time the opportunity arises'

5.9.11 *miṭlamā* مثلما 'as', 'like'

(▷C2:145, 3:218; and cf. 2.1 on *miṭla* مثل 'like', 'same') 'the same as' asserting the identity of two processes, and therefore different from *kamā* كما above, which compares them:

'aḡaṭnā bihā miṭlamā tuḡiṭu l-'ummu bi-ṣiḡārihā
 أحطنا بها مثلما تحيط الأم بصغارها
 'we surrounded them as a mother surrounds her young'
māta miṭlamā yamūtu l-ḡimāru
 مات مثلما يموت الحمار
 'he died as a donkey dies'

(note generic art. *al-ḡimāru* الحمار 'the donkey', 1.12.3.1)

lā bukā 'a wa-'awīla miṭlamā yaḡduṭu 'ādatan fī miṭli hāḡihi l-ḡālāti
 لا بكاء ووعويل مثلما يحدث عادة في مثل هذه الحالات
 '[there was] no weeping and wailing such as happens usually in these
 situations'

tamāman miṭlamā fa 'ala 'aḥadu l-wulāti l- 'uṭmāniyyīna
 تماما مثلما فعل أحد الولاة العثمانيين
 'exactly **the same as** one of the Ottoman governors did'

5.9.12 qadra mā ما قدر 'to the extent that', 'as much as'
 (▷C3:222):

li-muḥāwalati 'is 'ādihi qadra mā 'astaṭī'u
 لمحاولة إبعاده قدر ما أستطيع
 'to the attempt to make him happy **as much as** I can'

A variant is *bi-qadri mā* ما بقدر in the sense 'as much ... as' (cf. *bi-qadri l- 'imkāni* بقدر الإمكان 'to the extent of one's ability'):

bi qadri mā yabdū fawzī 'isṭafānūs jāddan 'inda l-ḥadīṭi 'an 'awjā'i l-qalbi
 بقدر ما يبدو فوزي اسطفانوس جادا عند الحديث عن أوجاع القلب
 'to the extent that Fawzi Stephanos appears serious when talking about the pains of the heart'

bi-qadri mā yabdū mariḥan 'inda l-ḥadīṭi fī 'umūri l-ḥayāti l-dunyā .. bi-qadri mā yabdū 'atīfiyyan jiddan tuḡrawriqu 'aynāhu 'aḥyānan 'indamā yataḥaddatu 'an 'amrin min 'umūri l-waṭani

بقدر ما يبدو مرحا عند الحديث في أمور الحياة الدنيا .. بقدر ما يبدو عاطفيا جدا تغرورق عيناه أحيانا عندما يتحدث عن أمر من أمور الوطن
 'to the extent that he appears cheerful when talking about the affairs of the world, .. he appears **to the same extent** very emotional, eyes sometimes overflowing, when talking about any matter affecting the nation', i.e. 'he is as cheerful ... as he is very emotional ...'

(cf. above, 5.9.8, on 'indamā عندما 'when')

lā yu'ṭī illā bi-qadri mā ya'ḥuḍu
 لايعطي إلا بقدر ما يأخذ
 'it only gives **as much as** it takes'

This neg. example is probably a calque:

laysa min munṭalaqi musāwāti l-mar'ati bi-l-rajuli bi-qadri mā huwa min munṭalaqi l-tijārati wa-l-ribḥi

ليس من منطلق مساواة المرأة بالرجل بقدر ما هو من منطلق التجارة والربح
 '[it is] **not so much** from the point of view of the equality of man and woman **as** from the point of view of commerce and profit',
 lit. 'it is **not** from the point of view of the equality of man and woman **to the [same] extent that it is** from the point of view of commerce and profit'

5.9.13 *raytamā* ريثما 'while', 'until', 'when' (▷C3:223):

wa-huwa yaḥṣabu 'anna 'iqāmatahu lan taṭūla 'an 'usbū 'in raytamā yajidu makānan lā 'iqan 'āḥara

وهو يحسب ان إقامته لن تطول عن اسبوع ريثما يجد مكانا لائقا آخر
'he reckoning that his stay would not be longer than a week, **by which time** he would find another suitable place'

wa qad-i ttaḥaḍa hādā l-'ijrā 'a raytamā yatimmu l-'amalu 'alā fathī furū 'in fī l-jāmi'ati li-ḥtiṣāṣāti handasati l-ḡazali wa-l-nasīji wa-l-ṣibāḡati

وقد اتخذ هذا الإجراء ريثما يتم العمل على فتح فروع في الجامعة لاختصاصات هندسة الغزل والنسيج والصباغة
'he had undertaken this procedure **while** the task of opening branches in the university to specialize in textile mechanics, weaving and dyeing was being completed', i.e. 'until such time as'

cf. 3.23.1 on the process verb *tamma* تم 'to be completed', i.e. 'carried out'

'a 'lanat hay'atu l-maḥkamati ... muwāfaqatahā 'alā ṭalabi muḥāmiyi l-difā 'i ta 'jila l-jalasāti 'usbū 'an raytamā yatasannā lahum-i l-tadqīqu fī ma 'lūmātin bālīḡati l-ḥasāsīyati

أعلنت هيئة المحكمة ... موافقتها على طلب محامي الدفاع تأجيل الجلسات أسبوعا ريثما يتسنى لهم التدقيق في معلومات بالغة الحساسية
'the court announced ... its agreement to the request of the defence lawyers for a postponement of the sessions for a week, **when** they would be able to check some extremely sensitive information'

5.9.14 *rubbamā* ربّما 'maybe', 'perhaps'

rubbamā ربّما 'maybe', 'perhaps' (▷C1:62, ▷C3:225); the main treatment is in 3.30.2 and only token examples are given here.

In its original sense of 'frequently' *rubbamā* ربّما has become rare, but it is common in the new sense of 'maybe', 'perhaps':

rubbamā lā tafhamahu

ربّما لا تفهمه
'maybe you will not understand it'

rubbamā kāna hādā l-'amru mawḍū 'a ḥadīṭin 'aw 'aḥādīṭa

ربّما كان هذا الأمر موضوع حديث أو أحاديث
'maybe this matter should be a topic of conversation or [several] conversations'

rubbamā lā ya 'lamu l-kaṭīrūna hunā 'anna l-dīyūksīna huwa 'aḥadu muḥallafāti l-tawratī al-šinā 'iyyayati

ربما لا يعلم الكثيرون هنا أنّ الديوكسين هو أحد مخلفات الثورة الصناعية

'perhaps many here do not know that dioxin is one of the residues of the industrial revolution'

5.9.15 *ṭālamā* طالما 'as long as' (▷C3:211)

With either nominal or verbal sentences:

ṭālamā 'anna dālika lā yaḍurru bi-l- 'aḥarīna

طالما أنّ ذلك لا يضر بالآخرين

'as long as that does not harm others'

(note the use of 'anna أنّ here to front the nominal topic, see 3.2.2)

lā ḥājata 'ilā l-tasarrubi ṭālamā l-bābu maftūḥun

لا حاجة إلى التسرب طالما الباب مفتوح

'there is no need for the leakage [of currency] as long as the door [is] open'

wa-lan yartafī 'a mustawā l-ta'limi ṭālamā baqiyat 'aḥwālu l-madārisi 'alā mā hiya 'alayhi

ولن يرتفع مستوى التعليم طالما بقيت أحوال المدارس على ما هي عليه

'and the level of education will not rise as long as the circumstances of the schools remain as they are'

In a different, assertive sense 'for a long time':

tilka l- 'awāṭifu llati ṭālamā 'askatat-i l-jamī' a ḥīna taltaqī l-naẓarātu

تلك العواطف التي أسكتت الجميع حين تلتقي النظرات

'those feelings which for so long have silenced everyone when eyes meet'

sa-tuḥaqqiqu ḥulmahu wa-ḥulmahā llaḍi ṭālamā dā'aba ḥayālahumā

ستحقق حلمه وحلمها الذي طالما داعب خيالهما

'he would realize his dream and her dream which for so long had played with their imagination'

(note that 'his and her dream' has to be expressed paronomastically, cf. 11.7.1)

la-ṭālamā laqiyat-i l-ṭanā' a wa-l- 'i'jāba min-a l-marḍā wa-l-ru'asā' i 'alā ḥaddīn sawā'in

لطالما لقيت الثناء والإعجاب من المرضى والرؤساء على حد سواء

'for a long time indeed she met with praise and admiration from the patients and the bosses in equal measure'

cf. 3.2.1.1 for this *la-* ل emphasizing predicates, 3.26.1 for *la-* ل prefixed to verbs.

6 COORDINATED SENTENCES

6.0 INTRODUCTION

This section deals primarily with the coordination of clauses and sentences. The coordination of noun phrases and the like is dealt with in 2.19; for the special case of *wa-* و ‘and’ in the meaning of ‘with’ see 2.4.7 and 3.29.8, and for *wa-* و prefixed to oaths see 2.17. Coordination at the discourse level and as a cohesion feature is dealt with in Chapter 11.

Coordination is either asyndetic or syndetic, the latter achieved through the same range of conjunctions as have already been described in phrasal coordination (2.19.1–2.19.12), namely, *wa-* و, *fā-* ف ‘and’, *tumma* ثُمَّ ‘then’, *lākin(na)* لكن ‘but’, *bal* بل ‘but rather’, *‘aw* أَوْ, *‘am* أَمْ ‘or’, *‘immā* إِمَّا ‘either’, *lā siyyamā* لَا سَيِّمًا ‘especially’ *sawā’un* سَوَاء ‘whether’, *ḥattā* حَتَّى ‘even’ *wa-lā*, *wa-laysa* وَلَا ، وليس ‘nor’, ‘and not’.

In CA all sentences were in principle formally connected by conjunctions, these also serving as the equivalent of punctuation, but MWA has superimposed a borrowed Western punctuation system (see 1.3), and the two systems are often integrated to a greater or lesser degree.

For the purposes of this chapter the union of two or more sentences without conjunctions will be treated as asyndetic coordination, and with conjunctions as syndetic coordination, whether punctuation is involved or not. The rhetorical or stylistic motives for the selection of asyndetic or syndetic coordination cannot be taken into account here, but wherever possible the intended rhetorical or stylistic effect will be reflected in the translation.

It is important to note the other roles of asyndesis: indef. rel. clauses (5.1), verbal circumstantial clauses (7.3.1) and apodosis clauses (8.0) all rely on a delicate system of zero markers (namely the absence of introductory particles) to indicate the subordination of the respective clauses. The items treated by Cantarino 3:10 as asyndetical coordination are in fact regular apodosis clauses., see 8.0.

6.1 ASYNDETIK COORDINATION

Asyndetic coordination (▷C3:7) is neither new nor rare, having been used in CA whenever the vividness or immediacy of the narrative required it: structurally, however, it amounted to the elision of a conjunction. By contrast, in MWA the

influence of European literary and stylistic conventions has encouraged the use of pure asyndetic coordination:

naḥnu l-bašaru aġbiyā 'u na'taqidu kulla šay'in
نحن البشر أغبياء نعتقد كل شيء
'we humans are stupid we believe everything'

(a reading 'stupid people **who** believe everything', see 5.2.2, is possible, but here ruled out by the author's general asyndetic style elsewhere)

Far more frequent is the adoption of Western punctuation, so that the comma, full stop and colon now play more of a role in demarcating asyndetically coordinated sentences, e.g. the commas in the following example:

tumma tadrusuhu, tuḥalliluhu, takšifu 'an ḥudūdihi
ثم تدرسه، تحلله، تكشف عن حدوده
'then they study it, analyse it, discover its limits'
[ag. is grammatical fem. sing. 'the authorities']

where a translation with 'and' before each verb would not give the intended cumulative sense of this list of actions.

Here dots replace coordinators:

la'ibatā ma'an ... mariḥatā ma'an ... dākaratā ma'an ... kaburatā ma'an ...
لعبتا معا ... مرحتا معا ... ذاكرتا معا ... كبرتتا معا
'they [fem. dual] played together ... they had fun together ... they studied together ... they grew up together'
al-muhimmu 'an na'mala ... 'an naksiba ... 'an na'īša
المهم أن نعمل ... أن نكسب ... أن نعيش
'the important [thing] is that we work ... that we earn ... that we live'

The next examples might well have been modelled on the narrative structure of a Western language, with the commas serving both to separate and link the sequence of clauses:

ka-'annanī lā 'aktubu 'an 'ašyā'a 'ištuḥā qabla 'aktara min arba'īna 'āman,
'*aktubu* wa-ka-'annahā ḥadaṭat 'amsi faqaṭ
كأنني لا اكتب عن اشياء عشتها قبل اكثر من اربعين عاما، اكتب وكأنها حدثت امس فقط
'it is as if I am not writing about things which I experienced more than forty years ago, [comma, no conjunction] **I am writing** as if they happened only yesterday'
'an nasma'a l-laḥna l-mumayyiza li-l-našrati, 'an yartaḥi'a 'aḍānu l-'ašri,
'*an yaḥilla l-wahanu bi-ḍaw'i l-naḥāri, 'an yaqtariba l-maḡību,*
wa-l-wālidu lam yaẓhar ba'du, fa-tilka nuḍurun muḥīfatun

أن نسمع اللحن المميز للنشرة، أن يرتفع أذان العصر، أن يحلّ الوهن بضوء النهار، أن يقترب المغيّب، والوالد لم يظهر بعد، فتلك نذر مخيفة

‘that we should hear the signature tune of the [news] broadcast, that the early evening call to prayer should ring out, that langor should befall the light of the day, that sundown should approach, [all this] while father had not yet made an appearance, these were frightening portents’

Conversely the next example shows a long sequence of syndetic coordination (i.e. the default CA system), where in natural English the conjunctions would probably not be repeated:

kāna fī qalbi kulli naṣāṭin ‘āmmīn yaktubu wa-yuḥāḍirū wa-yudarrisū wa-yahṭubu wa-yuṣāriku fī l-nadawāti

كان في قلب كلّ نشاط عامّ يكتب ويحاضر ويدرس ويخطب ويشارك في الندوات
‘he was at the heart every general activity, writing [and] lecturing [and] teaching [and] preaching [and] taking part in meetings’

(cf. 3.10.6 on *kāna* كان and habitual action)

The following sequence of rhetorical questions (cf. 10.13) shows a mixture of asyndetic and syndetic coordination, again reflecting a Western style. The first question is introduced with *fa-* فـ, here marking a new paragraph, then two interrogatives are internally coordinated with *wa-* و in the second question, followed by two asyndetically coordinated questions, with only the final question syndetically coordinated, perhaps because it completes a balanced pair or simply marks the end of the list. Otherwise only the punctuation (though not entirely complete, and reproduced in the translation exactly as it is) separates them all:

fa-man huwa Ḥ. M.? .. kayfa wa-‘ayna ‘amḍā sanawātihi l-qarībata min al-ṭamānīna? .. mā hiya manzilatuhu fī mayādīni l-kitābati l-‘adabiyyati wa-l-naqdiyyati wa-fī mayādīni l-baḥṭi l-falsafīyi wa-l-dirāsati l-turāṭīyyati? mā huwa dawruhu ‘alā sāḥati l-‘amali l-waṭaniyyi wa-l-qawmiyyi wa-mā huwa ‘ishāmuḥu fī ta’sīsi ‘ālamīn jadīdin? ..

فمن هو ح. م.؟ كيف وأين أمضى سنواته القريبة من الثمانين؟.. ما هي منزلته في ميادين الكتابة الأدبية والنقدية وفي ميادين البحث الفلسفي والدراسات التراثية؟ ما هو دوره على ساحة العمل الوطني والقومي وما هو إسهامه في تأسيس عالم جديد؟..

‘so who is H. M.? ... How **and** where did he spend his nearly eighty years? .. What is his status in the fields of literary and critical writing and in the fields of philosophical investigation and cultural study? What is his role in the domain of national and patriotic effort **and** what is his share in the foundation of a new world? ..’

6.2 SYNDETIC COORDINATION

Syndetic coordination with *wa-* و ‘and’ (>C3:11): this is the basic coordinating particle, which implies no hierarchical or sequential ordering in the coordinated

clauses, though common sense usually determines the order, and it is the normal conjunction for narrative sequences. It also coordinates clauses in various implicit logical relationships such as adversative or causal: for these extended senses see 6.2.5.

Finally, it appears in a number of contexts where an underlying circumstantial qualifier structure (see 7.3) may be assumed (see 6.2.6, 6.2.7). For functions of *wa-* و at the phrase level, see references in 6.0.

It is important to stress that as a true coordinator *wa-* only joins syntactically equivalent items, e.g. two nominal sentences, two main verbs, two subordinate verbs etc., and, by extension, functionally equivalent items such as a verbal noun and a nominalized verb phrase, or two differently structured predicates. It thus contrasts with *wa-* as a subordinating conjunction when it introduces a nominal circumstantial clause after a verbal sentence in the main clause (*ḥāl*, see 7.1.2, but see also 6.2.6).

In the following example two different kinds of predicates are coordinated:

wa-qad-i ttaḍaḥa 'anna l-maṣna'a muḥālifun li-l-muwāṣafāti wa-yattabi'u 'ijrā'ātīn taḍurru bi-l-bī'ati

وقد اتّضح أنّ المصنع مخالف للمواصفات ويتّبع إجراءات تضرّ بالبيئة

'it became clear that the factory is breaching the regulations [1st pred., a participle] **and** is following procedures [2nd pred., a verbal sentence] which are harmful to the environment'

An alternative parsing for the above would assume an elided *'annahu* أنه before *yattabi'u* يتّبع, namely 'and **that it** is following', cf. 6.2.2.

In this type of heterogeneous coordination there is no risk of misinterpreting the coordinate status of the clause as subordinate. Here a verbal noun is coordinated with a syntactically equivalent noun clause:

da'ā mudīriy-a l-madārisi wa-l-tawjīhi 'ilā taḡyīri hādā l-'uslūbi wa-'an yakūna taqyīmuḥum 'amaliyyan

دعا مديري المدرسى والتوجيه إلى تغيير هذا الأسلوب وأن يكون تقييمهم عمليا

'he called upon the directors of schools and school inspection for a change [verbal noun] of this method **and [for] that** their evaluation **should be** [complimentizer + verb] practical' (see 6.2.2 omission of preposition)

6.2.1 Coordinated clauses

Examples of various kinds of coordinated clauses with *wa-* و (the conjunction will be translated as 'and' regardless of whether this results in natural English).

- Nominal sentences (3.1):

al-ḍaw'u nāṣi'un wa-l-jawwu ḥārrun

الضوء ناصع والجو حارّ

'the light is clear **and** the weather is hot'

'anti lī **wa-**'anā laki

أنت لي وأنا لك

'you [fem. sing.] are mine **and** I am yours'

tājuki fī l-samā'ī wa-jidruki fī l-arḍi

تاجك في السماء وجذرك في الأرض

'your crown is in the sky and your root is in the earth'

[addressing a tree]

- Verbal sentences (3.7):

daḥala **wa-sallama wa-jalasa**

دخل وسلم وجلس

'he went in **and** greeted **and** sat down'

ištaddat 'azmatu l-'as'ārī **wa-staḥkamat**

اشتدّت أزمة الأسعار واستحكمت

'the prices crisis worsened **and** took hold'

- Coordinating imperatives (▷C3:15; see 3.24):

i'qilhā **wa-tawakkal**

اعقلها وتوكل

'tie her [= your camel] up **and** trust in God' (proverb)

ijlis **wa-ntaẓir dawraka**

اجلس وانتظر دورك

'sit down **and** wait your turn'

iḡsilihi **wa-lā tas'ālī**

اغسله ولا تسألني

'[just] wash it **and** don't ask' [fem. sing.]

Note that English pro-drop cannot occur in Arabic, as all verbs incorporate their agents (see 3.7.1). In other words, only complete verbal sentences can be coordinated. This will not be obvious with singular verbs, e.g. *ṣaraḥa 'aḥmadu wa-nahaḍa* صرخ أحمد ونهض 'Aḥmad screamed **and** stood up' where the second verb is actually the sentence 'and [he] stood up', with concealed agent pron., but it becomes visible with plural agents. In the next examples the first sentence is a verbal sentence with explicit agent, so the verb is sing. (see 3.8), and all the coordinated sentences are complete verbal sentences, this time with pron. agents:

hādīhi l-ru'ya **yuqarriruhā** l-qawmu **wa-yunaffidūnahā**

هذه الرؤية يقررها القوم وينفذونها

'this vision, the people **decide** [sing.] it and [they] **execute** [plur.] it'

(see 3.3.2 on the topic-comment structure here, which does not affect the verbs, and note also that *qawm* قوم ‘people’ is a collective and takes plur. agreement, see 3.8.2)

iltamma ‘alayhi *l-muwazzafūna wa-ḥamalūhu wa-maddadūhu fī bahw il-wizārati wa-ḡasalūhu wa-ṭayyabūhu wa-kafanūhu wa-ṣallaw* ‘alayhi *wa-mašaw ḥalfā na-šīhi wa-qabarūhu wa-‘ādū* ‘adrājahum ‘ilā *l-wazīfati*

التم عليه الموظفون وحملوه ومددوه في بهو الوزارة وغسلوه وطيبوه وكفنوه وصلوا عليه ومشوا خلف نعشه وقبروه وعادوا أدرأجهم إلى الوظيفة

‘the officials **gathered** [sing.] around him and [they] **picked** [plur.] him up and [they] **stretched** him out in the vestibule of the ministry and [they] **washed** him and [they] **perfumed** him and [they] **shrouded** him and [they] **prayed** over him and [they] **walked** behind his bier and [they] **buried** him and [they] **went back** to the job’

This also is the case with a change of agent:

ḍaḥika wa-nṣarafat ‘ilā *l-‘amaliḥā*

ضحك وانصرفت إلى عملها

‘he laughed and she went off to her work’

This rule applies to all conjunctions, and will not be noted below:

yawma ‘idīn *daḥalahā junūdu l- ma’mūni bni muḥammadīn fa-qatalū* ‘amīrahā

يومئذ دخلها جنود المأمون بن محمد فقتلوا أميرها

‘on that day the troops of Ma’mūn ibn Muḥammad **entered** [sing.] it [= the town] **and** [they] killed [plur.] its governor’

6.2.2 Miscellaneous coordinations

The following are mostly phrase level items (cf. 2.19) but are mentioned here for completeness. The coordination of a bound pronoun and an explicit noun requires an externally repeated free pronoun which will be neutral for case. This is usual with agents (see 3.8) because the two coordinated elements must have the same status, and the sequence verbal sentence + *wa-* و + noun is therefore incorrect:

bi-smi l-ḥukūmati ‘u’akkidu ‘anā *wa-jamī‘u zumalā’i* l-wuzarā’i ...

باسم الحكومة أؤكد أنا وجميع زملائي الوزراء ...

‘in the name of the government **I and all my fellow** ministers emphasize ...’

where *‘u’akkidu *wa-jamī‘u zumalā’i* زملائي وجميع would be incorrect, somewhat as ‘I emphasize and all my ministers’ would also sound weak without a

clear parenthetical marking, namely, ‘I emphasize, and all my ministers too, ...’. This rule is not always observed:

iltaffa wa-‘adadun min zumalā’ihi min-a l-maktabati ḥawla ’iḥdā ṭāwilāti l-maktabati

التف وعدد من زملائه من المكتبة حول إحدى طاولات المكتبة

‘he **and a number** of his colleagues in the office gathered around one of the office desks’

instead of *iltaffa huwa wa-‘adadun* التف هو وعدد ‘**he** and a number ... gathered around’

Sometimes it is necessary to repeat the verb (cf. 11.7):

wa-l-nataḍakkar wa-l-yataḍakkar ḥukkāmūnā

ولنتذكر وليتذكر حكامنا

‘and **let us and** our rulers **remember**’, lit. ‘let us remember and let our rulers remember’

(see 3.24.2 on the indirect imperative)

For an example of coordination of bound obl. pron. via free pron. to noun (see 3.28.2):

faṣṣlaka ’anta wa-jamī’i l-’aṭibbā’i

فصلك أنت وجميع الأطباء

‘the dismissal of **you and of all** the doctors’.

Repetition is obligatory with obl. pronouns, as there is no free obl. pron.:

mā yuqālu ‘anhā wa-’anhū

ما يقال عنها وعنه

‘what is said **about her and [about] him**’

However, it is correct to coordinate an overt dir. or indir. obj. to a pron.:

yakfihā bi-l-kādi li-ta’īša wa-’ummahā l-’ajūza

يكفيها بالكاد لتعيش وأمها العجوز

‘it suffices **her**, just, to live on and [also] her aged **mother** [dep.]’

When a noun is qualified by more than one adj. they may be syndetically coordinated, depending on extralinguistic considerations (see further 2.1.1.7):

tuqaddimu ’idāfātīn jadīdatan naẓariyyatan wa-taṭbīqiyyatan

تقدم إضافات جديدة نظرية وتطبيقية

‘it offers new **theoretical and practical** additions’

where the tighter unit ‘new additions’ is asyndetically coordinated, so that a translation ‘new additions, [both] theoretical and practical’ is also possible.

Coordination with *wa-* is the rule with syndetic rel. clauses, with which the rel. noun (see 5.2 for this term) must also be repeated:

baytu ḥālī illadī wulidtu bihi wa-lladī ‘tadnā l-’iqāmata bihi wa-lladī ṭalabtu l-ḥifāza ‘alayhi

بيت خالي الذي ولدت به والذي اعتدنا الإقامة به والذي طلبت الحفاظ عليه
‘the house of my uncle, [the one] in which I was born, and [the one] which we had become used to living in, and [the one] which I demanded should be taken care of’

This coordination is distinct from the occurrence of *wa-* و with explicitly non-restrictive rel. clauses (see further 5.2.4):

wa-’alzamūhum bi-raddi hādhi l-mabālighi wa-llatī jā’at fī taqrīri l-riqābatī l-’idāriyyati

وألزموهم برّد هذه المبالغ والتي جاءت في تقرير الرقابة الإدارية
‘they forced them to return these sums, which came up in the report of the administrative control office’

6.2.3 Elliptical coordination

An element in the second clause can be elided if it is obvious or redundant (▷C3:54). This applies to all conjunctions and will not be noted in detail below (note that it is the norm with *lā siyyama* لا سيما ‘especially’, 6.9 and *sawā’an* سواء ‘whether’, 6.10):

al-’amalu li-l-rajuli šarafun wa- li-l-mar’ati ‘ārūn

العمل للرجل شرف وللمرأة عار
‘work is for a man an honour and for a woman [it is] a shame’

In particular, preposition(al)s and other grammatical operators such as complementizers are not always repeated in coordination (cf. 2.19.1 for phrase level), for reasons of style or emphasis, but the coordinated item inflects as if the operation were present:

bi-’anna ḥuqūqahu mušānatun wa-karāmatahu mahfūẓatun

بأن حقوقه مصانة وكرامته محفوظة
‘that his rights [dep.] are protected and [that] his honour [dep.] is preserved’

omitting *’anna* أن ‘that’

li-taḍumma l-makātiba l-’idāriyyata wa-tuwaffīra misāḥatan ‘uḥrā

لتضم المكاتب الإدارية وتوفّر مساحة أخرى
‘in order to combine the administrative offices and [in order to] provide other space’

omitting *li-* ل ‘in order to’ in the second clause

yaktubu *li-*yunīra *wa-*yu'allima *wa-*yusā'ida

يكتب لينير ويعلم ويساعد

'he writes **in order to** enlighten **and** [in order to] to teach **and** [in order to] to help'

omitting *li-* لـ 'in order to' in the ensuing clauses

dafa'ahum 'an *yaḡhabū wa-yuṣāhidū māḏā tarakat lahum-u l-ḡarbu tumma*

yaqa'ū maḡṣiyyan 'alayhim min-a l-ṣadmati

دفعهم أن يذهبوا ويشاهدوا ماذا تركت لهم الحرب ثم يقعوا مغشيا عليهم من الصدمة

'it compelled them **to go and** [to] see what the war had left them **and then** [to] fall in a faint from the shock'

omitting 'an أن 'that' in the ensuing clauses

kamā 'utiḡa li 'an 'a'rifa *wa-*'arā *wa-*'almasa

كما أتيح لي أن أعرف وأرى وألمس

'as I have been enabled to know **and** [to] see **and** [to] feel'

omitting 'an أن 'that' in the ensuing clauses.

The first example in 6.2 may also belong here, if it is analysed as an elision of 'annahu أنه 'that it'.

In the following examples the option of repeating the operators has been chosen (▷C3:122):

'alayhi 'an *yajtahida fī 'a'mālihi wa-'an yakūna ṣādiqan fī mu'āmalātihi*

عليه أن يجتهد في أعماله وأن يكون صادقا في معاملاته

'it is necessary for him **to** make effort in his actions **and to** be honest in his dealings', lit. 'that he make effort **and that** he be'

tūjadu 'anẓimatu tahwiyatin *li-kay taḡfiḏa min darajati ḡarārati l-ḡurfati*

wa-li-kay taṣṡuṡa 'abḡirata l-maḡālī

توجد أنظمة تهوية لكي تخفض من درجة حرارة الغرفة ولكي تشفط أبخرة المحاليل

'ventilation systems exist **in order to** reduce the temperature of the room **and in order to** dispel the vapours of the solvents'

while here there is a mixture of repeated and elided operators:

li-ya'tū 'ilaynā wa-yarawnā wa-l-yatakallamū ma'anā

ليأتوا إلينا ويرونا وليتكلموا معنا

'let them come to us **and** [let them] see us **and let** them talk to us'

(see 3.24.2 on the indirect imperative with *li-* لـ and apoc. verb)

6.2.4 Hendiadys (▷C3:16, and see *fa*-ف)

The only common case is with *sabaqa* سبق ‘to precede’ (see 3.23.1):

kamā sabaqa wa-lāḥaẓnā ‘anna

كما سبق ولاحظنا أنّ

‘as we have previously remarked that’, lit. ‘as it happened previously **and** we remarked’

The following may possibly be interpreted as a hendiadys:

huwa ta‘bīrun tāriḥiyyun min-a l-quwā llatī ṭaḥanat wa-qaharat

bi-‘anzīmatin šumūliyyatin li-fatarātin ṭawīlatin

هو تعبير تاريخي من القوى التي طحنت وقهرت بأنظمة شمولية لفترات طويلة

‘it is a historical expression of the forces that have been grinding away and overpowering with all-embracing systems for long periods’

if the main verbs *ṭaḥanat wa-qaharat* وقهرت وطحنت are taken to mean ‘have been oppressively grinding down’.

6.2.5 Semantic varieties of coordination with *wa*-و, ‘and’

Though not logically or temporally hierarchical, *wa*-و, ‘and’ may nevertheless imply a range of semantic relationships between the clauses which can usually be inferred from the context (▷C3:19). Inevitably there will be differences in the subjective impressions of the examples below (and also with *fa*-ف in 6.3.1), but the general picture should emerge clearly:

- Adversative:

sa-yahla‘u ‘anhu l-ḥijāba lāḥiqan, wa-laysa l-‘āna

سيخلع عنه الحجاب لاحقا وليس الآن

‘he will remove the veil from it subsequently, **but** not now’

(see neg. coordination in 4.2.8.3)

taškū l-faqr wa-l-ḥājata wa-tubaddiru mālaka fīmā lā yufīdu!

تشكو الفقر والحاجة وتبذر مالك فيما لا يفيد!

‘you complain about poverty and need, **yet/although** you squander your money on what is useless!’

- Consequential:

li-l-‘asafī ḍayya‘tu mā ḍayya‘tu wa-l-yakun nadamī šadīdan

للأسف ضيّعت ما ضيّعت وليكن ندمي شديدا

‘unfortunately I lost what I lost, **and [so]** may my regret be extreme’

(see 3.11.1.2 on vague dir. obj., 3.24.2 on indirect imperative)

takallama bi-sawṭin hāmisin wa-lam yasma ‘hu ‘aḥadun
 تكلم بسوت هامس ولم يسمعه أحد
 ‘he spoke in a whispering voice **and [so]** no-one heard him’

- Emphatic:

lam ‘aḥam wa-‘ilā hādīhi l-laḥẓati māḍā ‘aṭārahā
 لم أفهم وإلى هذه اللحظة ماذا أثارها
 ‘I have never understood, **even** to this moment, what made her
 flare up’

More generally however, such shades of meaning are expressed through *fa-* ف, see 6.3.

6.2.6 Explanatory and circumstantial clauses

Frequently *wa-* و is used to introduce clauses which are not strictly coordinate but serve as explanatory or circumstantial qualifiers (see 7.3 and cf. C3:16–18).

Explanatory clauses:

wa-zuyyina l-na‘šu bi-zuhūrin ‘alā šakli raqmi 7 wa-huwa raqmu l-qamīši
llaḍī kāna yartadihi Matthews ḥilāla l-mubārayāti
 وزين النعش بزهور على شكل رقم ٧ وهو رقم القميص الذي كان يرتديه ماثيوز خلال
 المباريات
 ‘the bier was decorated with flowers in the shape of a number 7, **this**
being the number of the shirt which Matthews used to wear during
 matches’

wa-law ‘aradnā stiḡṣā ‘a ‘aqwālihim la-ḥarajnā bi-natījatin muhimmatin,
wa-hiya ‘anna kaṭīran min ‘aqwālihim ...

ولو اردنا استقصاء اقوالهم لخرجنا بنتيجة مهمة، وهي أن كثيرا من اقوالهم ...
 ‘and if we wanted to examine closely their opinions we would get out of it an
 important result, **namely** that many of their opinions ...’

(cf. 8.2 on cond. with *law* لو ‘if’, 3.11.4.1 for idiomatic verbs of motion with *bi-* ب, ‘to bring/take’)

hādīhi l-fi‘atu min-a l-‘ummāli ta‘malu fī majāli ‘amalin wāḥidin wa-huwa
majālu šinā‘ati l-‘aḥḍiyati
 هذه الفئة من العمال تعمل في مجال عمل واحد وهو مجال صناعة الأحذية
 ‘this group of workers works in one job area, **this being** the area of the
 manufacture of shoes’

Compare the above with the standard circumstantial clause (7.3):

'aṣḥaḥat 'umman **wa-hiya** bnatu l-'arba'ata 'aṣara rabī'an

أصبحت أما وهي ابنة الأربعة عشر ربيعاً

'she became a mother **when** she was 14', lit. 'and she the daughter of 14 springs'

6.2.7 Miscellaneous coordinations

The same underlying structure probably accounts for the occurrence of *wa-* و with a number of other elements.

- *mundu* منذ 'since' (see 7.3.2 for details):

mundu 'ahdin ba'idin wa-faransā bi-l-nisbati li-l-mujtama'i l-'ūrubbīyyi ka-l-ṣarīki l-muḥālifi

منذ عهد بعيد وفرنسا بالنسبة للمجتمع الأوروبي كالشريك المخالف

'for a long time [0] France has been in relation to the European Community like a dissident partner', lit. 'since a long time, and ...'

mundu ḥurūjīhi min-a l-sijni wa-huwa yabḥaṭu 'an 'amalin

منذ خروجه من السجن وهو يبحث عن عمل

'ever since he came out of prison he has been looking for work'

- *ka-'anna*, بدأ *ka-'anna* especially with *badā* بدا 'to look as if' (contrast *badā* بدا 'to seem' + nominal comp. in 3.17.3) and synonyms (see 5.9.9.1 and 5.9.9.4 for details of *wa-ka-'anna* وكان 'as if' in comparative constructions):

yuzḥiruhā wa-ka-'annahā ṣifāhun mumtali'atun

يظهرها وكأنها شفاه ممتلئة

'will make them appear as if they are full lips', i.e. 'like full lips'

badā wa-ka-'anna l-iqtisāda yasta'idu qudratahu 'alā l-munāfasati

بدا وكأن الاقتصاد يستعيد قدرته على المنافسة

'it looked as if the economy would recover its ability to compete'

- *lā budda* لا بد 'there is no escape', i.e. 'inevitably' (see 4.1.3 and 7.5.1.7):

wa-hāḍa l-taḥsinu lā budda wa-'an yamurra 'abra stiṭmāri l-mawāridi l-'insāniyyati

وهذا التحسين لا بد وأن يمر عبر استثمار الموارد الإنسانية

'this improvement **will inevitably** occur through the exploitation of human resources', with no obvious way to translate the *wa-* و

- *bal* بل ‘but rather’ (see further in 6.6.3):

wa-sami‘at min zamīlātihā bal wa-šāhadat qīṣaṣa l-ḥubbi

وسمعت من زميلاتها بل وشاهدت قصص الحب

‘she heard from her companions, **indeed** she [actually] **saw** the love stories’

- ‘*illā* إلا ‘except’ (see 9.4.7):

fa-mā min kātibin kabīrin fī ‘ūrubbā wa-‘amrīkā l-lātīniyyati wa-l-yābāni wa-‘afrīqiyyā wa-rūsiyā ‘illā wa-kāna bna maḥalliyyatihi wa-bna makānihi wa-bī‘atihi

فما من كاتب كبير في أوربّا وأمريكا اللاتينية واليابان وأفريقيا وروسيا إلا و كان ابن محليته و ابن مكانه و بيئته

‘there is no famous writer in Europe nor Latin America nor Japan nor Africa nor Russia **who was not** a son of his locality **and** son of his place and environment’

(see neg. *mā ... min* من ... ما in 4.1.1, and note the second coordinated clause at the end)

- For *ḥattā* حتى ‘even’ with *wa-* و see 6.11.

Finally, it must be noted that discourse markers often require *wa-* و (see 11.2):

hādā wa-lā yumkinu ‘an nulāḥiẓa

هذا ولا يمكن أن نلاحظ

‘this being so, we cannot remark’

6.3 WITH *fa-* ف ‘AND SO’, ‘AND THEN’

fa- ف (▷C3:20–1) coordinates two clauses in a definite logical or temporal sequence, ‘and so’, ‘and then’ (cf. phrase coordination in 2.19.2). This feature accounts for the presence of *fa-* ف before the apodosis of conditional clauses in particular circumstances (see especially 8.1.2, and C3:361–9) and also the prolific use of resumptive *fa-* ف at the discourse level (see 11.1) and in rhetorical questions (10.13.1).

As with *wa-* و (see 6.2.5) the precise logical relationship between the coordinated clauses varies, with the dominant feature being sequentiality or consequentiality.

6.3.1 Standard usage

- Temporal sequence:

ṣāra 'at-i l-mawta fa-ḡalabathu

صارعت الموت فغلبته

'she wrestled with death **and** she beat it' (in that order!)

tumma 'aṣbaḥa nā 'iban li-ra 'īsi l- 'arkāni fa-ra 'īsan lahā ba 'da dālika

ثم أصبح نائباً لرئيس الأركان فرئيساً لها بعد ذلك

'then he became deputy chief of staff **and [then]** chief of staff after that'

yaḡību 'an 'uyūniki fa-taftaqidīnahu miṭla ḥabībin nā 'in

يغيب عن عيونك فتفتقدينه مثل حبيب ناء

'he disappears from your eyes **and [then]** you look for him like a distant lover'

- Logical (con)sequence:

lam yaḡham 'aḥmadu ma 'nā hādā l-kalāmi fa-sakata mutaḥayyiran

لم يفهم أحمد معنى هذا الكلام فسكت متحيراً

'Ahmad did not understand the meaning of those words **so** he fell silent, confused'

jā 'a dawrī fa-sallamtū lahā l-kitāba

جاء دوري فسلمت لها الكتاب

'my turn came **and [so]** I handed her the book'

lam yastaḡī 'ḥalafun 'an yata 'āwana ma 'ahu fa-staqāla

لم يستطع خلف أن يتعاون معه فاستقال

'Halaf was unable to work with him **so** he resigned'

yakfī 'an yastaḡhima minhā bi-naẓarāti 'aynayhi l-ḥāniyatayni

fa-tusāri 'a bi-l- 'ajwibati l-murḍiyati

يكفي أن يستفهم منها بنظرات عينيه الحانيتين فتسارع بالأجوبة المرضية

'it would be enough for him to enquire of her with glances of his pitying eyes **and [then]** she would quickly produce the answers that would please', lit. 'would hasten with', cf. 3.11.4.1

- Logical reason (▷C3:26–7, 32):

hādā wahmun fa-kaṭīrūna min-a l-rijāli yakḍībūna 'ālā l-rijāli

هذا وهم فكثيرون من الرجال يكذبون على الرجال

'this is pure fantasy, **for** many men tell lies to other men'

lam yatanabbah 'aḥadun min zumalā'ihim li-mā ḥadaṭa .. fa-l-kullu maṣṣūlun wa-mutaḥammisun li-maṣrū'ihim

لم يتنبه أحد من زملائهم لما حدث.. فالكل مشغول ومتحمس لمشروعهم
'no-one among their colleagues noticed what happened .. **for** everyone was busy [sing.] and working zealously at their [sic] project'

(note mixed agreement with *kull* كل 'all', see 3.8.4)

lā tataṣā'amū fa-l-taḥāṣilu sa-ta'ti

لا تتشائموا فالتفاصيل ستأتي
'do not be pessimistic **for** the details will be coming'

lā 'aẓunnu 'annahum kānū yatawaqqa'ūna hujūmanā fa-hum lam yataḥarrakū min majlisihim

لا أظن أنهم كانوا يتوقعون هجومنا فهم لم يتحركوا من مجلسهم
'I do not think they were expecting our attack **because** they did not move from where they were sitting'

ḏū l-kūfiyyati l-bayḍā'i lan yamūta. fa-huwa laysa min banī l-baṣari

ذو الكوفية البيضاء لن يموت. فهو ليس من بني البشر
'that man with the white head-cloth will never die. Because he is not human', lit. 'is not of the sons of mankind'

The original punctuation is retained in this last example.

- Adversative (▷C3:27):

ḥāwalā 'an yaftaḥā l-ḥizānata fa-lam yaqdirā

حاولا أن يفتحا الخزانة فلم يقدرا
'the two of them tried to open the safe **but** were unable to'

ḥāwala 'an yaḥnuqahā fa-lam yantuj 'an muḥāwalātihi tilka 'illā 'iddatu ma'ārika

حاول أن يخنقها فلم ينتج عن محاولاته تلك إلا عدة معارك
'he tried to stifle them, **but** all that came out of those efforts of his was a number of conflicts' lit. 'and there did not arise ... except a number of conflicts', (see Exception, 9.1)

yamuddu yadahū li-qtināṣihā fa-tabta'idu

يمد يده لاقتناصها فتبتعد
'he stretches his hand to gather them [namely, fruit], **but** they are [too] far away'

yaṭlubu l-nawma fa-lā yajiduhu

يطلب النوم فلا يجده
'he seeks sleep **but** does not find it'

rağma şamtihi l-dā'imi fa-huwa yuḥibbuhā

رغم صمته الدائم فهو يحبها

'in spite of his permanent silence he **still** loves her'

6.3.2 Hendyadis

Hendyadis occurs especially with 'āda عاد 'return' in an alternative construction to that set out in 3.21.1:

'alā 'anna R. H. ya 'ūdu fa-yu'akkidu lanā 'anna ...

على أن ر. ح. يعود فيؤكد لنا أن ...

'but R. H. **reassures** us that ...', lit. 'returns **and** assures'

(cf. the 're-' prefix in 12.7.1)

6.3.3 Explanatory coordinations

Like *wa-* و (see 6.2.5), *fa-* ف may introduce explanatory circumstantial qualifiers (see 7.3):

šammamat 'an tuḥbira muḥammad 'awwalan fa-huwa ḥaṭībuhā

صممت أن تخبر محمد أولاً فهو خطيبها

'she resolved to tell Muhammad first, **for he** was her fiancé'

(note that the name Muhammad does not inflect, 1.8.5)

In the following example the last two clauses are a pair coordinated with *wa-* و, introduced by *fa-* ف, supplying the reason for the main clause:

wa-ḥaytu yumkinu l-wuṣūlu 'ilā 'aḥadi manābi'i l-mā'i l llatī tarfudu

l-nahra. wa-lākinnī lam 'akun 'abgī l-wuṣūla 'ilayhi, fa-huwa 'alā qadrin

min-a l-bu'di min ḥaytu naḥnu, wa-'anā lā 'a'rifu makānahu bi-diqqatin

وحيث يمكن الوصول الى احد منابع الماء التي ترفد النهر. ولكنني لم اكن ابغى الوصول اليه، فهو على قدر من البعد من حيث نحن، وانّا لا اعرف مكانه بدقة

'and where it was possible to reach one of the springs of water that fed the river. But I did not want to go to it, **for it was at some distance** from where we were, **and [because] I did not know** its location exactly', lit. 'it being at some distance ... and I not knowing'

(see also 6.5 for *lākinna* 'but', 7.6.9 for *ḥaytu*)

The following examples allow a comparison between *wa-* و and *fa-* ف in various functions, as well as other conjunctions:

*ma'rifatun 'ilmiyyatun jadīdatun ... 'addat muhimmatan muzdawijatan,
fa-hiya, min jihatin, ... wa-hiya, min jihatin tāniyatin ...*

... أدت مهمة مزدوجة، فهي، من جهة، ... وهي، من جهة ثانية
... معرفة علمية جديدة

'new scientific knowledge ... , which performed a dual task, [this being] on the one hand ... , and [this being] on the other hand ...'

where *fa-* ف introduces an explanatory clause, 'and this is', and *wa-* و simply coordinates to that same idea, 'and also'

*wa-sāda šamtun murīhun fa-taḍakkara l-šābbu l-mar'ata l-muntaẓirata
wa-lākinnaḥu ḥašiya 'an yatajāwaza bi-talabihi ḥudūda l-dawqi 'aw
'an yuṭīra stiṭā'a šāḥibihi fa-qarrara tajāhulahā*

وساد صمت مريح فتذكر الشاب المرأة المنتظرة ولكنه خشي أن يتجاوز بطله حدود الذوق
أو أن يثير استياء صاحبه فقرّر تجاهلها

'and [narrative connector] a relaxing silence reigned, and [in that sequence] the young man started thinking about the woman waiting but [optional *wa-* و here with *lākinna*, لكن see 6.5] he was afraid to transgress the boundaries of taste with his request or [6.7.1] to arouse the ill-will of his [male] companion, so [as a result] he decided to ignore her'

*wa-lākin lā ḥawfa fa-qad qultu 'innahā sa-ta'tī l-tafāṣilu wa-hiya 'annī
ḡayru mutašā'imīn batātan fa-lā nihāyata 'indī li-l-'ālamī kamā yuḥayyalu
li-l-ba'di*

ولكن لا خوف فقد قلت إنها ستأتي التفاصيل وهي أنني غير متشائم بتاتا فلا نهاية
عندي للعالم كما يخيل للبعض

'but [6.5, here with 'and' as a narrative connector] [have] no fear for I have already said [perf. circ. qual., see 7.3.2] that the details will be forthcoming they being that I am not pessimistic at all for there is no end in my opinion to the world as [see 5.9.9.1] some people imagine [see 3.12.4 on the idiomatic passive *yuḥayyalu* يخيل]'

See also 3.4 on the unusual fem. in 'innahā إنها 'the fact is that they ...'.

6.3.4 Miscellaneous coordinations

Other functions of *fa-* ف, not always coordinating, are dealt with in detail elsewhere, so here only token examples are given:

- Indirect commands with *li-* ل + apoc. are usually prefixed with *fa-* ف with the sense of 'then', 'so' (▷C3:29, see also 3.24.2):

fa-l-namḍi 'ilā l-tābiqi l-'awwali

فلنمض إلى الطابق الأول

'so let us proceed to the first floor'

fa-l-yatafaḍḍal

فليتفضل

‘please’, to a third person, i.e. ‘**then** let him go ahead’*wa-hāḍihi rubbamā furṣatunā ‘an nabniya waṭananā fa-l-nuṣayyidhu*

وهذه ربما فرصتنا أن نبني وطننا فلنشيده

‘and this is perhaps our chance to build our nation, **so** let us construct it’

- Prefixed to an apodosis which is a nom. sentence or else imperative (i.e. not a consequence of the condition, see further 8.0, 8.1.2, 8.2.3, 8.3.3):

‘iḍā kunta ḥārīja dā ‘irati l-sintrāli fa-ṭlub il-raḡma (16)

إذا كنت خارج دائرة السنترال فاطلب رقم (١٦)

‘if you are outside the exchange area **[then]** dial the number 16’

- In preds of ‘*ammā*’ أما ‘as for’ sentences (▷C3:30, and see 3.3.4):

‘ammā l-ṣarikātu l-jadīdatu fa-qad ‘ajazat ‘an-i l-munāfasati kullīyyatan

أما الشركات الجديدة فقد عجزت عن المنافسة كلية

‘as for the new companies, **[well,]** they are completely unable to compete’

- As a general resumptive after introductory adverbials (▷C3:31, and see discourse, 11.1). It is seldom to be translated but here is reproduced by ‘well’:

wa-‘alā kullin .. fa-la-qad ṭalaba minhu l-muḥaqqiqūna

وعلى كل.. فلقد طلب منه المحققون

‘in any case, **[well,]** .. the investigators asked him to’*li-dālīka fa-l-ma‘rifatu bi-mā yata‘āmalu ma‘ahu l-‘āmilu.*

لذلك فالمعرفة بما يتعامل معه العامل

‘because of this, **[well,]** the knowledge of what the worker is working with’

- Expressing a causal relationship with dep. imperf. verbs, *fā’ sababiyya* سببيه فاء (▷C3:33, and see subordination in 7.4.1):

wa-l-ṭaṣṭu yumla‘u bi-l-mā‘i fa-yakūna buḥayratan

والطشت يملأ بالماء فيكون بحيرة

‘and a bowl can be filled with water **and it [therefore] becomes** a lake’*‘illā ‘annahu lam yataḥāḍal ‘aw taftur himmatuhu fa-yatarāja‘a ‘an*

ḡāyatihi bal qarrara l-baḡā‘a

إلا أنه لم يتخاذل أو تفتت همته فيتراجع عن غايته بل قرر البقاء

‘except that he did not falter or his ambition flag, **so that [as a result]** he would retreat from his goal, but [on the contrary] he decided to stay’

6.4 WITH *tumma* ثم

tumma ثم ‘then’ (▷C3:35; see 2.19.3) denotes exclusively a temporally ordered, but not necessarily immediate sequence of events, in fact mostly with some interval, either chronological or conceptual (the translations add a comma to mark this, though it seems to occur seldom in the original).

6.4.1 Regular use, simple temporal sequence

tatamaddadu tummā tataqallaṣu

تتمدد ثم تتقلص

‘it stretches, **then** it shrinks’

istamarra btiḥājuhum fatratan tumma ntahā

استمر ابتهاجهم فترة ثم انتهى

‘their joy lasted for a time, **then** it came to an end’

taraddadtu ‘alayhi ḥattā muntaṣifi l-ṭamānīniyyāti tumma nqaṭa ‘tu

ترددت عليه حتى منتصف الثمانينيات ثم انقطعت

‘I frequented him until the middle of the eighties, **then** I stopped’

yaqūmu l-rajulu tumma yuḡliq sitārata l-nāfiḍāti

يقوم الرجل ثم يغلق ستارة النافذة

‘the man gets up, **then** closes the window curtain’

fakkara tumma fakkara

فكر ثم فكر

‘he thought and [**then**] he thought [some more]’

At the discourse level *tumma* ثم is used in the sense of ‘then’, ‘furthermore’, ‘finally’ (▷C3:36):

tumma nurīdu ‘an na‘rifa

ثم نريد أن نعرف

‘and **then** we want to know’ [beginning of paragraph]

tummā li-māḍā ntaqalat-i l-ḥaḍārati ‘ilā ‘arḍi l-yūnāni?

ثم لماذا انتقلت الحضارة إلى أرض اليونان؟

‘**then** [we want to know] why did civilization move to the land of the Greeks?’ [beginning of paragraph]

wa-ba‘du, fa-yata‘ayyanu ‘alaynā, ‘an natasā ‘ala [series of questions] *mā*

hiya ru‘yatuhu ‘ilā ḥaḍā l-turāṭi wa-mā hiya ḥudūduhā wa-‘ab‘āduhā?

tumma mā hiya l-ḡāyatu llati tawahḥāhā ... ?

وبعد، فيتعين علينا، أن نتساءل ... ما هي رؤيته إلى هذا التراث وما هي حدودها وأبعادها؟ ثم ما هي الغاية التي توخاها ... ؟

‘next, it is necessary for us to ask ourselves [series of questions] what was his vision of this heritage and what were its limits and dimensions. **And finally**, what was the goal he was striving for ...?’

Like all true coordinating conjunctions *tumma* ثم can coordinate subordinate clauses without repetition of the operator (cf. above, 6.2.3):

ba‘dahā sāfarat ‘ilā holandā li-tata‘allama luġatahum tumma tutarjima l-ši‘ra l-holandiyya

بعدها سافرت الى هولندا لتتعلم لغتها ثم تترجم الشعر الهولندي
‘after those [years] she travelled to Holland **in order to** learn the language and **then** [to] **translate** Dutch poetry’, omitting *li-* لـ ‘in order to’

Like *wa-* و and *fa-* ف, *tumma* ثم coordinates compound sentences of all kinds (▷C3:36), e.g. *tummā lammā* ثم لما *tummā ‘idā* ثم إذا ‘then, when ...’:

tumma lammā zaḥafat-i l-madīnatu šawba l-maqbarati l-qadīmati ‘aḥāṭat bihā

ثم لما زحفت المدينة صوب المقبرة القديمة أحاطت بها
‘**then, when** the town crept [= spread] towards the old cemetery it surrounded it’

6.5 WITH *lākin(na)* لكن ‘but’ (▷C3:39; see 3.2.3)

This is unusual in two ways (1) it most often occurs with another conjunction, namely (and exclusively) *wa-* و ‘and’ (▷C3:45); and (2) it has a ‘light’ form (*lākin* لكن, with no effect on the following noun) and a ‘heavy’ form (*lākinna* لكنّ, with dep. form of following noun, see 3.2.3). In most cases they are printed identically, though it may often be assumed, as has been below, that forms without the doubling marker *šadda* represent *lākin* لكن rather than *lākinna* لكنّ. The principles of selection are by no means clear: the heavy form tends to focus on the subject of the second sentence while the light form seems to contrast two complete sentences. There are also differences in distribution: *lākinna* لكنّ occurs only before nouns and bound pronouns but can be followed by a verb if a dummy topic pron. is suffixed (*ḍamīr al-ša‘n*, see 3.4); *lākin* لكن is used before nouns and verbs but only free pronouns. Finally only *lākin* لكن is used at the phrase level (2.19.8), and elliptically as an interjection (see example in 10.13.2.1).

6.5.1 *lākinna* لكنّ (▷C3:40; and see 2.19.8, 3.2.3)

tabdū hāḍihi l-‘as‘ilatu basīṭatan jiddan wa-lākinnaḥā fī l-wāqi‘i ‘i šadīdatu l-ta‘aqqudi

تبدو هذه الأسئلة بسيطة جداً ولكنها في الواقع شديدة التعقد
‘these questions look simple, **but** in fact they are extremely complicated’

(for *badā* 'to look', 'to seem' see 3.17.3)

'aḍḥaku 'indamā 'ataḍakkaru dālika l-'āna .. **wa-lākinnī** fī sā'atihā kuntu fī ḡāyati l-ru'bi

أضحك عندما أتذكر ذلك الآن .. ولكنني في ساعتها كنت في غاية الرعب

'I laugh when I think about it now .. **but** at the time I was in extreme terror'

tamannaytu 'an 'akūna muḥṭi'atan **lākinnahā** l-ḥaqīqatu

تمنيت أن أكون مخطئة لكنها الحقيقة

'I hoped I was wrong **but** it was the truth'

tuṭīru l-ibtisāma fī l-bidāyati, **lākinnahā** lā talbaṭu 'an tuṭīra l-dumū'a

تثير الابتسام في البداية، لكنها لا تلبث أن تثير الدموع

'it provokes smiling at first, **but** it is not long before it provokes tears'

(see 3.17.12 for *lā talbaṭu* تلبث لا)

wa-lākinna wajhahu yujāmiluhum fa-yaḍḥaku

ولكن وجهه يجمالهم فيضحك

'**but** his face was being nice to them, and [so] he was laughing'

(note consequential *fa-* ف 'and so' above, 6.3.1)

6.5.2 *lākin* لكن (▷C3:43; and see 2.19.8, 3.2.3)

'annanī 'umārisu la'bata l-šajā'ati ḍidda l-zamāni. **lākin** šajā'atī tatawāra l-laylata

أنني أمارس لعبة الشجاعة ضد الزمن لكن. شجاعتي تتوارى الليلة

'that I should play the game of courage against time. But my courage is hiding tonight'

kaṭīrūna, ḡayruhum, ḥāwalū **wa-lakin** bā'ū bi-fašlin mušayyinīn

كثيرون، غيرهم، حاولوا ولكن باؤوا بفشل مشين

'many, apart from them, tried, **but** came back with shameful failure'

(for inverted indef. ag. see 3.7.2.2)

qad talqāhā fī l-ṭarīqi **wa-lākin** lā yajūzu 'an tataṭalla'a 'ilayhā

قد تلقاها في الطريق ولكن لا يجوز أن تتطلع إليها

'she might meet it [the outside world] on the street **but** she was not allowed to look at it'

laysa hādā huwa l-'akṭaru 'ilāman **wa-lākin** 'an yaj'alaka l-maysūru

l-musta'lī tuḥissu bi-dūniyyatika

ليس هذا هو الأكثر ايلاما ولكن ان يجعلك الميسور المستعلي تحس بدونيتك

'this is not what hurts most, **but** that the arrogant and prosperous one should make you feel your inferiority [is what hurts]'

(for 'an أن clause as subj. see 7.5.1)

6.6 WITH *bal* بل

bal بل (▷C3:46; and see 2.19.9) ‘but rather’, ‘indeed’, ‘nay more’, ‘on the contrary’ between two sentences has the effect of either (1) taking a previous positive assertion much further or (2) strongly contradicting a negative statement.

6.6.1 After positives

lawnun 'uḥibbuhu bal 'innahu lawnī l-mufaḍḍalu 'indī

لون أحبه بل إنه لوني المفضل عندي

‘a colour which I love, **indeed** it is my favourite colour’

yumkinunī 'an 'amla 'a 'ayyāmī, bal sā 'ātī wa-daqa 'iqī, bi-mā yufīdu

يمكنني أن أملأ أيامي، بل ساعاتي ودقائق، بما يفيد

‘I can fill my days, **indeed** my hours and minutes, with something useful’

kāna ḥulman rahīban ... bal kāna kābūsan mufzi 'an

كان حلماً رهيباً ... بل كان كابوساً مفزعا

‘it was a frightening dream ... **indeed** it was a terrifying nightmare’

yakādu yarā 'aynayhā wa-šifatayhā .. bal yakādu yarāhā kullahā

يكاد يرى عينيها وشفتيها .. بل يكاد يراها كلها

‘he can almost see her eyes and her lips .. **in fact** he can almost see all of her’

(see 3.21.3 on *kāda* كاد ‘to almost’)

These also occur with a redundant *wa-* و see 6.6.3.

6.6.2 After negatives

lam takun hunāka muṣādarātun, bal kānat hunāka ḥurriyyatun

لم تكن هناك مصادرات، بل كانت هناك حرية

‘there were no confiscations there, **on the contrary**, there was freedom’

lā 'aqṣidu kulla l-muṭaqqafīna, bal 'aqṣidu l-muṭaqqafīna llaḍīna yaḥtalifūna

لا أقصد كل المثقفين، بل أقصد المثقفين الذين يختلفون مع النظام أحيانا

‘I do not mean all intellectuals, **rather** I mean the intellectuals who disagree

with the system occasionally’

fa-huwa lam ya'ud mujarrada wasīlati duḥūlin li-l-sayyārati bal 'innahu 'aṣbaḥa 'adātan ḍidda l-sariqati

فهو لم يعد مجرد وسيلة دخول للسيارات بل إنه أصبح أداة ضد السرقة
'it is not any more a mere means of entry to the car, **but** it has also become a device against theft'

wa-laysat 'ināyatunā maqṣūratan 'alā ša'rinā wa-'asnāninā wa-bašaratinā bal 'inna li-šihḥatinā našīban hāmma minhā

وليست عنايتنا مقصورة على شعرنا وأسناننا وبشرتنا بل إنَّ لصحتنا نصيبا هاما منها
'our care is not restricted to our hair, teeth and complexion, **but** our health also has an important share of that [care]'

After pseudo-negatives or the equivalent:

fa-qad-i staḡnaw 'an mumārasati l-filāḥati, bal tarakūhā li-sukkāni l-bilādi l-'aṣliyyīna, lā siyyamā 'annahum yastankifūna 'ānhā

فقد استغنوا عن ممارسة الفلاحة، بل تركوها لسكان البلاد الأصليين، لا سيّما أنهم يستنكفون عنها

'they **dispensed** with the practice of agriculture, **rather** they left it to the original inhabitants of the country, not least because they scorned it'

(see 6.9 for *lā siyyamā* لا سيّما)

'inna l-ḥadāṭata hiya 'alā l-raḡmi min-a l-'ahammiyyati llatī tu'fihā li-l-fardi ka-qīmatin fī ḍātihā laysat min 'ajli ḍātihā bal hiya dawman min 'ajli ḡayrihā

إنَّ الحضارة هي على الرغم من الأهمية التي تعطيتها للفرد كقيمة في ذاتها ليست من أجل ذاتها بل هي دوما من أجل غيرها

'modernism **in spite of** the importance it gives the individual as a value in itself is not for its own sake **but** always for the sake of something else', contradicting the implicit neg. in 'in spite of'

6.6.3 With *wa-* و 'and'

Often *bal* بل is reinforced by *wa-* و 'and', perhaps echoing the circumstantial *wā-* و in an explanatory sense, cf. 6.2.7, or possibly by analogy with *'illā wa-* إلا و 'except' + sentence, see 9.4.7. In any case it cannot be translated.

After positives:

wa-hiya ta'tarifu bi-ḥaqqihim fī 'adā' i l-ra'yi bal wa-fi l-mušārakati fī l-'amali

وهي تعترف بحقهم في أداء الرأي بل وفي المشاركة في العمل

'it acknowledges their right to express their opinion, **indeed** to take part in the operation'

wa-qad 'allaqat-i l-ṣuḥufu bi-l-lawmi 'alā l-ḥukūmati bal wa-'alā l-niqābāti nafsihā

وقد علقت الصحف باللوم على الحكومة بل وعلى النقابات نفسها
'the newspapers commented critically on the government, **indeed** on the trade unions themselves'

naḥnu nuṣaddiru li-l-bilādi l-'urūbbiyyati wa-l-'arabiyyati bal wa-li-l-bilādi l-'asyawiyyati 'ayḍan

نحن نصدر للبلاد الأوروبية والعربية بل وللبلاد الآسيوية أيضا
'we export to European and Arab countries, **indeed** to Asian countries as well'

'aṣḥaḥat 'aqīdatan bal wa-ḥaqīqatan lā taqbalu l-jadala

أصبحت عقيدة بل وحقيقة لا تقبل الجدل
'it became a belief, **nay**, a truth which brooked no argument'

After negatives:

lā qiyūda 'alā 'awdatihi bal wa-ḥurūjihi 'ayḍan

لا قيود على عودته بل وخروجه أيضا
'there are no restrictions on its return, **nor for that matter** on its leaving [the country] as well'

(see 4.1.2 on categorical neg.)

fī waqtin mā zālat fihi l-kaṭīru min-a l-qaḍāyā l-'arabiyyati wa-l-'ālamīyyati lam tuḥalla ba'du bal wa-tatafāqamu wa-tatazāyadu wa-tatašābaku

في وقت ما زالت فيه الكثير من القضايا العربية والعالمية لم تحل بعد بل وتتفاقم وتتزايد وتتشابك
'at a time when many Arab and global problems have not yet been solved, **nay**, are becoming more serious, more numerous and more complicated'

(see 3.21.4 on *mā zāla* ما زال 'not to cease' and 2.5.4 for invariable *ba'du* بعد 'afterwards', 'yet')

6.7 WITH 'aw أو and 'am أم 'or' (▷C3:48)

These have alternative or disjunctive force, either exclusive or inclusive according to context.

6.7.1 Standard use of 'aw أو 'or'

'aw أو (▷C3:49; and see 2.19.4) is the basic alternative conjunction and denotes a free choice between alternatives, usually inclusive, (though often exclusive in questions):

fa-qad 'aḥṣadat ḥādīhi l-ta'ābīru 'aw kādat tuḥṣidu jamāla l-qīṣṣāti

فقد أفسدت هذه التعابير أو كادت تفسد جمال القصة

'these expressions have spoilt **or** nearly spoilt the beauty of the story'

rubbamā li-'annahā lan tajida jawāban .. 'aw li-'annahā 'alīfat ḥādīhi l-ḥayāta

ربما لأنها لن تجد جوابا .. أو لأنها ألفت هذه الحياة

'maybe because she would never find an answer .. **or** because she liked this [way of] life'

hal tanāwalta 'aw nāqaṣṣa ḥādīhi l-qaḍāyā ma'a zumalā'ika

هل تناولت أو ناقشت هذه القضايا مع زملائك؟

'have you taken up **or** discussed these cases with your colleagues?'

nakūnu 'aw lā nakūnu

نكون أو لا نكون

'we are **or** we are not', i.e. 'to be or not to be'

As with all the conjunctions, the grammatical operators are most often omitted:

'an yaqūmū bi-dawratī ṣiḥānatin fī maydāni l-'amali 'aw 'alā l-'aḥṣati

yaḥṣati 'u bi-ntizāmin li-munāqaṣṣati ḥurūfa l-ṣiḥḥati

أن يقوموا بدورة صيانة في ميدان العمل أو على الأقل يجتمعوا بانتظام لمناقشة ظروف الصحة

'**that** they should carry out a maintenance routine in the work-place **or** [**that**] at least they should meet regularly to discuss the health circumstances'

but they may be repeated, as here:

wa-la-ṣaddamā raḡibat rayḥānātu fī 'an yatabaṭṭa'a 'abū rayḥāna fī sayrihi

'aw fī 'an yakbuwa jawāduhu

ولشدة رغبت ريحانة في أن يتببطأ أبو ريحان في سيره أو في أن يكبو جواده

'and how intensely Rayḥāna wished **that** Abū Rayḥān would slow down his pace **or that** his horse would stumble', lit. 'wished **for that** R. would slow down his pace ... **or for that** his horse would stumble'

6.7.2 Standard use of 'am أم 'or'

'am أم (▷C3:50; and see 2.19.5) corresponds more closely to 'either ... or', and implies exclusive disjunction. It is mostly used with interrogatives and rhetorical questions (▷C3:55, and see 10.13.1), often elliptically:

fa-hal namla'u farāḡanā bi-l-'azfi 'alā l-biyānū? 'am bi-l-'azfi 'alā l-'ūdi?

فهل نملاً فراغنا بالعزف على البيانو؟ أم بالعزف على العود؟

'shall we fill our spare time with playing the piano? **Or** playing the lute?'

'am أم is also used with 'anna أَنْ (▷C3:51, and see 3.2.2) coordinating two alternative statements of fact (cf. also *sawā'un* سواء, 6.10):

hal hum-u l-'ulamā'u llaḏīna qaṣṣarū fi 'adā'i l-wājibi 'am 'anna l-dawlata lā turīdu 'an tastafīda min hādā l-nahri l-mutadaffiqi

هل هم العلماء الذين قصّروا في أداء الواجب أم أنّ الدولة لا تريد أن تستفيد من هذا النهر المتدفق

'is it the scientists who are not doing their duty **or** is it **that** the state does not want to benefit from this overflowing river [of resources]?'

'a-huwa l-ḥaẓẓu ḥaqqan 'am 'annahum lā yuḥibbūna l-'amala l-šāqqa?

أهو الحظ حقاً أم أنّهم لا يحبّون العمل الشاقّ؟

'is it luck really, **or that** they do not like hard work?'

6.7.3 Idiomatic use

The following idiomatic structures use either 'aw أو or 'am أم and perf. verbs in a quasi-conditional/concessive sense (cf. 8.1.9):

ši'ta 'am 'abayta

شئت أم أبيت

'whether you want to **or** refuse'

ši'ta hādā 'aw lam taša'

شئت هذا أو لم تشأ

'whether you want this **or** not'

In the particular case of *kāna* كان 'to be' there is always inversion of the pred. noun (cf. 3.16.2):

rajulan kāna 'am-i mra'atan

رجلاً كان أم امرأة

'be he man **or** woman', lit. 'man he may be or woman'

ḥissiyyatan kānat 'aw ma 'nawiiyyatan

حسّية كانت أو معنوية

'whether they [= causes of injury] be tangible **or** abstract'

6.8 WITH 'immā إِمَّا

'immā إِمَّا (▷C3:53; and see 2.19.7) 'either' is used in pairs, namely, 'immā إِمَّا ... 'immā إِمَّا 'either ... or' or with 'aw أَوْ 'or' in the second clause. Ellipsis is common in the second clause.

With repeated 'immā إِمَّا, most often prefixed with wa- و 'and':

*sa-yadūru l-ḥadītu 'anhu 'immā mubāšaratan, wa-'immā bi-mā sawfa yufḍī
'ilayhi l-ḥadītu*

سيدور الحديث عنه إِمَّا مباشرة، وإِمَّا بما سوف يفضي إليه الحديث

'conversation will revolve about it **either** directly **or** through whatever the conversation will lead to'

It also coordinates clauses with complementizers 'an أَنْ and 'anna أَنَّ 'that' (▷C3:53):

'immā 'an nazīda fī l-'intāji wa-'immā 'an nuqallila fī l-mašrūfāti

إِمَّا أَنْ نزيد في الإنتاج وإِمَّا أَنْ نقلل في المصروفات

'**either** [that] we increase production **or** [that] we reduce costs'

*'immā 'an yuṣṭarā bi-l-si'ri l-murtafi'i wa-'immā 'an yaẓalla mumtani'an
'an-i l-širā'i*

إِمَّا أَنْ يشتري بالسعر المرتفع وإِمَّا أَنْ يظلّ ممتنعاً عن الشراء

'**either** [that] it will be bought at a high price **or** [that] it will remain impossible to buy' (see 3.17.13 on ẓalla ظلّ 'remain')

*'immā 'annahu 'abqariyyu zamānihi wa-'immā 'annahu min 'aḡbā
l-'aḡbiyā'i*

إِمَّا أَنَّهُ عبقرى زمانه وإِمَّا أَنَّهُ من أغبي الأغبياء

'**either** [the fact is that] he is the genius of his time **or** [the fact is that] he is one of the most stupid'

*'immā 'anna tawqī'a l-wazīri muzawwarun wa-'immā 'anna l-wakīla
ḥada'a l-jamī'a*

إِمَّا أَنْ توقيع الوزير مزور وإِمَّا أَنْ الوكيل خدع الجميع

'**either** [the fact is that] the minister's signature is forged **or** [the fact is that] the representative has deceived everyone'

With 'aw أَوْ 'or' in second clause:

*kānat qabla dālika tarfuḍuhumā 'immā bi-da'wā 'anna hunāka ḥizbayni
faqaṭ ... 'aw bi-da'wā 'anna 'l-dīmuqrāṭiyyata' hiya mumārasatun ḡaribatun*

كانت قبل ذلك ترفضهما إِمَّا بدعوى أَنْ هناك حزبين فقط ... أَوْ بدعوى

أَنْ الديمقراطية هي ممارسة غريبة

‘they had before that rejected them **either** with the claim that there [should be] only two parties ... **or** with the claim that ‘democracy’ was a foreign practice’

'ammā dirāsātu l-'arabi bi-wajhin ḥāṣṣin, fa-kānat – 'alā l-'arjaḥi – 'immā saṭṭhiyyatan, fī l-ḡālībī, 'aw mutaḥayyizatan, 'aw tattaḥiḍu mawqī'an difā'iyyan 'izā' 'al-'āḥari'

أما دراسات العرب بوجه خاص، فكانت – على الأرجح – إما سطحية، في الغالب، أو متحيزة، أو تتخذ موقعا دفاعيا إزاء الآخر

‘as for Arab studies in particular, they were – on the whole – **either** superficial by and large, **or** partisan, **or** they adopted a defensive stance against “the other”’

Also with complementizers:

lā budda 'anna l-rajula llaḍi ṭallaqahā 'immā 'an yakūna rajulan lā yahwā l-nisā'a 'aw 'annahu 'insānun ḡabiyyun jiddan

لا بد أن الرجل الذي طلقها إما أن يكون رجلا لا يهوى النساء أو أنه إنسان غبي جدا
‘the man who divorced her must **either be** a misogynist **or else** extremely stupid’

'immā 'anna l-taqārīra l-'ulā kānat ḡayra daḡiqatin, 'aw-i l-tāniyata hiya llatī ka-dālīka

إما أن التقارير الأولى كانت غير دقيقة، أو الثانية هي التي كذلك
‘**either** the first reports were inaccurate **or** the second were’, lit. ‘or the second were those who were like that’

(cf. 5.3.1 on nominalized rel.)

'immā 'an lā yakūna mutawaqqi'an bi-'aktara mim mā yajibu ... 'aw 'an yakūna wāqī'an taḥta ta'īri kiyānin mā

إما أن لا يكون متوقعا بأكثر مما يجب ... أو أن يكون واقعا تحت تأثير كيان ما
‘**either** he is not expecting more than he ought ... **or** he lies under the influence of some entity or other’

(see 1.12.4.1 on the vague *mā* ما postpositive ‘some[thing] or other’)

6.9 WITH *lā siyyamā* لا سيما ‘especially’ (▷C3:195)

This is structurally a relative, approximate meaning ‘there is nothing the equal of what’ (cf. 5.8 on relative conjunctions of this type) and often prefixed with *wa-* و ‘and’:

wa-yu'addi dālīka 'ilā 'iṣrārin yaḡlibu 'alā l-ra'yi, lā siyyamā 'idā taṣaddā l-mutakallimu 'aw-i l-bāḥiṭu li-qaḍiyyatin ḥilāfiyyatin

ويؤدّي ذلك إلى إصرار يغلب على الرأي، لا سيما إذا تصدّى المتكلم أو الباحث لقضية خلافية

‘this leads to an obstinacy which gets the better of good sense, **especially** when the speaker or researcher takes up a controversial issue’

The clauses after *lā siyyamā* لا سيما are predominantly elliptical:

wa-’in takun tarwatuḥā l-naftiyyatu qad sā’adathā ’ilā ḥaddin ba’īdin fī ’injāḥi ḥādīhi l-siyāsati lā siyyamā ’alā l-mustawā l-’innā’iyyi

وان تكن ثروتها النفطية قد ساعدتها الى حد بعيد في انجاح هذه السياسة لا سيما على المستوى الانمائي

‘even if her oil wealth has largely helped her to make this policy a success, **especially** [to make it a success] on the developmental level’

nāla jā’izata l-’adabi l-riwā’iyyu l-’almāniyyu ġuntīr ġrās (71 sanatan), wa-lā siyyamā ’alā riwāyatihi l-ṭulāṭiyyati ’ṭablu l-tanaki’

نال جائزة الأدب الروائي الألماني غنثير غراس (٧١ سنة)، ولا سيما على روايته الثلاثية طبل التنك

‘The German novelist Günther Grass has received the Literature Prize, **especially** [he received it] for his trilogy [sic] “The Tin Drum”’

Nouns coordinated by *lā siyyamā* لا سيما still show agreement with their antecedent:

fī šibhi l-jazīrati l-’arabiyyati wa-duwali l-ḥalīji maṭalan tu’abbiru l-ḥadāṭatu ’an naṣīḥa bi-ḥadāṭati l-’adabi wa-lā siyyamā l-’ši’ri wa-l-naqdi l-’adabiyyi

في شبه الجزيرة العربية ودول الخليج مثلا تعبر الحداثة عن نفسها بحداثة الأدب ولا سيما النقد الأدبي

‘in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf States for example modernity expresses itself through modernity of literature [obl.], **especially** [it expresses itself through modernity of] poetry [obl.] and literary criticism [obl.]’

6.10 WITH *sawā’un* ... ‘a, ‘am, or ‘aw ... أو ... أم، أم، أو ... it is the same whether ... or ...’

(▷C2:500; and see 2.19.6 for phrase level)

Syntactically *sawā’un* سواء ‘same’ is the preposed predicate of its following disjunctive clause, ‘the same are: whether x or y’, in the structure of an indirect question (cf. 10.16, 10.17), as the interrogative prefix ‘a- أ before the first clause shows, though it is often omitted. Ellipsis in the second clause is also very common. All the examples are of *sawā’un* clauses in adverbial function, and no independent sentences with *sawā’un* (▷C3:103) were found.

- With full indirect question structure and ‘am أم ‘or’ in second clause:

wa-lākinna l-dajjata hiya hiya sawā'an 'a-taḥaddatū dāhila l-qā'ati 'am ḥārījāhā

ولكن الضجة هي هي سواء أتحدثوا داخل القاعة أم خارجها
'but the noise was the same **whether** they talked inside the hall **or** [talked] outside it'

(cf. 3.1.2.1 on *hiya hiya* هي هي, lit. 'it is it', i.e. the same)

- With *kāna* كان 'be' for 'be it [one or the other]', and full indirect question structure:

sawā'an 'a-kāna l-'arḍu 'amāma 'adasāti l-ṣiḥāfiyyīna 'am 'amāma minasṣāti l-maḥākimi

سواء أكان العرض امام عدسات الصحفيين ام امام منصات المحاكم
'**whether** the display is before the lenses of journalists **or** [is] the benches of the courts'

sawā'an 'a-kāna dālika dāhila baytiḥā ka-zawjin 'am ḥārījahu bi-'tibāriḥā mra'atan 'āmilatan

سواء أكان ذلك داخل بيتها كزوج أم خارجه باعتبارها امرأة عاملة
'**whether** that is inside her home as a partner or [is] outside it in her capacity as a working woman'

sawā'an 'a-kāna rasmiyyan 'am ḥāṣṣan

سواء أكان رسميا ام خاصا
'**whether** it is official **or** [it is] private'

- Without interrog. prefix 'a- أ in the first clause, and with 'aw أو or 'am أم in the second:

fa-l-muqaddamu fī l-ḥaṣḍi huwa l-mu'addu li-l-taḍḥiyati bihi sawā'an ḥaraqa naḥsahu fī l-sāḥati l-'āmmati, 'aw 'arraḍa naḥsahu li-raṣāṣi l-būlisi

فالمقدم في الحشد هو المعد للتضحية به سواء حرق نفسه في الساحة العامة، او عرض نفسه لرصاص البوليس

'for the spearhead in a crowd is the one who is prepared to be sacrificed, **either** by burning himself in a public square **or** exposing himself to the bullets of the police', lit 'equal [are]: he burned himself ... or he exposed himself'

sawā'an ṭalaw wujūhahum bi-l-zayti 'aw lam yaṭlūhā

سواء طلوا وجوههم بالزيت أو لم يطلوها
'**whether** they painted their faces with oil **or** they did not paint them'

(cf 11.7.1 on paranomasia)

iktişāfuhu 'anna l-brūtīnāti, sawā'an fī l-'insāni 'am-i l-ḥayawāni 'am-i l-nabāti, dātu 'alāmātin mumayyizatin

اكتشافه أن البروتينات، سواء في الإنسان أم الحيوان أم النبات، ذات علامات مميزة
'his discovery that proteins, **whether** [they are] in humans, **or** animals
or plants, possess distinctive markers'

- With *kāna* كان 'be' for 'be it [one or the other]', omitting interrog. 'a- ʾ:

wa-l-bī'atu l-ṣuġrā llatī yanša'u fihā sawā'an kānat-i l-bayta 'am-i l-madrasata, wa-l-bī'atu l-kubrā sawā'an kānat-i l-mujtama'a l-qawmiyya 'am-i l-'ālama

والبيئة الصغرى التي ينشأ فيها سواء كانت البيت أم المدرسة، والبيئة الكبرى سواء
كانت المجتمع القوم أم العالم
'and the micro-environment in which it [= human selfishness] grows,
whether it be home **or** school, and the macro-environment, **whether** it
be the national society **or** the world [at large]'

sawā'an kāna dahāban min miṣra 'am 'iyāban 'ilayhā

سواء كان ذهابا من مصر أم إيابا إليه
'**whether** it was a going away from Egypt **or** a returning to it'

sawā'an kāna fī mal'abi kuratin 'aw fī ṣālatin muġlaqatin

سواء كان في ملعب كرة أو في صالة مغلقة
'**whether** it was in a football stadium **or** [it was] in a closed hall'

6.11 WITH *ḥattā* حتى 'even' (▷C3:93)

This word retains and extends its original sense of 'until' (see 2.6.6 and 2.19.11 as a phrasal conjunction; for *ḥattā* حتى as a subordinating conjunction 'until', 'so that' see 7.6.7).

- With the sense of 'even', 'as far as':

badat-i l-ġurfatu 'ajmala min qablu wa-ḥattā zawjī aḥmad 'aṣbaḥa qarīban min qalbī 'aktara

بدت الغرفة أجمل من قبل وحتى زوجي أحمد أصبح قريبا من قلبي أكثر
'the room seemed more beautiful than before and **even my husband**
Ahmad became much nearer to my heart'

inṣiġālu 'ā'iṣa bi-'ubayd 'ansāhā kulla šay'in 'adāhu, ḥattā ṭiflatuhā l-ṣaġīratu lam ta'ud tahtammu bihā kaṭīran

انشغال عائشة بعبيد أنساها كل شيء عداها، حتى طفلتها الصغيرة لم تعد تهتم بها
كثيرا
'*Ā'iṣa's* preoccupation with 'Ubayd made her forget everything but
him, **even** her little baby girl she no longer cared much about'

(see 3.11.2.1 on the doubly transitive 'ansāha أنساها 'made her forget', 3.21.1.1 on lam ta 'ud لم تعد 'no longer', 9.5.3 on 'adā عدا 'except')

bi-miqdāri mā yanfa'u 'abnā'a 'ašīratihi 'aw qaryatihi 'aw 'usratihi 'aw jamā'atihi, **hattā** 'idā kāna dālika 'alā ḥisābi l-maṣlaḥati l-āmmati

بمقدار ما ينفع أبناء عشيرته أو قريته أو أسرته أو جماعته، حتى إذا كان ذلك علي حساب المصلحة العامة

'by how much he can benefit his kinsfolk, his village, his family or his community, **even if** that is at the cost of the general good'

wa-yastamirru 'i 'tā'uhu l-dawā'a **hattā** ba'da 'an yuḥḥa min ḡaybūbatihī

ويستمر إعطاؤه الدواء حتى بعد أن يفيق من غيبوبته

'the medicine will continue to be given to him **even after** he recovers from his coma'

- It is commonly prefixed to clauses which are already subordinated by another conjunction:
- With 'inna إن and other particles (▷C3:95, and see 3.2.1):

wa-qad 'akkadat ḥādīhi l-ḥuṭwatu šafāfiyyata l-sulṭati **hattā** 'anna l-nuwwāba l-'āna yajidūna l-ma'lūmāti 'indamā yaṭlubūnahā

وقد أكدت هذه الخطوة شفافية السلطة حتى إن النواب الآن يجدون المعلومات عندما يطلبونها

'this step has confirmed the transparency of authority **even to the point that** the deputies [can] now find information when they seek it'

fī l-rakḍi šārūḥun lā yastaṭī'u 'aḥadun-i l-liḥāqa bihi **hattā** 'innahum laqqabūhu bil-ṭahfī (al-'i 'šāri)

في الركض صاروخ لا يستطيع أحد اللحاق به حتى إنهم لقبوه بالطهف (الإعصار)
'at running [he was like] a rocket who no-one could catch up with, so that they **even** nicknamed him "al-ṭahf" (the Hurricane)'

- **hattā** حتى can introduce adverbial clauses (circumstantial qualifiers) introduced by wa- و, 'and' (cf. 6.2.7):

yaṣaillu yaqra'u **hattā** wa-huwa fī l-maṭ-baḥi

يظل يقرأ حتى وهو في المطبخ

'he continues to read **even while** he is in the kitchen'

- In the following example the wa- و belongs to the compound adversative conditional 'even if' (see 8.1.12):

wa-lā yusmaḥu lahu bi-l-'awdati 'ilā 'ahlihi **hattā** wa-'in tāba wa-staqāma

ولا يسمح له بالعودة إلى أهله حتى وإن تاب واستقام
 'he will not be permitted to return to his family **even if** he repents and goes straight'

6.12 NEGATIVE COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

In general these are dealt with in 4.2.7.

6.12.1 Default *wa lā* 'and not'

The default resumptive neg. 'nor' between negative verbal sentences (see 6.12.2 for neg. nom. sentences) is usually *wa-lā* 'and not' (▷C1:106), replacing the original neg. of whatever kind:

mā 'āllamathā wa-lā tarakat ḡayrahā yu'allimuhā
 ما علمتها ولا تركت غيرها يعلمها
 'she neither taught her **nor** let anyone else teach her'

(on *taraka* 'ترك' 'to let', 'to leave' see 3.24.3)

fa-hum lā ya'malūna wa-lā yasurruhum 'an ya'mala l-'āḥarūna
 فهم لا يعملون ولا يسرّهم أن يعمل الآخرون
 'they do not work, **nor** does it please them that the others work'

naḥnu lam nazra' hāḏā l-ṣinfa fī l-māḏī wa-lā nazra'uhu l-'āna
 نحن لم نزرع هذا الصنف في الماضي ولا نزرعه الآن
 'we did not plant this kind in the past **nor** are we planting it now'

tumma sāda ṣāmtun ḡarībun lam yuftaḥ 'il-ḏaw'u wa-lā bāna 'aḥadun fī l-ṣubbāki
 ثم ساد صمت غريب لم يفتح الضوء ولا بان أحد في الشباك
 'then a strange silence reigned [during which] the light did not go on **nor** did anyone appear at the window'

This example combines an emphatic preposed agent (3.9.1):

wa-l-laḏī lā nadrī wa-lā huwa yadrī min 'ayna jā'a bi-l-laḡabi
 والذي لا ندري ولا هو يدري من أين جاء باللقب
 'and who we do not know, and **nor** does **he** know, where he got the title from', i.e. 'who does not know, any more than we do, where he got the title from'

In the next examples an elided verb can be assumed, or they may be treated as cases of neg. phrase coordination (see 2.19.10):

kunnā mā nufakkiru bi-mā yajrī wa-lā bi-mā sa-yajrī
 كنا ما نفكر بما يجري ولا بما سيجري
 'we did not use to think about what was happening **nor** [did we think] about what was going to happen'

laysa ša‘ban wa-lā musta‘šīyan ‘alā l-‘ilāji

ليس صعباً ولا مستعصياً على العلاج

‘it is not difficult **nor** [is it] resistant to treatment’

Occasionally the second negative is simply omitted if the form of the coordinated verbs allows no ambiguity (▷C1:107):

man lam yuwāzib ‘alā l-ḥuḍūri ‘aw yataqaddam bi-‘tiḍārin munāsibin

fa-‘innahu yarsubu ‘āḥira l-‘āmi

من لم يواظب على الحضور أو يتقدم باعتذار مناسب فإنه يرسب آخر العام

‘he who does not come regularly **or** [does not] bring an appropriate excuse will fail at the end of the year’

6.12.1.1 However, if the two verbs are felt to be negated individually, i.e. without the sense of ‘nor’, the appropriate neg. particles are repeated with *wa-* و ‘and’:

lam yuhādīn fī ḥāḍā l-mawqifi wa-lam yatarāja‘

لم يهادن في هذا الموقف ولم يتراجع

‘he did **not** compromise in this position and he did **not** falter [either]’

lā yūjadu wa-lan yūjada

لا يوجد ولن يوجد

‘there is **not** and **never** will be’

(for *lan* لن ‘not’ see 4.2.5)

This may be compared with normal neg. coordination ‘and not’ after a positive sentence, where ‘nor’ would be incorrect in English:

hazza ra’sahu wa-lam yaṇtiq

هزَّ رأسه ولم ينطق

‘he shook his head **and** did **not** speak’

wa-l-fatqu yuṣbiḥu muttasi‘an wa-lā yumkinu ratquhu

والفتق يصبح متسعاً ولا يمكن رتقه

‘and the tear [in the fabric] becomes wide **and** cannot be repaired’

The following example is ambiguous, since *lā* لا occurs anyway as the first neg.:

al-šafahiyyu lā yudaqqiqu wa-lā yuḥallilu

الشفهي لا يدقق ولا يحلل

which could mean either ‘the oral does **not** achieve precision **nor** does it analyse’ or ‘the oral does **not** achieve precision **and** it does **not** analyse [either]’

Here the *wa-* و ‘and’ element is elided in imitation of Western asyndetic coordination:

'innaka dāhibun li-tata'allama **lā** li-talhuwa

إنك ذاهب لتتعلم لا لتلهو

'You are going away to learn, **not** to play about'

6.12.2 'Nor' with nominal sentences

In negative nominal sentences, which are invariably categorical negatives (see 4.1.2; equational sentences negated with *laysa* ليس 'not to be' are dealt with as verbal sentences in 6.12.1), *wa-lā* ولا 'nor' is also used, sometimes without elision (▷C1:115):

lā hiya mūriqatun wa-lā hiya ḥayyatun 'alā l-'iṭlāqi

لا هي مورقة ولا هي حية على الإطلاق

'it is not in leaf **nor** is it alive at all'

but more often with the elision of the irrelevant or understood portions (▷C3:56):

man lā 'irādata lahu wa-lā mawqifa

من لا ارادة له ولا موقف

'he who has no will **nor** [has a] standpoint'

kayfa tuḥibbīna man lā ṭumūḥa lahu wa-lā raġbata fī l-ḥayāti?

كيف تحبّين من لا طموح له ولا رغبة في الحياة؟

'how can you love someone who has no ambition **nor** any desire for life?'

Since MWA is usually unvocalized the form of the second noun in the above examples has to be taken as identical with the antecedent, namely, invariable *-a* (cf. 4.1.2). In the following the variant with *bi-* ب (cf. *bi-* ب with *laysa* ليس in 4.2.8) removes this problem:

al-jawwu ġarībun hādīhi l-'ayyāma lā huwa bi-l-ṣāfi wa-lā huwa bi-l-ġā'imi

الجو غريب هذه الأيام لا هو بالصافي ولا هو بالغائم

'the weather is strange these days, it is **neither** clear **nor** cloudy'

mā hiya bi-l-ṭawīlati wa-lā bi-l-qaṣīrati

ما هي بالطويلة ولا بالقصيرة

'she is **neither** tall **nor** short'

6.12.3 'And not' after positive sentences

(*wa*)-*laysa* وليس 'and [is] not' (▷C3:123) occurs in elliptical neg. coordination. It differs from *wa-lā* ولا 'nor' in that it occurs only after positive statements and could thus never be translated as 'nor':

mā ṣana 'tahu bi-nafsika yuksibuka l-iḥtirāma wa-laysa mā tarakahu laka 'abūka

ما صنعتَه بنفسك يكسبك الاحترام وليس ما تركه لك أبوك
'what you do by yourself brings you respect, **and not** what your father left you'

ta'tika l-sa'ādātu min rāḥati l-nafsi wa-laysa min-a l-mālī llaḍi taqtanī

تأتيك السعادة من راحة النفس وليس من المال الذي تقتني
'happiness comes to you from peace of mind, **and not** from the wealth you possess'

ṭalabtu min-a l-maḥkamati l-šar'iyyati 'an taqsuma tarikata muḥammad waḥḍa l-šarī'ati .. wa-laysa waḥḍa l-qānūnī .. fa-māṭalūnī

طلبت من المحكمة الشرعية أن تقسم تركة محمد وفق الشريعة .. وليس وفق القانون .. فمأطوني

'I asked the Sharia Court to divide Muhammad's legacy according to the Sharia ... **and not** according to the Civil Code ... and [so] they made me wait'

(see 6.3.1 on the *fa-* ف indicating the temporal/logical sequence of events in the last clause)

The normal verb-agent agreement rules apply:

'anna l-quwwata tafriḍu l-šar'iyyata .. wa-laysat-i l-'umamu l-muttaḥidatu

أنَّ القوة تفرض الشرعية .. وليست الأمم المتحدة
'that power determines legality .. **and not** the United Nations',
lit. 'and the UN is not [fem. sing.] [what determines legality]'

(see 4.2.8.3 for additional examples)

7 SUBORDINATION

7.0 GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Subordination is a grammatical process by which compound units function as simple elements subordinated by another. The subordinate unit may have the structure of a sentence; verbal (note that subordinate verbs frequently take dependent form but may also be independent, or perfect, e.g. circumstantial qual. (7.3), or apocopated in conditional sentences, see **Chapter 8**), or nominal; or a clause, or phrase (see below at 7.2.1 or 7.3, for example).

7.1 CLASSIFICATION OF SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

Formally there are three types of subordinate clauses: asyndetic, syndetic single clause and syndetic correlative clauses.

7.1.1 Asyndetic subordination

The verbs have indep. imperf. form, and are found in two types of subordinate clause, namely, circumstantial qualifiers and indefinite adjectival clauses.

Circ. quals. (see 7.3):

inṭalaqat fī l-šāri 'i tabḥaṭu 'an-i l-'atfāli
انطلقت في الشارع تبحث عن الأطفال
'she went into the street **looking** for the children'

Here may be included many clauses with modal and other verbs as their head, e.g.

kuntu 'atawaqqa'u šay'an min hādā l-qabīli
كنت أتوقع شيئاً من هذا القبيل
'I was **expecting** something of this kind' (3.10.6 on compound tenses)

lā 'aḥṣabuka tahtammu bi-hādīhi l-ḥurāfati
لا أحسبك تهتمّ بهذه الخرافة
'I do not think **you are interested** in this fantasy' (3.11.2.1 on double transitivity)

da 'nī 'usā'idka 'alā l-šu'ūdi
دعني أساعدك على الصعود
'let me **help** you go up' (3.24.3 on periphrastic imperative)

See 7.3.2 for syndetic circ. quals.

Indef. adj. (rel.) clauses (cf. 5.1):

raǧulun yaqūlu l-ḥaqqā رجل يقول الحق 'a man **who speaks** the truth'

Appositional clauses are subordinate by position, though their function is determined by their antecedent. In the following example the repeated verb is in apposition to a sub. verb:

kam 'arāda 'an yabūḥa lahā bi-kulli l-'aḍābāti llatī 'āṣahā ṭīlata l-sanawāti l-māḍiyati, yabūḥa lahā bi-l-layālī llatī sahirahā

كم أراد أن يبوح لها بكلّ العذابات التي عاشها طيلة السنوات الماضية، يبوح لها بالليالي التي سهرها

'how he wanted **to reveal** to her all the agonies he has lived during these past years, **to reveal** to her the nights he has stayed up' (see 11.5)

It is in effect formally indistinguishable from asyndetic coordination, see 6.1.

7.1.2 Syndetic, single clause

In this clause there is a single subordinating element, e.g., 'an أن 'that', lammā لما 'when':

yus'idunī 'an takūna ra'īsan li-hāḍihi l-mu'assasati

يسعدني أن تكون رئيساً لهذه المؤسسة

'it pleases me **that you will be** head of this organization'

7.1.3 Syndetic correlative

In this, two paired clauses are each introduced by a subordinator, such as *ma'a* 'anna ... 'illā 'anna ... إلا أن 'although ..., nevertheless ...' (see 7.5.2.11):

ma'a 'anna l-ḍarā'iba tuḥṣamu 'alā rātibihi min-a l-manba'i ... 'illā 'anna maṣlaḥata l-ḍarā'ibi tuṭālibuhu bi-mabāliḡa 'iḍāfiyyatin

مع أن الضرائب تخصم على راتبه من المنبع ... إلا أن مصلحة الضرائب تطالبه بمبالغ إضافية

'**although** taxation is deducted from his salary at source ... [**nonetheless**] the tax office is asking him for additional amounts'

or *lam* ... ḥattā ... حتّى ... لم ... 'hardly ... when ...' (see 7.6.7.8)

lam takad-i l-ḥukūmatu tu'linu farḡa ḍarībati l-mabī'āti ḥattā sāra'a l-tujjāru bi-raḡ'i l-'as'ārī

لم تكذ الحكومة تعلن فرض ضريبة المبيعات حتى سارع التجار برفع الأسعار

'**hardly had** the government declared the imposition of the purchase tax **when** the dealers rushed to raise prices'

7.2 NOMINALIZED AND NON-NOMINALIZED CLAUSES

From the functional point of view, sub. clauses may be subdivided into nominalized and non-nominalized clauses. While every clause containing a dep. verb is sub., not every sub. clause contains a dep. verb or even a verb at all. For example, the complementizers *'anna* أَنْ 'that', etc. (3.2, excluding *'inna* إِنَّ, see 7.5.2) are usually followed by nom. sentences.

7.2.1

Nominalized clauses may have any nominal function, e.g.

- Topic (in this instance inverted, see 3.1.3):

'ārun 'alayya 'an 'as'alaka ma'rūfan (Verb.Clause)

عار عليّ أن أسألك معروفا

'it is a shame for me [that I] ask a favour of you'

- Comment:

al-maṭlūbu minhu 'an yuqaddima l-bayānāti

المطلوب منه أن يقدم البيانات

'what is required of him is to present the details'

- Agent (in this case of passive verb):

fa-yutāḥu lī 'an 'ata'allama min fārisin miṭlika

فيتاح لي أن أتعلّم من فارس مثلك

'so it has been permitted to me that I learn from a horseman like you',
i.e. 'I have been allowed to learn'

- Dir. object:

māḍā tazunnu 'annahā fā'ilatun

ماذا تظنّ أنّها فاعلة

'what do you think that it [fem.] will do? (see active participles 2.10.2)

- Obj. of prep:

wa-'aḍāfa bi-'anna l-wizārata tadrusu ḥāliyyan ...

وأضاف بأنّ الوزارة تدرس حالياً ...

'he added that the ministry is currently studying ...'

Here also may be included adjectival and circumstantial clauses, whether nominal or verbal:

tarakahā ma'a 'aḥin wāḥidin 'umruhu tis'u sanawātin

تركها مع أخ واحد عمره تسع سنوات

'he left her with one brother **whose age was nine years**' (see 5.1)

Also annexation to time qualifiers (note that there is no particular verb form for this, it may be imperf. or perf., see 2.3.8):

yawma ta'ūdu l-bilādu 'ilā 'aṣḥābihā l-šar'īyyina

يوم تعود البلاد إلى أصحابها الشرعيين

'on the day the country **reverts** to its legitimate rulers', lit. 'the day of the country returns'

See below for more detailed examples.

Sentences occurring as comments (3.3) are not strictly subordinate because they are not in the same constituent as their head. In this way they can be considered as having indep. function as predicates. However, they may be regarded as subordinate if analysed as subordinated by the topic. This is justified by the fact that such sentences are only meaningful as comments, since they contain an anaphoric reference to the topic. Such sentences may be nominalized or verbal:

mawḍū'u l-ḥilāfi ḥaqā'iquhu wa-'asrāruhu 'indaka

موضوع الخلاف حقائقه وأسراره عندك

'the truths and secrets of the dispute are known by you', lit. 'the subject of the dispute, **its truths and secrets are known by you**'

tamanu jawzi l-hindi rtafa'a hādihi l-'ayyāma

ثمن جوز الهند ارتفع هذه الأيام

'the price of coconut [it] **has gone up** recently'

However, for the purposes of this chapter these clausal comments will not be classified as sub. clauses.

7.2.2 Nesting of subordinate clauses

A sub. clause may itself be superordinate to a further sub. clause, as in the following illustration:

'alā l-rağmi min 'anna l-ihtimāmāti l-ṭabī'īyyata li-l-'imbarātūrati tajrī fi

'awqāti l-'uṭlāti l-ḥāṣṣati 'illā 'anna l-miṣriyyīna kānū hunāka li-ltiqā'i

ṣūratin lahā wa-hiya tuṭliq l-baṭṭa min marābiḍihi

على الرغم من أنَّ الاهتمامات الطبيعية للإمبراطورية تجري في أوقات العطلة الخاصة إلا أنَّ المصريين كانوا هناك لالتقاط صورة لها وهي تطلق البط من مزابضه

‘ even though the natural interests of the Empress manifest themselves during times of private holidays, [nonetheless] the Egyptians were there to take a picture of her as she released the ducks from their pen’

In the example, the main syntax may be divided accordingly:

X-(‘*alā l-rağmi min ‘anna l-ihtimāmāti l-ṭabī‘iyyata li-l-‘imbarātūrati tajrī fi ‘awqāti l-‘uṭlāti l-ḥāṣṣati*

على الرغم من أن الاهتمامات الطبيعية للإمبراطورية تجري في أوقات العطلة الخاصة

Y-[‘*illā ‘anna l-miṣriyyīna kānū hunāka li-ltiqāṭi ṣūratin lahā*

إلا أن المصريين كانوا هناك لالتقاط صورة لها

Z-{*wa-hiya tuṭliqu l-baṭṭa min marābiḍihi*

{وهي تطلق البط من مرابضه}-Z [Y]-X

The clauses Y- and Z- are dep. clauses. The clause beginning at Z- is subordinate to the one beginning at Y- which is subordinate to the clause beginning at X-. X- and Y- are correlative clauses.

7.3 CIRCUMSTANTIAL QUALIFIERS

Circumstantial qualifying clauses or phrases, in Arabic *ḥāl* حال, lit. ‘situation’, ‘circumstance’ (▷C3:242) (for main treatment of single term circ. qual. see 2.4.6 and 3.29.7).

The circ. qual. element describes the state or condition of the antecedent. It occurs simultaneously with the event or action expressed in the main verbal clause, and may be a participle, noun phrase, verbal sentence, prepositional phrase. As the phrase it is normally indef. although it may be defined through annexation (see 2.4.6.4).

The circ. qual. clause may modify any preceding noun, such as the subj. of the main verbal clause, its object, or even the noun operated upon by the prep.:

ra‘aytu ṭāriqan fī l-bayti wa-huwa yanhāru

رأيت طارقا في البيت وهو ينهار

‘I saw Tāriq in the house **while it [the house] was falling down**’

The circ. qual. clause may be nominal or verbal, asyndetic (see 7.3.1) or syndetic (see 7.3.2 and 6.2).

7.3.1 Asyndetic circumstantial qualifier

The asyndetic circ. qual. clause or phrase is one in which there is no linking particle between the main action or event of the main clause or phrase and the modifying circ. qual. element. Note that noun phrases, though asyndetic, are not clauses.

- Noun phrases

The circ. qual. element is in the dep. case and is subordinated to the main verb. It is normally indef. See also examples in 2.4.6 and 3.29.7:

fa-yahuzzu ra'sahu muṭma'innan lī

فيهز رأسه مطمئناً لي

'and he would shake his head at me **reassuringly**'

daḥala ḥāḱkan ra'sahu

دخل حاكاً رأسه

'he went in **scratching** his head'

wa-rāḥat-i l- 'aṣāfiru taqfizu min ḥawli ḡayra muhtammatin bī 'aw bi-l-kalbi

وراحت العصافير تقفز من حولي غير مهتمة بي أو بالكلب

'the birds began to jump around me, **paying no attention** to either me or the dog'

- Also as 1st element of unreal annexation (see also 2.4.4):

ṣirtu 'asīru fī l-ḥārati kasīra l-rūḥi

صرت أسير في الحارة كسير الروح

'I started going around the quarter with a broken spirit', lit. '**broken** of spirit' (see unreal annexation 2.1.3.2)

- Verbal clauses

Imperf. verb (▷C3:246)

If the events of both clauses are concurrent the verb of the circ. qual. clause is imperf. indep. The circ. qual. may, in effect, modify the noun in any function as the following examples show.

- Verb modifying the subject of the main clause. In such cases the verb may be affirmative:

inkamaṣa taḥta 'ahdābi maḥāwifihī yataḥassasu 'amānīhī

انكمش تحت أهداب مخاوفه يتحسس أمانيه

'he cowered under the (eye) lashes of his fears **groping around** for his desires'

wa-raqadat mu'zama l-waḡti taḡra'u ba'ḍa kutubī l- 'inklīziyyati

ورقدت معظم الوقت تقرأ بعض كتب الإنكليزية

'and she lay down most of the time **reading** some of the books on the English language'

(dep. time qual. *mu'zama l-waḡti* معظم الوقت 'for most of the time', see 2.9.1.4, 3.29.4)

or negative:

*tumma ḥaraja min-a l-maktabi lā yuḥissu bi-raġbatin fi l-‘awdati
‘ilā l-manzili*

ثمّ خرج من المكتب لا يحسّ برغبة في العودة إلى المنزل
‘then he left the office, **not feeling** any desire to go back home’

sāra lā ya‘rifu ‘ilā ‘ayna taqūduhu qadamāhu

سار لا يعرف إلى أين تقوده قدماه
‘he walked **not knowing** where his feet were taking him’ (unmarked
fem. gender of *qadamāhu* قدماه ‘his two feet’, 1.12.2.1)

- Verb modifying the indir. obj. of the main verb:

ša‘arat bi-qalbiḥā yuḥfiq bi-šiddatin

شعرت بقلبيها يخفق بشدّة
‘she felt her heart **beating** strongly’

- Some asyndetic clauses can be ambiguous, such as the following, in which the status of the two imperf. verbs is unclear, i.e., they could both be pred., or the second one could be a circ. qual.:

ḥanāfis yatasawwalu bi-šaklin mubāširin yaqtaribu min-a l-muštārīna

خنافس يتسوّل بشكل مباشر يقترب من المشترين
‘Khanafis **begs** openly, **approaches** [approaching] the sellers’

or when there are two possible antecedents:

wa-taḥaddat ‘ilayhā taḍḥaku

وتحدّثت إليها تضحك
‘she spoke to her laughing’

- Indicating purpose or reason (▷C3:249)

The circ. qual. can indicate purpose:

kānat muqīmatan fi l-bayti tar‘ā šu ‘ūnahu

كانت مقيمة في البيت ترعى شؤونه
‘she was staying in the house **looking after** [to look after] his affairs’

inṭalaqat fi l-šāri ‘i tabḥaṭu ‘an-i l-‘atfāli

انطلقت في الشارع تبحث عن الأطفال
‘she went into the street **looking** for the children’

- A perf. verb is used if the event in the circ. qual. clause is over by the time of the event in the main clause, sometimes with *qad* قد (on which see 3.10.4) (▷C3:250):

jalasat tufakkiru qad 'ağmaḍat 'aynayhā wa-ğābat 'an kulli mā ḥawlahā
 جلست تفكر قد أغمضت عينيها وغابت عن كل ما حولها
 'she sat thinking **having closed** her eyes and become oblivious to
 everything around her'

However, a perf. verb after *wa-qad* وقد is more common (see 7.3.2)

- Circ. qual. with demonstrative 'idā إذا of surprise (▷C3:253), (see 3.31 for main treatment)

With imperf.:

wa-'idā bi-'aḥī 'amāmī yuḥaddiqu fiyya bi-'aynayni fihimā ḥuznun
 'amīqun
 وإذا بأخي أمامي يحدّق في بعينين فيهما حزن عميق
 'there was my brother in front of me, **staring** at me with deep eyes full of
 sadness'

- With *qad* قد + perf.:

'idā bihi qad waṣala fī l-mī'ādī
 إذا به قد وصل في الميعاد
 'to my surprise **he arrived** on time', lit. 'there he was, having arrived'

Circ. qual. with *mā bāluka* ما بالك, *mā laka* ما لك (▷C2:188, 3:251)
 (cf. 10.13.3.1):

mā bālu zawjihā yuḥḥiru lahā kulla hādā l-ḥubbi faj'atan wa-bi-dūni
sababin wāḍiḥin
 ما بال زوجها يظهر لها كل هذا الحب فجأة و بدون سبب واضح
 'why is her husband suddenly **showing** her all this love without any
 apparent reason?'

- Series of asyndetic circ. quals (▷C3:254)
 Sequences of more than one asyndetic circ. qual. are not uncommon:

'aṣarra 'alā ḥurūjihi fī nafsi l-yawmi mutajāhilan taḥḍira l-ṭabībī
musta'inan bi-ṭabībīn 'āḥara
 أصرّ على خروجه في نفس اليوم متجاهلاً تحذير الطبيب مستعينا بطبيب آخر
 'he insisted on leaving that same day, **ignoring** the doctor's warning,
seeking the help of another doctor'
wa-'aqifu ḥā'iran 'as'alu nafsi ...
 وأقف حائراً أسأل نفسي ...
 'and I would stand **confused asking** myself ...'

7.3.2 Syndetic circumstantial qualifiers.

The syndetic circ. qual. is marked by a simple subordinator *wa-* و which is not strictly a coordinator in this context (see 6.2.6). It is most commonly a clause with a noun as head (either a bare equational sentence, i.e., with no preposed sentence modifiers, see 3.1 or topicalized agent, see 3.7.2.1, although syndetic sentences with a verb as head may also function as circ. quals (see *wa-* و + *qad* قد + perf. below).

- Nominal sentence with *wa-* و (▷C3:267): any bare equational sentence occurs as a circ. qual. Among the most important of this type of circ. qual. clauses are the following: overt noun or pronoun as head of the nom. clause:

wa-lakinnī raġma dālika 'aḥkīhā wa-'anā wāṭiqun 'annahu lan yağdaba hādīhi l-marrata

ولكنني رغم ذلك أحكيها وأنا واثق أنه لن يغضب هذه المرة
'but in spite of that I told [the joke], **being confident** that he would not get angry this time'

kānat ta'ūdu fī kullī marratin wa-qalbuhā muṭqalun bi-l-humūmi

كانت تعود في كلّ مرة وقلبها مثقل بالهموم
'she would come back each time **with her heart laden with sorrows**'

wāfaqat wa-ḥarajat wa-wajhuhā muḥmarrun

وافقت وخرجت ووجهها محمر
'she agreed and left **red-faced**'

Also common with expressions *ḥuṣūṣan wa-* خصوصا و *ḥāṣṣatan wa-* خاصة و 'especially':

ḥuṣūṣan wa-'imkānātu l-takāmuli qā'imatun

خصوصا وإمكانات التكامل قائمة
'especially **as the possibilities for integration exist**'

When the circ. qual. is a nominal sentence with an indef. subj. the normal rule of inversion applies (3.1.3;▷C3:268):

yatanāwalu ṭa'āmahu wa-'alā ra'sihī ḥārisun

يتناول طعامه وعلى رأسه حارس
'he receives his food **with a guard [standing] over him**', lit. 'and at his head [is] a guard'

šāhada mra'atan talbasu l-burqu'a wa-ma'ahā ṭiflun naḥīlun jiddan

شاهد امرأة تلبس البرقع ومعها طفل نحيل جدا
'he saw a woman wearing the veil **with a very thin child with her**'

raḥala Š. Ḥ. wa-fī qalbihi šay'un min-i ttiḥāqi l-qāhirati

رحل ش.ح. وفي قلبه شيء من اتّفاق القاهرة

'Sh. H. departed **with something of the Cairo Agreement in his heart**'

Inversion can also occur when the emphasis is more on the pred. than the subj., even when the latter is def.:

dalaḥat 'iḥsānūn 'ilā l-manzili wa-min ḥalfihā l-muḥāsibu l-šābbu

دلفت إحسان إلى المنزل ومن خلفها المحاسب الشاب

'Iḥsān sauntered home **with the young accountant behind her**'

Nom. circ. qual. with topicalized agent as head; the verb is generally imperf. indep.:

mātat-i bnatuhu wa-hiya talidu

ماتت ابنته وهي تلد

'his daughter died **while she was giving birth**'

'a-lam tataḍakkar yamīnaka llaḍī 'aqsamtahu wa-'anta tata'ahhalu

li-mihnati l-ṭabībī

ألم تتذكر يمينك الذي أقسمته وأنت تتأهل لمهنة الطبيب

'do you not remember the oath you swore **while you were qualifying for the medical profession?**'

jā'at zawjatu sālīmīn li-ziyāratinā wa-hiya talbasu fustānan 'aḥmara

جاءت زوجة سالم لزيارتنا وهي تلبس فستاناً أحمر

'Salim's wife came to visit us **wearing a red dress**'

Combinations of asyndetic and syndetic circ. qual. frequently occur:

qālat hāmisatan wa-hiya tabtasimu

قالت هامسة وهي تبتسم

'she said **whispering, as she smiled**'

Circ. qual. clauses as adversatives (see adversative *wa-* 6.2.5):

fa-štarāhā wa-hiya lā qīmata lahā

فاشترأها وهي لا قيمة لها

'so he bought them **even though they** had no value'

Syndetic circ. qual. clauses may also be inverted for emphasis:

wa-hum yatanāwalūna l-qahwata taḥaddaṭa 'an ba'ḍi l-'anmāṭi llatī

qābalahā fī l-sijni

وهم يتناولون القهوة تحدّث عن بعض الأنماط التي قابلها في السجن

'**while they were drinking coffee** he talked about some of the types he had encountered in prison'

Neg. syndetic circ. quals. occur in one of the following forms:

- *wa-* + noun/pron. + neg. verb (▷C2:272):

fī 'aḥadi l-'ayyāmi wa-bnatuhā lam takun tajāwazat šahrahā l-ḥāmisa naẓara zawjuhā 'ilā l-ṭiflati wa-qāla

في أحد الأيام وابنتها لم تكن تجاوزت شهرها الخامس نظر زوجها إلى الطفلة و قال
'one day **when her daughter had not passed her fifth month** her husband looked at the child and said ...'

wa-'ajabtu wa-'anā lā 'a'rifu li-māḍā yu'ākisunī ramzī ḥākaḍā

وأجبت وأنا لا أعرف لماذا يعاكسني رمزي هكذا
'and I answered **without knowing** why Ramzi was bothering me in this way'

fā'iza 'aḥmad mātat wa-hiya lā ta'rifu 'annahā 'ajmalu ṣawtin ba'da 'umm kulṭūm

فائزة أحمد ماتت وهي لا تعرف أنها أجمل صوت بعد أم كلثوم
'Fayza Aḥmad died **not knowing** that she was the most beautiful voice after Umm Kulthum'

- *wa-* + neg. verb:

wa-'aṣbaḥa l-ṣabāḥu wa-lā naẓālu fī l-qāhirati

وأصبح الصباح ولا نزال في القاهرة
'morning came **while we were still** in Cairo' (see 3.17.3 on 'aṣbaḥa (أصبح))

- *wa-* + neg. particle + noun (see cat. neg. 4.1.2):

kāna llāhu wa-lā ṣay'a ma'ahu

كان الله ولا شيء معه
'God existed **with nothing else (existing)** with him'

For negative circ. qual. with *wa-lammā* ولامّا see 4.2.4, 7.6.3.2 (▷C3:272).

- Circ. quals after (*wa-*) *munḍu* منذ (و) and other time expressions (▷C3:18, 79, 275) (see *munḍu* منذ below; also 6.2.7).

With *munḍu* منذ 'since' as a prepositional (contrast 7.6.8 for *munḍu* منذ 'since' as a conjunction) the main clause takes the form of a syndetic circ. qual. denoting the state of the antecedent since the given point of time:

munḍu ḥulūlihā bi-ṣaqqati šārī'i N wa-hiya taltazimu 'arīkatakā turāqibu l-mārrata wa-l-jirāna

منذ حلولها بشقة شارع ن. وهي تلتزم أريكتها تراقب المارة والجيران
'since she moved into the N. Street flat **she has remained keeping to her couch**, watching the passers-by and the neighbours'

(note second clause beginning *turāqibu* ... تراقب ... 'watching' which is an embedded circ. qual. of the first one)

mundu 'aṣarāti l-sinīna wa-'ulamā'u l-naḥsi ... yaḥuttūna ...

... منذ عشرات السنين وعلماء النفس ... يحثون

'for dozens of years **psychologists ... have been urging ...**'

Without *mundu* منذ

'*usbū*'un kāmīlun wa-l-šindāḡa tartajju min 'aqṣāhā 'ilā 'aqṣāhā ...

أسبوع كامل والشندغة ترتج من أقصاها إلى أقصاها

'for a whole week **Shindagha shook** throughout ...', lit. 'from its furthest point to its furthest point'

min ṣaḡrihā wa-hiya tarḡabu fī l-madḥi

من صغرها وهي ترغب في المدح

'since her childhood she has desired praise'

- Verbal sentence with *wa-qad* وقد + perf. (▷C3:271): *qad* قد, when used with the perf. in a subordinate syndetic circ. qual. construction, denotes that the event or action has already taken place (see also *qad* قد 3.10.4 and examples at 7.3.1 without *wa-* و). This usage should not be confused with the strictly coordinating function of *wa-* و, (see Chapter 6):

wa-fī ba'ḍi l-'aḥyāni kānat tuṣāhidu zamilātin lahā wa-qad-i stalqayna fī ḥujrati l-mudarrisāti

وفي بعض الأحيان كانت تشاهد زميلات لها وقد استلقين في حجرة المدرّسات

'sometimes she would watch colleagues of hers, [they] **having lain** down in the staff room'

kāna ya'innu wa-qad waḍa'a yadahu 'alā qalbihi

كان يئنّ وقد وضع يده على قلبه

'he was groaning, **having put his hand on his heart**'

ra'aytu 'akyāsa sawātiri l-ramli l-maḡḡūṭati l-maḥṣuwwati 'amāma

l-maḥābi'i wa-qad tafattaqat

رأيت أكياس سواتر الرمل المغطوة المحشوة أمام المخابئ وقد تفتّقت

'I saw the compressed and stuffed protective sandbags in front of the hiding places, [they] **having split open**'

This construction is becoming increasingly common in 'ammā ... fa- ف ... أما constructions (see 3.3.4):

'ammā *wa-qad futiḥat* 'abwābu l-qaṣri l-jumhūriyyi li-l-ḥiwāri ... fa-'inna mā ḥadaṭa ...

أما وقد فُتحت أبواب القصر الجمهوري للحوار ... فإن ما حدث ...

‘as for the doors of the republican palace **having been opened** for dialogue ... then what happened ...

‘ammā wa-qad sabaqa l-sayfu l-‘azla ... fa-‘inna ...

أما وقد سبق السيف العزل ... فإن ...

‘as for the sword **having preceded** isolation ... then ...’

Idiomatic circ. qual. after elliptical *kayfa lā* كيف لا (▷C3:277) (see also 10.13.7.1):

wa-kayfa lā wa-‘anta ḥarīṣun ‘alā ṣuḥbatihā ‘alā l-rağmi min kulli mā ṣadara minhā

وكيف لا وأنت حريص على صحبتها على الرغم من كل ما صدر منها

‘how could it be any different **when you are determined** to accompany her in spite of everything that she has done’?

7.3.3 Antecedent of verbal circumstantial qualifier as definite/indefinite

The head noun of a circ. qual. is normally def., though an intermediate degree of definiteness exists (recognized by the grammarians as *taḥṣiṣ* ‘particularization’) which allows a noun to be thus qualified. Under those conditions the circ. qual. will be formally identical with the adj. rel. clause qualifying an indef. antecedent (5.1) so in the following example: *yuṣāhidu ‘iddata fatayātin yaḍḥakna wa-hunna yaṣḥabna l-‘arūsa ‘ilā ḥujratin fī l-dāḥili* يشاهد عدة فتيات يضحكن وهن يمشين إلى حجرة في الداخل, the annexed phrase ‘iddata fatayātin ‘عدة فتيات’ is formally indef. (hence may be translated as ‘who were laughing’) but is def. enough (by particularization) to be the head of a circ. qual. (hence translated ‘laughing’). In this instance the latter is more or less the only possibility, (a) because the verb *yuṣāhidu* يشاهد requires a circ. qual. as its comp (cf. 3.11.2.3), and (b) because the coordinated phrase following, *wa-hunna yaṣḥabna* وهن يمشين ‘they pulling’, can not be anything but a circ. qual.

7.4 FINAL SUBORDINATE SYNDETIC VERBAL CLAUSES (▷C3:33)

7.4.1 Causal *fa-* ف ‘and so’ *fā’ al-sababiyya* فاء السببية

fa- ف may introduce a subordinate clause with verb in imperf. dep. expressing the result of a preceding clause. The preceding clause does not contain a factual statement. It can be imperative or words equivalent in meaning to an imperative, and may also express desire or hope:

ya ‘muruhum fa-tuṭī‘ahu

يأمرهم فتطيعه

‘he commands them [the troops] **and [so]** they [the states] obey him’

*yastaṭī‘u hādā l-za‘īmu ‘an yaḥtāra zar‘a ra’si ḥimārin maṭalan fawqa
‘ajṣādi l-mu‘ārīḍina fa-yataḥawwalū bayna yawmin wa-laylatin ‘ilā
muwālina*

يستطيع هذا الزعيم أن يختار زرع رأس حمار مثلا فوق أجساد المعارضين فيتحولوا بين
يوم وليلة إلى مواليين

‘this leader could choose to transplant a donkey's head, for example, on to the
bodies of opponents, and **thus they would turn** overnight into followers’

7.4.2 With *wa- al-ma‘iyya ‘wa-* و of accompaniment’ (See 3.29.8).

Examples of this category have been attested in CA, of which the following sentence is an example made up by the medieval grammarians of the time:

lā ta‘kul-i l-samaka wa-taṣṣaba l-labana

لا تأكل السمك و تشرب اللبن

‘do not eat fish **and drink** milk at the same time!’

No examples at the clausal level were located during the collection of material for this study.

7.5 ‘an أن and ‘anna أن (▷C1:78; C3:105)

The principal complementizers in MWA are ‘an أن and ‘anna أن ‘that’, both occurring at the head of their clauses. ‘anna أن always heads a noun clause (in which the subj. noun must be in the dep. case, see ‘anna أن in 3.2.2 and 7.5.2). ‘an أن is a complementizer that heads verbal clauses which are equivalent to noun phrases with the same syntactic function as the verbal noun. In ‘an أن subordinate clauses the verb is normally in the dep. imperf. form and generally refers to a future point in time (but see 7.5.1.12).

7.5.1 ‘an أن clauses

7.5.1.1 With dep. imperfect

‘an أن is known as ‘an al-maṣḍariyya المصدرية ‘the verbal noun ‘an أن owing to the general substitutability of its verbal clause with the verbal noun (see *mā al-maṣḍariyya* ما المصدرية 5.5.3). In theory any ‘an أن clause can be replaced by a verbal noun. ‘an أن clauses can function as subj., obj., pred., or in any other nom. function.

Consider the following examples:

qarrara ‘an yasīra

قرّر أن يسير

‘he decided that he would go’ [noun clause as dir. obj.] = *qarrara l-sayra* قرّر
السير ‘he decided on **going**’ [verbal noun as dir. obj.]

kāna yurīdu l-dahāba 'ilā šarqi 'afriqiyyā

كان يريد الذهاب إلى شرق أفريقيا

'he wanted **to go** [verbal noun as dir. obj.] to East Africa' = *kāna yurīdu 'an yaḍhaba* كان يريد أن يذهب 'he wanted **that he go**' [noun clause as dir. obj.]

min ḡayri l-ma'qūli 'an ta'malā ma'an

من غير المعقول أن تعملوا معا

'it is unreasonable [pred.] **that these two** [fem.] **should work** together [noun clause as subj.]'

= *min ḡayri l-ma'qūli 'amaluhumā ma'an*

من غير المعقول عملهما معا

'it is unreasonable **their** [dual] **working** together' [verbal noun as subj.]

In 'an أن clauses the verb refers to events whose occurrence is dependent on something else, and is not a statement of fact. In Western sources the form of these verbs is therefore often referred to as the 'subjunctive' (see 1.4.1, 1.12.5). When the 'an أن + verb structure as noun phrase has subj., ag. or dir. obj. function it may easily be translated by the English infinitive (▷C3:130):

'arāda 'an yukmila mušāhadata filmi l-vīdiyū ba'da l-'ašā'i

أراد أن يكمل مشاهدة فيلم الفيديو بعد العشاء

'he wanted **to finish** watching the video movie after dinner' (loan word 'video' fully assimilated, cf. 12.1, and for spelling 1.2.6.1)

wa-yabqā 'an 'aḍkura bi-'anna ...

... ويبقى أن أذكر بأن

'it remains (for me) **to mention** that ...', lit. 'it remains that I mention'

ṭalaba minnī 'an 'ajlisa

طلب مني أن أجلس

'he asked me **to sit down**'

ḥāwala 'an yuḥrija l-naṣla

حاول أن يخرج النصل

'he tried **to extract** the blade'

i'tadtū ma'a wālidayya 'an yunaffidā kulla mā yaqūlānihi

اعتدت مع والدي أن ينفذ كل ما يقولانه

'I became **accustomed** to my parents **carrying out** everything they said they would'

The 'an أن clause may also have verbal noun status when it *precedes* the main clause with the status of topic of a nom. sentence (see 3.1).

Broad categorizations of 'an أَنْ + imperf. dep. form verbs: the following examples are a small representation of the type of main clauses that generally require the use of 'an أَنْ + dep. imperf. form of the verb in the subordinate clause. The class of verbs in this category is very large and the examples are only a small representation of it.

'an أَنْ clauses as subj.:

- Possibility/impossibility/ability (cf. 3.20):

fa-bi-'imkāninā 'an nuqarrira binā'an 'alā mā taqaddama

فبإمكاننا أن نقرّر بناء على ما تقدّم

'so **we can decide** based on what has gone before'

yumkinuhu 'an yal'aba fi l-'andiyati fi dubayy

يمكنه أن يلعب في الأندية في دبي

'he **could play** in one of the clubs in Dubai'

(uninflected proper names, 1.8.5)

kuntu lā 'azālu ġayra qādiratin 'alā 'an 'artadiya l-tiyāba

كنت لا أزال غير قادرة على أن ارتدي الثياب

'I was still **unable to put on** any clothes', lit. 'other than able', see 12.6

istaṭā'a 'an yuḡila 'amada l-ma'rakati

استطاع أن يطيل أمد المعركة

'he was able **to extend** the fighting period'

Note that in formal factual statements stating that something is in someone's power, 'anna أَنْ is possible:

bi-'imkāni l-wizārati 'anna kulla man saddada nišfa l-tamani

yatasallamu šaqqatahu ba'da šahrayni

بإمكان الوزارة أن كلّ من سدّد نصف الثمن يتسلّم شقّته بعد شهرين

'it is in the Ministry's power that whoever has paid half the price will receive his apartment after two months'

- Necessity (cf. 3.15.2):

yajibu 'an yattajiha 'awwalan wa-qabla kulli šay'in 'ilā l-turāṭi

يجب أن يتّجه أولاً و قبل كلّ شيء إلى التراث

'it must be directed first and foremost towards heritage'

min ša'ni l-ḥadāṭati 'an tabḥaṭa 'an mišdāqiyyati 'uṭrūḥātihā fi ḥitābihā nafsīhi

من شأن الحداثة أن تبحث عن مصداقية أطروحاتها في خطابها نفسه

'modernism must search for the credibility of its theses within its own discourse' (see 11.8.1 on *min ša'n* من شأن)

wa-lākinnaḥu kāna muḍṭarran 'an yusāfira

ولكنّه كان مضطراً أن يسافر

'but **he had to travel**', lit. 'was forced that he travel'

mā kāna yanbaḡī 'an yakūna

ما كان ينبغي أن يكون

'what it **should have been**', lit. 'it was desirable that it be'

- Judgement or reflection on a particular action or a state of mind:

ḥaṭara lī 'an 'uḥbira zawjī 'ammā yuz 'ijunī

خطر لي أن أخبر زوجي عما يزعجني

'it occurred to me to tell my husband about what was upsetting me'

ḥasbī fī ḥāḍihi l- 'ujālat, 'an 'uḥāwila ...

حسبي في هذه العجالة أن أحاول ...

'all I can do, in this hasty compilation, is to try ...'

- Right/appropriateness:

hal yaḥiḡqu lī 'an 'aḡḍaba?

هل يحقّ لي أن أغضب؟

'do I have any right to get angry?'

'a-yaṣiḡḡu ba 'da ḥāḍā 'an nastahrija mimmā qālahu šaw 'anna ...

أيصحّ بعد هذا أن نستخرج ممّا قاله شو أن ...

'is it correct for us, as a result of this, to deduce from what Shaw said that ...'

(note transliteration of Shaw as *šaw*, effectively *šō*, cf. 1.2.6.2)

'an clauses as obj.

- Desire, wish, request, hope:

kuntu 'arjū 'an yuwāṣila l-zamīlu l-kabīru ... qiyādatahu

كنت أرجو أن يواصل الزميل الكبير ... قيادته

'I was **hoping that** (my) distinguished colleague ... **would continue** his leadership'

ṭalaba minhu 'an yaṭba 'ahā lahu 'alā l- 'ālati l-kātibati

طلب منه أن يطبعها له على الآلة الكاتبة

'he asked him to type it for him on the typewriter'

wa-huwa yufaḍḍilu 'an yatakallama 'an mabādi 'a 'āmmatin

وهو يفضل أن يتكلم عن مبادئ عامة

'and he prefers to talk about general principles'

wa-tuḥibbu 'an tudā'ibahum

وتحبّ أن تداعبهم

'and she would love to tease them'

wa-'aradtu yawmahā 'an 'ufāji'ahu

وأردت يومها أن أفاجئه

'and on that day I wanted to surprise him'

(see personalized days, 2.14.5)

- Thought, estimation:

fakkarat 'iddata marrātin fī 'an tunḥiya 'alāqatahā bi-'alyā'a

فكرت عدّة مرّات في أن تنهي علاقتها بعلياء

'she thought many times about ending her relationship with Alya'

- Condition:

ištaraṭat 'an 'uwāṣila waḍ'a 'anbūbi l-' uksujīni fī 'anfi kulla laylatin

اشتربت أن أوصل وضع أنبوب الأكسجين في أنفي كلّ ليلة

'she stipulated that I continue to put the oxygen tube in my nose every night'

- Decision without finality (but see also 7.5.2 below):

wa-qarrara l-majlisu 'an tu'raḍa hāḍihi l-ḥālātu

وقرّر المجلس أن تعرض هذه الحالات

'and the Council decided that these cases should be examined'

- Expectation (but see also 7.5.2 below):

wa-yatawaqqa'u N. 'an ta'tamida rābiṭatu l-duwali l-mustaqillati

wa-duwalu l-qārrati l-'afrīqiyyati hādā l-niḏāma

ويتوقّع ن. أن تعتمد رابطة الدول المستقلة ودول القارة الأفريقية هذا النظام

'and N. expects the League of Independent Nations and states of the African continent to approve this system'

- Promise:

wa'ada rāšidun 'an yamurra bi-bārīsa yawma l-ḥamīsi

وعد راشد أن يمرّ بباريس يوم الخميس

'Rāshid promised to pass by Paris on Thursday'

- Fear:

ḥaṣīya 'an yamūta fī tilka l-'arḍi l-ḡarībati

خشى أن يموت في تلك الأرض الغريبة

'he was afraid of dying in that strange land'

wa-ḥiftu 'an 'aqa'a fī maṣyadati kulli l-'āḥarīna

وخفت أن أقع في مصيدة كل الآخرين

'and I was afraid of falling into the trap of all the others'

'an أن clauses are frequently used as subjects of *min* من phrases with participles and adjectives corresponding to the verbs described above (see 3.1.4 and see 7.5.2.4 for 'anna أن clauses in this function):

min-a l-mutawaqqa 'i 'an tantahiya minhā ḥilāla l-sanati l-qādimati

من المتوقع أن تنتهي منها خلال السنة القادمة

'they are expected to finish with them during the next year' (see 2.7 and 3.29.4 for dep. nouns as time qualifiers)

min-a l-badīhiyyi 'an ya'tamida fī dālika 'alā ...

من البديهي أن يعتمد في ذلك على...

'it is self-evident that he will depend in this on ...'

min-a l-muḥimmi 'an na'īya 'anna

من المهم أن نعي أن

'it is important for us to be aware that'

wa-min-a l-murajjaḥi 'an yastamirra ta'fīruhā 'alā madāri l-'āmi l-ḥāliyyi

ومن المرجح أن يستمر تأثيرها على مدار العام الحالي

'and it is probable that its effect will continue throughout the current year'

wa-laysa min-a l-mustab'adi ... 'an yatimma ta'āwunun 'ūrūbiyyun 'alā ḥāḍā l-ṣa'īdi

وليس من المستبعد ... أن يتمّ تعاون أوروبي على هذا الصعيد

'it is not unlikely ... that a European cooperation on this level will be effected'

or the nominal variants:

maṭlūbun minhā 'an tabḡaḍa bi-sur'atin wa-basāṭatin-a l-rajula l-waḥīda

lḥādī 'aḥabbathu

مطلوب منها أن تبغض بسرعة وبساطة الرجل الوحيد الذي أحبته

'she [was] required to hate quickly and simply the one man whom she had loved'

Non-substitutability with verbal noun: the 'an أن clause cannot be replaced by a verbal noun when it is the pred. of *kāda* كاد or related verbs (cf. 3.17 etc.):

yakādu 'an yuṣbiḥa rahīnata mizāji hāḍihi l-ṭiflati l-mutaqallibi

يكاد أن يصبح رهينة مزاج هذه الطفلة المتقلب

'he is almost becoming a hostage to the fluctuating mood of this child'

'asākum 'an takūnū bi-ḥayrin wa-'āfiyatin

عساكم أن تكونوا بخير وعافية

'let us hope you [masc. pl.] are in good health'

7.5.1.2 As other objects. (▷C:135–6)

'iyyāka 'an إياك أن type (see 2.16.4):

'iyyāka 'an tuḡādīra l-madīnata qabla ntiḥā'i l-taḥqīqi

إياك أن تغادر المدينة قبل انتهاء التحقيق

'I warn you not to leave town before the end of the inquiry'

2nd dir. obj. (▷C3:135)

iḍṭarratnī l-zurūfu 'an 'aḍhaba marratan bi-l-ziyyi -l-rasmiyyi

اضطرتني الظروف أن أذهب مرة بالزي الرسمي

'circumstances forced me [1st dir. obj.] to go [2nd dir. obj.] once in official uniform'

7.5.1.3 In annexation (▷C3:136)

As 2nd element of annexation constructions (c.f. 2.3):

iḥtimālu 'an takūna l-kanīsatu qad 'uqīmat fawqa ma'badin rūmāniyyin

احتمال أن تكون الكنيسة قد أقيمت فوق معبد روماني

'the possibility of the church having been erected over a Roman temple'

wa-qāla 'inna l-wizārata tadrusu 'imkāniyyata 'an tuṣbiḥa l-mustaṣḥayātu

l-taḥaṣṣuṣiyyatu ... šibha ḥāṣṣatin

وقال إن الوزارة تدرس إمكانية أن تصبح المستشفيات التخصصية ... شبه خاصة

'and he said that the Ministry is studying the possibility of the private hospitals ... becoming semi-private'

qāla 'innahu bi-mujarradi 'an 'alima jā'a 'alā l-fawri

قال إنه بمجرد أن علم جاء على الفور

'he said that as soon as he found out he came immediately'

7.5.1.4 After preposition(al)s (▷C3:139)

Subordinate clauses with 'an أَنْ occur as annexation structures (see 2.3) where the sub. clause is the obj. of the preposition(al):

wa-lākinna 'aḥmada 'aṣarra 'alā 'an yal'abū fī l-nāḥiyati l-ġarbiyyati min ṣāṭi' i l-ḥūrī

ولكنّ أحمد أصرّ على أن يلعبوا في الناحية الغربية من شاطئ الخور
'but Ahmad **insisted that they play** on the west side of the Creek beach'

wa-huwa lā yumkinu 'an yasmaḥa lahum bi-'an yaṣrabū 'alā l-ḥisābi

وهو لا يمكن أن يسمح لهم بأن يشربوا على الحساب
'it not being possible for him to allow them **to drink** on a tab basis'

Omission of the preposition(al) (▷C2:261, 3:134, 145) (see *lā budda* لَا بُدَّ type also at 7.5.1.6, and cf. 3.11.4).

Preposition(al)s accompanying a verb (or its verbal noun) before 'an أَنْ can be elided. In such cases the 'an أَنْ clause functions as dir. obj.:

ismahū lī [bi-]'an 'uqaddima lakum ...

... اسمحوا لي (ب) أن أقدم لكم
'allow me **to present to you**'

wa-la-qad 'ajibtu [min] 'an yataraddada

ولقد عجبت (من) أن يتردّد
'and I was certainly surprised **that he hesitated**'

Note, however, that preposition(al)s that may be elided before 'an أَنْ clauses functioning as noun phrases cannot be elided in the equivalent verbal noun structure:

lā tandahiṣ [min] 'an yarsuma l-fannānu wajha ḥabībatihī ramādiyyan

لا تندهش من أن يرسم الفنّان وجه حبيبته رماديا
'do not be surprised **that** the artist **paints** the face of his beloved ash-grey
[noun phrase as dir. obj.]'

= *lā tandahiṣ min rasmi l-fannāni wajha ḥabībatihī ramādiyyan*

لا تندهش من رسم الفنّان وجه حبيبته رماديا
'do not be surprised **by** the artist's **painting** the face of his beloved ash-grey'
[verbal noun as obj. of prep.]

(See also obj. of verbal noun, 2.10.1)

7.5.1.5 With direct speech (▷C3:113) 'an al-mufasssira أَنْ المفسّرة

'an al-mufasssira, explanatory 'an أَنْ, heads subordinate clauses after verbs bearing the sense of 'tell', or related meanings. The verb after 'an أَنْ is always in the imperative form and makes explicit the command or request implicit in the main verb (see 3.2.2):

kutiba 'alā jibāhi l-'aḥyā' i 'an-i ṣbirū wa-taṣābarū

كتب على جباه الأحياء أن اصبروا و تصابروا

'it is written on the foreheads of the living **that** "[you] **be steadfast and forebearing**"

ibtasama l-nā'imu wa-qabbalahumā bi-ḥanānin, rabbatatā 'alā katīfayhi: 'an qum, ḥud 'ulbata l-kibrūti wa-dhab

ابتسم النائم وقبلهما بحنان، ربتتا على كتفيه: ان قم، خذ علبة الكبريت واذهب

'the recumbent [figure] smiled and kissed them both with tenderness, they stroked him on the shoulders [as if to say] **get up, take [your] box of matches and go**'

7.5.1.6 *lā budda 'an* لا بد أن and similar phrases (see also 7.5.2.8 with *'anna* أن)

There are many structures in MWA expressing inevitability which are all essentially elliptical, i.e., '[there is] no escape, harm, etc.'

lā budda لا بد plus or minus *min* من etc. The expression *lā budda* لا بد was originally followed by *min* من, namely *min 'an* من أن + sub. clause:

lā budda min 'an tuḡayyira sulūkaka

لا بد من أن تغيّر سلوكك

'**you must change** your behaviour'

But it also occurs frequently without *min* من (▷C2:226; 1:145):

lā budda 'an yatawā'ama l-mudīru ma'a l-nizāmi l-jadīdi

لا بد أن يتواءم المدير مع النظام الجديد

'the director **must harmonize** with the new system'

Also used for past events (determinable by context):

fa-lā budda 'an 'akūna fī ḡāyati l-faraḥi

فلا بد أن أكون في غاية الفرح

'so **I had to be** extremely joyful'

Note that the expression *lā budda* لا بد must always be followed by *min* من when followed by a verbal noun:

lā budda min-a l-'iṣārati mujaddadan 'ilā 'anna

لا بد من الإشارة مجدداً إلى أن

'**it must be pointed out** anew that'

and also with pron. suffix, e.g., *lā budda minhu* منه 'it is inevitable'. *lā budda wa-'an* لا بد وأن is a variant on this structure (see 6.2.7).

7.5.1.7 Miscellaneous (see negatives in 4.1.2)

- *lā ḥaraja* لا حرج ‘no objection’:

lā ḥaraja ‘alā l-muslimi fī ‘an yajma‘a min-a l-māli mā yašā‘u

لا حرج على المسلم في أن يجمع من المال ما يشاء

‘there is no objection to the Muslim gathering as much wealth as he likes’ (note inverted *mā ... min* من... ما, see 5.4.4.1)

- *lā ba’sa* لا بأس ‘no harm’:

lā ba’sa wa-lā ḍarara ‘an tataḥaddaṭi ma’a ‘aḥiṣṣā’iyyatin nafsāniyyatin

لا بأس ولا ضرر أن تتحدثي مع أخصائية نفسانية

‘there is no harm or damage in your [fem sing.] talking with a specialist female psychologist’

7.5.1.8 Negative subordination (▷ C3:114)

See 4.2.1 and other negs, e.g. *kay-lā* كيلا ‘lest’, ‘so that not’, *ḥattā lā* لا حتى ‘in order that not’. (Same rules as ‘an أن plus or minus preposition and other noun-phrase functions; see also *li-‘allā* لئلا ‘lest’, 7.6.1.4.)

‘*allā* ألا (a combination of ‘an + *lā* لا أن) ‘that not’ (not ‘an *al-muḥaffafa* المخففة cf. 3.2.2, 7.5.1.5):

najtahidu fī ‘allā yakūna ba’dā ḍālika ḥalalun

نجتهد في ألا يكون بعد ذلك خلل

‘we strive so that after that there are no defects’

qarrartu ‘allā ‘adhūla l-kulliyata bi-zīyī l-rasmiyyi

قررت ألا أدخل الكلية بزي الرسمي

‘I decided I would not enter the college in my official uniform’

ṭawāla ‘umrī ‘tadtu ‘allā ‘ubdiya kawāminī

طوال عمري اعتدت ألا أبدي كوامني

‘all my life I have been used to not revealing my hidden feelings’

Also written separately as ‘an لا أن:

ka-mā ‘annanī ‘aḥšā ‘an lā yattaṣila liqā’unā fī l-mustaqbali

كما أئنني أخشى أن لا يتصل لقاءنا في المستقبل

‘just as I am afraid that our meeting will not continue in the future’

(see 5.9.9.3 on *kamā ‘anna* كما أن ‘[it] is as if’)

fa-yajibu 'an lā nafhama minhā mā yaḥḥamuhu 'udabā'u wa-mufakkirū 'ūrubbā
 فيجب أن لا نفهم منها ما يفهمه أدباء ومفكرو أوربا
 'we should **not understand** from it what the literary figures and intellectuals
 of Europe understand from it'

(see 3.15.3 on negative of impersonal verb *wajaba* وجب 'to be obligatory', 'must')

7.5.1.9 *'an al-muḥaffafa* المخففة أن (see also 4.1.5 and 7.5.2.5 for full treatment)

- With *laysa* ليس 'not be' (▷C3:115):

wa-ra'ā 'an laysa fī l-'imkāni 'abda'u mim mā kāna
 ورأى أن ليس في الإمكان أبدع مما كان
 'and he considered **that there was not** possible anything more
 innovative than what there already was'

- with cat. neg. *lā* لا 'no' (▷C3:116) (see 4.1.2):

wa-ḥtaṣafa 'an lā 'aḥada yahtammu bī 'aw ḥattā yurīdu ṣuḥbatī
 واكتشف أن لا أحد يهتم بي أو حتى يريد صحبتي
 'and he discovered **that no-one** was interested in me nor even in my
 friendship' (see 2.19.11, 6.11 on *ḥattā* حتى 'even')

7.5.1.10 *Prepositional/temporal adverbial + 'an* أن

Preposition(al)s can operate on sub. clauses headed by *'an* أن as complementizer (cf. French *que*). The combination of some preposition(al)s and temporal adverbs with *'an* أن may be viewed as collocations, but they are not strictly compounds. These combinations are possible calques of similar structures in some Western languages, e.g., French *après que* or German *nachdem*. In this section the sub. clauses are adverbial (unlike in 7.5.1.4 where they are indirect objs.)

The subordinate clause generally occurs after the main clause but its position depends on the context.

'alā 'an على أن (▷C3:141) 'on the basis that' (cf. *'alā 'anna* على أن, and see 2.6.2 for meanings of *'alā* على):

qabilathu nāẓiratu l-madrasati 'alā 'an yu'addiya 'abūhu l-maṣārifa
daf'atan wāḥidatan
 قبلته نظيرة المدرسة على أن يؤدي أبوه المصاريف دفعة واحدة
 'the Headmistress of the school accepted him **on the basis that** his father
pay the fees in one go'

(*daf'atan* دفعة '[in] one go' has the pattern of a noun of instance, *ism al-marra*, cf. 1.8.1, here with dep. form as circ. qual., 3.29.7)

- *ba'da 'an* بعد أن (▷C3:142) 'after', cf. 2.7.6: the tense after *ba'da 'an* بعد أن 'after' depends on the tense of the main clause verb, i.e., when it is past the verb after *'an* أن is perf.; when non-past the verb after *'an* أن is dep. imperf. Hence:

- Perfect if the action or event is already completed (cf. 7.5.1.12):

daḡaṭa 'alā musaddasihi ba'da 'an waḡa'ahu fī muqaddamati jabīnihi

ضغط على مسدسه بعد أن وضعه في مقدّمة جبينه

'he pressed [the trigger of] his revolver **after he had placed it** against the front of his forehead'

ba'da 'an kānat faransā stakmalat-i ḥtilāla l-jazā'iri

بعد أن كانت فرنسا استكملت احتلال الجزائر

'**after France had completed** the occupation of Algeria'

ba'da 'an zāra l-mašriqa l-'arabiyya

بعد أن زار المشرق العربي

'**after he visited** the Arab East'

- Dep. imperf. when referring to a future event or action:

qābilnī ba'da 'an tušāhida l-filma

قابلني بعد أن تشاهد الفيلم

'meet me **after you have seen** the film'

fa-'arjūkum ba'da hāḡā l-majlisi 'an tajtami'ū bi-l-sur'ati l-mumkinati

wa-ḡālika ba'da 'an tunazzimū qā'imatan bi-'asmā'i llaḡina ...

فأرجوكم بعد هذا المجلس أن تجتمعوا بالسرعة الممكنة وذلك بعد أن تنظّموا قائمة باسماء الذين...

'so I beg you after this session to meet as soon as possible (and that) **after you have organized** a list of names of those who ...'

wa'adanī 'an yazūranī ba'da 'an yakūna qad raja'a min-a l-ḡajji

وعدني أن يزورني بعد أن يكون قد رجع من الحج

'he promised to visit me **after he had returned** from the Hajj' (see 3.10.6 for description of compound tenses)

or the present:

wa-ba'da 'an yašifa ḡayāta B. bi-l-ḡayāti l-ka'ibati ... yušīru 'ilā

'anna ...

وبعد أن يصف حياة ب. بالحياة الكئيبة ... يشير إلى أن ...

'and **after he describes** B's life as being depressing [lit. "with a depressing life"] ... he points out that ...'

- *qabla 'an* قبل أن (▷C3:142, cf. 2.7.30), 'before' + dep. imperf.: whether the main verb expresses something in the past, pres. or future, *qabla 'an* قبل أن is always followed by dep. imperf. (cf. *ba'da 'an* بعد أن 'after' above):

fī tilka l-laylati qabla 'an yanāma 'aktara 'ahmadu fī l-tafkīri fī kalāmi l-sayyid

في تلك الليلة قبل أن ينام أكثر أحمد في التفكير في كلام السيد

'that night, **before going to sleep**, Ahmad thought at length about what al-Sayyid had said'

wa-qabla 'an nunhiya l-liqā'a ma'a muftī l-būsnati kāna lā budda min su'ālihi 'an ...

وقبل أن ننهي اللقاء مع مفتي البوسنة كان لا بدّ من سؤاله عن ...

'and **before ending** the meeting with the Mufti of Bosnia we had to ask him about ...' (see *lā budda* لا بدّ above 7.5.1.6)

qabla 'an yarā jadwalan zamaniyyan

قبل أن يرى جدولاً زمنياً

'before he sees a timetable'

- min + qabli 'an* من قبل أن reflects a lengthening of the time scale between the events or actions of the main and subordinate clauses:

maḡrūsātun fī mawḍi'ihā min qabli 'an yuṣāyyada baytunā bi-zamanin ṭawīlin

مغروسة في موضعها من قبل أن يشيّد بيتنا بزمن طويل

'planted in its place **before** our house **was built** by a long time'

- *dūna 'an* دون أن (▷C3:145, 2.7.11) and *bi-/min-dūni 'an* بـ/من دون أن 'without' with or without *bi-* or *min*:

ka-'insānin qad-i ḥtafā bi-dūni 'an ya'rifa li-māḍā ḥtafā

كإنسان قد اختفى بدون أن يعرف لماذا اختفى

'like someone who had disappeared **without knowing** why he had disappeared' (see 2.6.8 on *ka-* كـ 'like')

dūna 'an yakūna 'alā dirāyatīn kāmīlatīn

دون أن يكون على دراية كاملة

'without his being completely aware'

- With *'ayyu* أيّ 'any' for emphasis (see also 2.9.1.6, and cf. 1.12.4.1):

dūna 'an taqūma bi-'ayyi dawrin fa' 'ālin li-l-taqribi

دون أن تقوم بأيّ دور فعّال للتقريب

'without carrying out any effective role in rapprochement'

wa-qad 'arsaltu ṭalabātin 'adīdatan dūna 'an 'atalaqqā 'ayya stijābatin

وقد أرسلت طلبات عديدة دون أن أتلقي أيّ استجابة

'I sent numerous requests without receiving any response'

- *waqta 'an* وقت أن 'when' as purely temporal conjunction (with relative variants *fī waqtin* في وقت 'at a time [in which]' and *fī l-waqtī llaḏī* في الوقت الذي 'at the time [in which]'):

waqta 'an kāna ya'milu qunṣulan

وقت أن كان يعمل قنصلا

"when he was working as consul", lit. 'at the time of that he was working'

fī l-waqtī llaḏī yatawaqqa'u l-ḥubarā'u 'an yašila ḥajmu l-'intāji [...]

في الوقت الذي يتوقع الخبراء أن يصل حجم الإنتاج [...]

"at the time experts are expecting the volume of production to reach [...]"

fī l-waqtī llaḏī lā tūjadu fīhi riqābatun mutaḥaṣṣiṣatun

في الوقت الذي لا توجد فيه رقابة متخصصة

"at the [same] time [in which] there exists no specialized censorship"

(cf. 3.18 on the passive *tūjadu* "is found" for "exists", also cf. *fī ḥīni* في حين 'in the time of' 5.9.7)

fī waqtin 'aṣbaḥa fīhi kullu šay'in ... "ḥalfan dur"!!

في وقت أصبح فيه كل شيء... "خلفا در!!"

"at a time when [lit. 'in which'] everything has become ... 'about turn!!'"

- *'ilā 'an* إلى أن 'until' (>C2:295, 2.6.7, contrast 7.6.7.2)

Followed by perf. to denote past action or event:

'ilā 'an 'aṣābahā l-maraḍu l-fattāku

إلى أن أصابها المرض الفتاك

'until the dreadful disease took hold of her'

'ilā 'an daḥala ṣadiqī l-rassāmu wa-zawjatuhu

إلى أن دخل صديقي الرسّام وزوجته

'until my artist friend and his wife came in'

'ilā 'an waṣala l-waqtu llaḍi 'arāda fihi l-zawāja

إلى أن وصل الوقت الذي أراد فيه الزواج

'until the time **arrived** that he wanted to get married'

or dep. imperf. to denote pres. or fut. event:

'ilā 'an tatasallaḥa l-dirāsatu 'alā ba'di 'intāji l-'adībi

إلى أن تتسلط الدراسة على بعض إنتاج الأديب

'until the study **holds sway** over some of the literary figure's productivity'

- *'iwaḍa 'an* أن عوض 'instead of' (see 2.7.23):

'iwaḍa 'an taqra'a tatalaqqamu

عوض أن تقرأ تتلقن

'instead of [actually] reading they learn by rote'

(note inverted clause order, which suggests a calque)

- *ka-'an* كأن 'such as' (cf. *kamā* كما and comp.conj. in 5.9.9, 5.9.9.6 for *ka-'an* كأن):

'ahyānan-i l-iḥtilāfu fi ṣaḥṣiyyati l-ṣadiqayni yuwattiqu l-ṣadāqata

ka-'an yargaba l-qawīyyu fi ṣadāqati l-ḍa'ifi

أحياناً الاختلاف في شخصية الصديقين يوثق الصداقة كأن يرغب القوي في صداقة الضعيف

'sometimes the personality difference between two friends strengthens the friendship, **such as** the stronger **desiring** the friendship of the weaker'

- *badalan min 'an* بدلاً من أن 'instead of' (2.5.7):

badalan min 'an yasīra biḍ'ata 'amtāri wa-yanṣarifa muwaddi 'an,

qarrara 'an yasīra warā'ā l-na'ṣi l-imbarātūriyyi ḥattā maṭwāhu l-'aḥīri

بدلاً من أن يسير بضعة أمتار و ينصرف مودعاً قرر أن يسير وراء النعش
الامبراطوري حتى مثواه الأخير

'instead of walking a few metres and then **leaving**, he decided to walk behind the Imperial Bier until its final resting place'

7.5.1.11 Compound prepositional phrases + 'an أن

Compound prepositional phrases (see 2.5.5) may themselves form annexation units with *'an* أن clauses (▷C3:136).

- *bi-mujarradi 'an* 'بمجرد أن' 'by merely', 'immediately upon' (cf. 2.8.4), tends to precede the main clause. It is followed by either perf. (to denote past action or event):

bi-mujarradi 'an ra'ā l-yada l-mutawarrimata ... tasā'ala muta'ajjiban

بمجرد أن رأى اليد المتورمة ... تساءل متعجباً

'as soon as he saw the swollen hand ... he wondered in astonishment'

or dep. imperf. (to denote pres. action or event):

bi-mujarradi 'an tatakawwana tabqā fi l-bi'ati

بمجرد أن تتكوّن تبقى في البيئة

'as soon as they are formed they remain in the environment'

- *bi-šarṭi 'an* 'بشرط أن' 'on the condition that':

bi-šarṭi 'an taqūma l-firqatu bi-l-musāhamati fī ta'īlī wa-tajhīzi l-masraḥi

بشرط أن تقوم الفرقة بالمساهمة في تأثيث وتجهيز المسرح

'on condition that the company [of actors] takes a share in furnishing and equipping the theatre' (see binomial annexation 2.3.7)

- *fi sabīli 'an* 'في سبيل أن' 'in the interest of' (see examples in 2.6.5):

fi sabīli 'an yafhama kullun minnā l-'āḥara jayyidan

في سبيل أن يفهم كلّ منا الآخر جيداً

'so that each of us understands the other well'

- *min ḡayri 'an* 'من غير أن' (▷C3:138; 2.9.2.3, and cf. ḡayra 'anna 'غير أن' 7.5.2.11) 'without' (cf. *dūna* 'دون' 'without' and its correlates above, 7.5.1.10).
- The use of *ḡayr* 'غير' 'other than' in this construction is very different from its function in concessive clauses (7.5.2.11):

min ḡayri 'an aḥmila ma'ī siwā 'awrāqi l-safari l-maṭlūbati

من غير أن أحمل معي سوى أوراق السفر المطلوبة

'without carrying with me [anything] except the required travel papers'

(cf. *siwā* 'سوى' 'except' 9.5.2, and 2.9.2.4 for basic information, and

7.5.2.11 for *siwā 'anna* 'سوى أن')

7.5.1.12 With perfect (▷C3:107)

When the action of the subordinate clause is factual and completed the verb occurs in the perfect after 'an أن. This is one of the very limited number of occasions when 'an أن may be followed directly by anything other than the dep. imperf. form:

yawma 'an zāra l-ra'īsu maṣna'ī

يوم أن زار الرئيس مصنعي

'on the day (that) the President visited my factory'

(see time and date expressions, 2.3, 2.3.4.1, 2.14.7)

kāna bi-naṭijati dālika 'an-i ḥṭadama l-ṣirā'u l-siyāsiyyu

كان بنتيجة ذلك أن احتدم الصراع السياسي

'it was as a result of that that the political conflict flared up'

tumma nqaṭa 'tu 'ilā 'an-i ḍṭurirtu 'ilā duḥūli l-mustaṣfā

ثم انقطعت إلى أن اضطرت إلى دخول المستشفى

'then I stopped until I had to go into hospital' (for 'ilā 'an أن see 7.5.1.10)

The verb in the perf. is particularly common after 'an أن with verbs like ḥadaṭa حدث 'to happen' and sabaqa سبق 'to occur previously' (see also 3.23.2, 6.2.4) in which the event has already taken place; also munḍu 'an منذ 'since' (7.6.8.2) qabla 'an قبل 'before', and ba'da 'an بعد 'after' (7.5.1.10).

7.5.2 'anna أن 'that' clauses

(See 3.2.1 for syntax of nom. sentence introduced by 'anna أن.)

'anna أن is a nominalizer and the resulting noun phrase has various functions. 'anna أن is followed by complete sentences of either nominal or topic-comment type, the resulting clause becoming a noun phrase and assuming all the functions of a noun phrase.

As with 'an أن clauses the function of the 'anna أن clause can be any of the following:

7.5.2.1 Subject (▷C3:130)

ṣaḥiḥun 'anna l-'ujrata munḥafidatun

صحيح أن الأجرة منخفضة

'it is true that the rate was low' (note inversion with complementized clauses, see 3.1.3)

7.5.2.2 Predicate (▷C3:131)

al-muškilatu 'anna l-fallāḥīna lā yusaddidūna fī l-mī'adi

المشكلة أن الفلاحين لا يسددون في الميعاد

'the problem is that the peasants do not pay off their debts on time'

7.5.2.3 Agent of verb (▷C3:130 where treated as subject)

tabayyana 'annahu 'uṣība bi-jurḥin kabīrin

تبيّن أنه أصيب بجرح كبير

'it became apparent that he had been afflicted by a large wound'

(see 3.12.2 on passive + instrument)

7.5.2.4 Direct object (▷C3:133)

'anna أن clauses can be the dir. obj. of any verb that has a statement as its object. This includes verbs such as 'a' *lanā* أعلن 'to announce', *ṣarraḥa* صرّح 'to declare', 'awḍaḥa أوضح 'to make clear', *ḍakara* ذكر 'to mention', *i'taqada* اعتقد 'to believe', 'araḥa عرف 'to know' (cf. those which take prepositions, 7.5.2.7), and their negs, as well as verbs of denial, hinting etc.:

'a'lanā 'anna l-'ijrā 'āti l-'ulā fī muwājahati l-'irāqi sa-takūnu dīblūmāsiyyatan

أعلن أن الإجراءات الأولى في مواجهة العراق ستكون دبلوماسية

'he announced that the first measures in confronting Iraq would be diplomatic'

ṣarraḥa 'anna wizārata l-ṣiḥḥati sa-tadrusu 'imkāniyyata ...

صرّح أن وزارة الصحة ستدرس إمكانية

'he declared that the health ministry would study the possibility of ...'

fa-qad ḍakara bayānun rasmiyyun birīṭāniyyun 'amsi 'anna wazīra l-difā 'i l-'amrīkiyyi ...

فقد ذكر بيان رسمي بريطاني أمس أن وزير الدفاع الأمريكي

'an official British statement yesterday said that the American Minister of Defence ...'

lā 'ataḍakkaru 'annī 'alqaytu naẓarī 'alayhi marratan

لا أتذكر أنني ألقيت نظري عليه مرة

'I do not remember that I ever once cast a glance at him'

'awḍaḥat ... 'anna faṭḥa bābi l-tarqiyati li-l-'āmilīna ...

أوضحت ... أن فتح باب الترقية للعاملين ...

'[...] made clear that opening the door of promotion for employees ...'

fa-qad ra'aytu 'annahā tuḥadditu ṣaḥṣan mā

فقد رأيت أنها تحدّث شخصا ما

'I saw that she was talking to somebody', lit. 'a person somewhat',

see 1.12.4.1 on periphrastic indefiniteness with the vague *mā* ما 'what' suffix

'araftu 'annī l-mar'atu l-'ulā fī ḥayātīhi

عرفت أنني المرأة الأولى في حياته

'I knew that I was the number one woman in his life'

wa-'aqsama 'annahu lan yarji'a marratan tāniyatan 'ilā l- ġazali l-mubāširi

وأقسم أنه لن يرجع مرة ثانية إلى الغزل المباشر

'he swore that he would not resort again to direct flirtation'

Note: verbs such as 'to imagine', 'to occur to', 'to feel', i.e., those involving the senses, are always followed by an *'anna* أن clause:

wa-lā yataṣawwaru 'insānun 'annanā nataḥaddatu fī majāli l-'aḥlāmi

ولا يتصور إنسان أننا نتحدث في مجال الأحلام

'and no-one could ever imagine that we are talking in the field of dreams'

wa-lākin ḥuyyila 'ilayhā 'annahu ṣadīqun 'āḥaru ya 'īṣu fī 'amrīkā

ولكن خُيِّلَ إليها أنه صديق آخر يعيش في أمريكا

'but she imagined that he was another friend living in America'

(see 3.12.4 on the idiomatic passive *ḥuyyila* خُيِّلَ 'it was caused to be imagined')

'aḥassa fī tilka l-laylati 'annahā laysat zawjatahu faqaṭ bal 'annahā bnatuhu

wa-'uḥtuḥu wa-'ummuhu

أحسّ في تلك الليلة أنها ليست زوجته فقط بل أنها ابنته وأخته وأمه

'on that night he felt that she was not just his wife but also his daughter and mother'

(see 4.9 on the 'not only ... but also' calque)

taš'uru 'annahā 'ārifatun bi-ḥālīhā

تشعر أنها عارفة بحالها

'she feels that she knows about her situation'

The fixed expressions of *min-a l-* من ال- + participle (or adj.) function in the same way as the corresponding verbs described at the beginning of 7.5.2.4, but here the *أن* clauses function as inverted noun phrase subj.:

min-a l-ma'rūfi 'anna l-salāḥifa hiya 'aṭwalu l-'aḥyā'i 'umran

من المعروف أن السلاحف هي أطول الأحياء عمراً

'it is well-known that tortoises have the longest life of all living species'

min-a l-mu'akkadi 'anna l-taqadduma l-tiknolūjiyya sa-yazallu muhimman fī l-sanawāti l-qādimati

من المؤكد أن التقدم التكنولوجي سيظل مهماً في السنوات القادمة

'it is certain that technological advancement will remain important in the coming years'

See 3.17.14 on *zalla* ظلّ 'to remain'

The same applies to adjs. and parts. without *min-a l-* من الـ

ṣaḥīḥun 'anna 'alyā'a kānat tanfiru min-a l-la'bi ma'a l-banāti

صحيح أن علياء كانت تنفر من اللعب مع البنات

'it is true that Alya had an aversion to playing with the girls'

al-wāqi'u 'anna lafza 'l-turātī' qad-I ktasā fi l-ḥiṭābi l-'arabiyyi l-ḥadīthī ...

الواقع أن لفظ ' التراث ' قد اكتسب في الخطاب العربي الحديث ...

'the fact is that the expression 'heritage' has taken on the garb in modern Arabic discourse ...'

7.5.2.5 *'an al-muḥaffafa* المخففة *'an* أن instead of *'anna* أن (see also 3.2.2, 4.1.5, and 7.5.1.9) (contrast *'an al-mufasssira* أن المفسرة 7.5.1.5)

When a clause begins with *lā* لا (of cat. neg., see 4.1.2) and other neg. forms. *'an* أن can be used. This is the so-called lightened *'an* أن instead of *'annahu* أنه. In such cases there is an assumed ellipsis of the 'pronoun of the matter' (*ḍamīr al-ša'n*, see 3.4) which would have been attached to the original *'anna* أن:

wa-lāḥaḥa 'annahu ḡā'ibun 'an-i l-wa'yi wa-'an lā ḥarakata wa-lā ḥayāta fihī

ولاحظ أنه غائب عن الوعي وأن لا حركة ولا حياة فيه

'and he noticed that he was unconscious and that there was no movement and no life in him'

fa-tahuzzu bnatuhu ra'sahā bi-'an laysa ladayhā māni'un

فتهزأ ابنته رأسها بأن ليس لديها مانع

'so his daughter would shake her head (indicating) that she had no objection'

For *laysa* ليس 'not be', see 4.2.8.1.

It can also be used after future prefixes *sa-* سـ and *sawfa* سوف (3.10.3) particularly following verbs conveying a sense of certainty or conviction:

qarrarū 'an sa-takūnu hunāka muḥākamatun wa-'annahā sa-takūnu

li-l-'ahdi kullihi wa-laysa lahu bi-l-dāti

قرروا أن ستكون هناك محاكمة و أنها ستكون للعهد كله وليس له بالذات

'they have decided that there will be a trial and that it will be for all the regime, not for him in particular'

(for neg. coordinator *wa-laysa* وليس 'and not' see 6.12.3)

7.5.2.6 Annexation of adverbials to *'anna* أن sentences (cf. 7.5.1.3 above, and 7.6.6 for fuller treatment)

fi ḥīni 'anna mā waqa 'a min ḥawāḍiṭa lā yumkinu muqāranatuhā bi-'ayyi ḥālin min-a l-'aḥwālī bi-mā yaqa 'u fi 'awāṣima 'ālamīyyatin kubrā

في حين أن ما وقع من حوادث لا يمكن مقارنتها بأي حال من الأحوال بما يقع في عواصم عالمية كبرى

'at **the time when** the events that happened cannot be compared in any way with what is happening in major world capitals'

7.5.2.7 Annexation of preposition(al)s to 'anna أن sentences (▷C3:139)

Subordinate clauses with 'anna أن as noun phrases may be annexed to preposition(al)s (see 2.6 and cf. 7.5.1.4):

'akkada 'alā 'anna l-ṭāliba lā yataḥarāju 'illā ba'da l-ta'akkudi min ta'ḥilihi

أكد على أن الطالب لا يتخرج إلا بعد التأكد من تأهيله

'he emphasized **that the student would not graduate until after his qualifications had been confirmed**'

wa-'aḍāfa bi-'anna l-wizārata tadrusu ḥālīyyan ...

وأضاف بأن الوزارة تدرس حالياً

'he added **that the ministry is currently studying ...**'

Elided prepositions (▷C3:134): prepositions may also be elided from the main verb preceding 'anna أن + sentence:

'aḥbarānī [bi-] 'annahu yusāfiru ḡadan

أخبرني [بـ] أنه يسافر غدا

'he told me **that he** was leaving tomorrow'

(cf. reported speech, 10.14, 10.15)

7.5.2.8 Miscellaneous followed by 'anna أن + noun clause

- *lā šakka لا شك* plus or minus *fi* في '[there is] no doubt that' (cf. 4.1.2 and 2.18.2).

lā šakka 'annī kuntu ka-l-walīdati l-muḥabba'ati fi l-quṭni

لا شك أنني كنت كالوليدة المخبأة في القطن

'**there is no doubt that I** was like the newborn baby concealed in cotton' (see 2.6.8 on *ka-* ك 'like')

lā šakka fī 'annahum qad ḥajabū 'anhā ba'da l-ma'lūmāti

لا شك في أنهم قد حجّبوا عنها بعض المعلومات

'**there is no doubt that they** kept some information from her'

- *lā rayba لا ريب* '[there is] no doubt' (cf. 4.1.2):

lā rayba 'anna l-tuwwāra kānū yaḥtājūna 'ilā miṭli hādā l-'uslūbi

لا ريب أن الثوار كانوا يحتاجون إلى مثل هذا الأسلوب

'there is no doubt that the revolutionaries were in need of such a method' (see 2.9.2.1 on this use of *miṭl* 'the like of')

- *lā budda* (see also above 7.5.1.6 and 4.1.2) '[there is] no escape', may be followed by imperf. or perf. tense verbs:

wa-lā budda 'annahum yata'ahhabūna l-'āna li-l-ḍahābi 'ilā

l-'awwāmati llati naltaqī fihā

ولا بد أنهم يتأهبون الآن للذهاب إلى العوامة التي نلتقي فيها

'and they must be getting ready now to go the boat-house where we shall meet'

lā budda 'annahu kāna ṭāliban

لا بد أنه كان طالبا

'he must have been a student'

lā budda 'annahā 'a'addat taqrīran wāfiyan

لا بد أنها أعدت تقريرا وافيا

'she must have prepared a full report'

7.5.2.9 Compound prepositional phrases with 'anna أن

See 2.7.33 for adv. *rağman* رغما.

As we have seen, preposition(al)s function as internal operators at the head of noun phrases. They can also form annexation units as compound subordinators with 'anna أن nominal sentences when they are themselves annexed to other nouns. This group of nouns is restricted (cf. 'an أن clauses, 7.5.1.11) (▷C3:136). The noun after the preposition(al) never takes the def. art. nor *tanwīn* because it is the 1st element of annexation, so, for example, 'alā 'asāsi 'anna على أساس أن 'on the basis that' is to be analysed as 'on the basis of [the fact] that'.

- 'alā 'asāsi 'anna على أساس أن 'on the basis that' (see 2.6.3 'alā على):

intaqada būš-i qtirāḥa klintūn 'alā 'asāsi 'annahu sa-yu'addi 'ilā

fiqdāni malyūni šaḥšin li-wazā 'ifihim

انتقد بوش اقتراح كلنتون على أساس أنه سيؤدي إلى فقدان مليون شخص لوظائفهم

'Bush criticized Clinton's proposal on the basis that it would lead to a million people losing their jobs'

(see 2.10.1.7 on *li-* ل paraphrase with dir. obj. of verbal noun which cannot be annexed)

- 'alā 'tibāri 'anna على اعتبار أن and *bi-'tibāri 'anna* باعتبار أن 'considering that' (see 2.5.8.5):

'alā 'tibāri 'anna l-waḥdata hiya 'ahammu 'ususi l-nāṣiriyyati

على اعتبار أن الوحدة هي أهم أسس الناصرية

'considering that unity is the most important foundation of Nasserism'

bi-'tibāri 'anna maṣāni'a l-sajjādi mašrū'ātun ṣaḡīratun

باعتبار أن مصانع السجاد مشروعات صغيرة

'considering that carpet factories are small projects'

bi-'tibāri 'anna raf'a l-rusūmi l-jumrukiyyati laysat hiya l-'adāta l-waḥīdata li-ḥimāyati l-'intāji

باعتبار أن رفع الرسوم الجمركية ليست هي الأداة الوحيدة لحماية الإنتاج

'considering that raising customs duties is not itself the only instrument for protecting production'

- *bi-ḥujjati 'anna* بحجة أن **'on the grounds that'**:

bi-ḥujjati 'anna al-sāriqīna kutrun

بحجة أن السارقين كثير

'on the grounds that the thieves are [too] numerous'

- *li-darajati 'anna* لدرجة أن **'to the extent that', 'to the degree that', often 'so much so that'**:

li-darajati 'anna ba'da l-ṣaḥṣiyyāti llatī kāna yumkinu 'an tufīda bta'adat ḥawfan

لدرجة أن بعض الشخصيات التي كان يمكن أن تفيد ابتعدت خوفاً

'so much so that certain personalities who might have been useful stayed away out of fear'

(see 3.29.6 on purposive comp (obj. of reason) *ḥawfan* 'خوفاً' 'out of fear')

li-darajati 'annahu 'indamā waṣala 'ilā l-ṣaffi l-rābi'i l-'ibtidā'iyyi kāna 'umruhu qad 'aṣbaḥa sab'ata 'ašara 'āman

لدرجة أنه عندما وصل إلى الصف الرابع الابتدائي كان عمره قد أصبح سبعة عشر عاماً

'to the extent that when he reached the fourth grade of primary school he was already seventeen years old'

7.5.2.10 *li- + 'anna* لأن **'because', lit. 'for [the fact] that'**

(▷C3:144; see 2.6.10 on *li-* لـ 'for')

As a nominal subordinator *li-'anna* لأن must always be followed by a noun, either an explicit noun or a bound pron.

The order in sentences containing *li-'anna* لأن is really determined by emphasis. In normal word order the subordinate clause follows the main clause:

*wa-lā nastati 'u 'an naqūla 'innahu kāna 'a 'jaba l-šaḥṣiyyāti l-'insāniyyati
llati 'āṣat fī ḥayyi šindaḡata li-'anna ḡālika l-ḥayya ḥafala bi-l-šaḥṣiyyāti
l-'ajībati*

ولا نستطيع أن نقول إنه كان أعجب الشخصيات الإنسانية التي عاشت في حيّ شندغة
لأن ذلك الحيّ حفل بالشخصيات العجيبة

'we cannot say that he was the oddest personality living in the Shindagha
quarter **because** that quarter was full of strange personalities'

In MWA the subordinate clause containing *li-'anna* لأن often precedes the main
clause. In this case the main clause may or may not be preceded by a discourse
marker such as *fa-* ف (see 11.1):

*wa-li-'annahā takrahu l-ḥafalāti l-ḥayriyyata l-taqlidiyyata qarrarat 'alīnā
'an tuwajjiha juḥūdahā li-da'mi jam'iyyatin tusā'idu l-'atfāla l-mu'āqina*

ولأنّها تكره الحفلات الخيرية التقليدية قرّرت ألينا أن توجّه جهودها لدعم جمعية
تساعد الأطفال المعاقين

'and **because** she dislikes traditional charity celebrations Alena decided to
direct her efforts towards supporting an organization that helps handicapped
children'

*wa-li-'anna tabrīrāti l-muḥriji lam takun muqni'atan li-l-riqābati fa-qad
'aḥālat-i l-'amra*

ولأنّ تبريرات المخرج لم تكن مقنعة للرقابة فقد أحالت الأمر

'and **because** the director's justifications were not convincing to the (Board
of) Censorship, it referred the matter'

7.5.2.11 Adversatives and concessives with 'anna أن

Adversative/concessive clauses contrast a previous statement or piece of dis-
course. As compounds they generally convey the sense of the preposition(al) (see,
for example, individual meanings of preposition(al)s in 2.6 and 2.7) and the
content of the dep. 'anna أن clause.

- 'illā 'anna أن إلا (▷C3:351) (see also *raḡma* رغم 'but', 'however', *ḡayra*
'anna أن غير, etc.

The 'illā إلا 'except' in this and similar clauses is an exceptive particle which
in this function bears a conditional sense, i.e., 'if not that ...' (see **Chapter 9**
and 8.1.4). It often follows affirmative statements.

Most of the time English has no particular indicator for the second clause, so
for convenience a default [nonetheless] will be inserted in translation where
there is not a natural equivalent.

*wa-llaḡī 'ādatan mā yabqā fī sūqi l-ḥuḡāri talāṭata 'aw 'arba'ata
'ayyāmin ḥattā yaḡḡaja tamāman 'illā 'annahu fī ḥāḡā l-ṣayfi kāna
yaḡḡaju fī naḡsi l-yawmi llaḡī yuḡḡirūnahu fihi*

والذي عادة ما يبقى في سوق الخضار ثلاثة أو أربعة أيام حتى ينضج تماما إلا أنه في هذا الصيف كان ينضج في نفس اليوم الذي يحضره فيه

‘and which normally stay in the vegetable market for three or four days before they ripen fully; [nevertheless] this summer they would ripen on the same day as they brought them’

wa-ḥaqqaqat tarwatan ṭā’ilatan ’illā ’annahā baddadathā

وحققت ثروة طائلة إلا أنها بددتها

‘and she achieved enormous wealth, but [she] squandered it’

- *bayda ’anna* بَيْدَ أَنْ (C3:141) ‘however’, ‘although’

Occurs either at the head of a sub. clause:

tuwājihu šinā ’atu l-šūfi fī ostrāliyā ’azmatan bayda ’anna muškilatahā l-kubrā laysat fī riyāḥi l-taḡyīri llatī habbat ’alā sāḥati l-mōḍati l-’ālamīyyati

تواجه صناعة الصوف في أستراليا أزمة بيد أن مشكلتها الكبرى ليست في رياح التغيير التي هبّت على ساحة الموضة العالمية

‘the wool industry in Australia faces a crisis, **although** its major problem is not in the winds of change which have been blowing over the field of world fashion’

or at the head of a new piece of discourse after a full stop or even at the beginning of a new paragraph, as is potentially the case for many of these adversatives and concessives:

bayda ’annahu šadama, bādi’a dī bad’in, bi-l-nizāmi l-ta’līmiyyi l-mutaḥallifi

بيد أنه اصطدم، بادئ ذي بدء، بالنظام التعليمي المتخلف

‘**however** he was shocked, right from the start, at the backward education system’ (see paronomasia 11.7.10)

- *siwā ’anna* سِوَى أَنْ (2.9.2.4 and 9.5.2): ‘except that’, ‘but’

wa qad-i starāḥat ’ilā hādā l-lawni min-a l-ma’īšati siwā ’annahā lam takun tuḥibbu ’an ya ’rifū dālika

وقد استراحت إلى هذا اللون من المعيشة سوى أنه لم تكن تحب أن يعرفوا ذلك

‘and she found comfort in this style of living **although** [except that] she did not want them to know that’

- *’alā ’anna* عَلَى أَنْ (C2:331, 3:141) ‘but’, ‘however’ (see *’alā* على in 2.6.1, especially in the sense of indicating circumstances)

'alā 'anna 'ahamma mulāḥaṣātin yajibu 'an nu'akkida 'alayhā hunā hiya 'anna ...

على أن أهم ملاحظة يجب أن نؤكد عليها هنا هي أن ...

'but the most important observation we must emphasize here is that ...'

(see 3.5.2 on the pron. *hiya* هي, here inserted to mark topic from comment; see also 5.1.1 for rel. clauses with relative adj.)

'alā 'anna 'ikrāma l-jāri lā yaqifu 'inda naw'in mu'ayyanin min-a l-'ikrāmi

على أن إكرام الجار لا يقف عند نوع معين من الإكرام

'but respect for a neighbour does not stop at one particular kind of respect'

- *ḡayra 'anna* من غير أن (C2:151, 3:137) (cf. *min ḡayri 'an* من غير أن in 2.9.2.3) (C2:153) 'however' (general reference to *ḡayr* غير in 2.9.2.3)

Often with the meaning of 'but', 'nonetheless' (cf. *lākinna* لكن 'but' 6.5.1; see also *raḡma* رغم 'in spite of'). Preceding sentence may be neg. but is normally affirmative:

ḥāwaltu 'an 'u'alliqa bi-biḍ'i kalimātin ḡayra 'anna l-mumarrīdata l-jamīlata l-ṣaqrā'a badat ṣārimata l-malāmihi

حاولت أن أعلق ببضع كلمات غير أن الممرضة الجميلة الشقراء بدت صارمة الملامح
'I tried to add a few words but the beautiful blonde nurse looked stern in countenance' (see unreal annexation 2.1.3.2 and see 3.17.4 on *badā* بدا 'to appear')

ḡayra 'anna ḥāḍā lā yamna'u 'an takūna hunāka ba'du l-iḥtilāfāt

غير أن هذا لا يمنع أن تكون هناك بعض الاختلافات

'but this does not prevent there being certain disagreements'

ḡayra 'anna ḍahābī 'ilā l-duktūri J.S. lam yaḥduṭ 'illā ba'da sab'i sanawātin

غير أن ذهابي إلى الدكتور ج. س. لم يحدث إلا بعد سبع سنوات

'however, my going to Dr J.S. did not happen until five years later'

- *ma'a 'anna* مع أن (C2:317, 3:140) 'although', 'in spite of the fact that' (2.6.11 on *ma'a* مع generally)

Either follows the main clause:

... ma'a 'annahā min 'usratin muṭaqqafatin

... مع أنها من أسرة مثقفة

... 'even though she is/was from an educated family'

or precedes it. When the subordinate clause precedes the main clause it is normally preceded by the resumptive (coordinating particle) *fa-* فـ ‘and so’ (or sometimes the resumptive *‘illā* إلا ‘except’, ‘even though’, see 11.1):

wa-ma‘a ‘annanā qad šaraḥnā hādhi l-wijhata min-a l-naẓari bi-taḥṣīl
... *fa-‘inna l-nuṣṣa* ...

ومع أننا قد شرحنا هذه الوجهة من النظر بتفصيل ... فإنّ النصوص ...
‘although we explained this point of view in detail ... nonetheless the texts ...’

ma‘a مع is also used in adversative phrases:

wa-ma‘a kulli hādā ‘illā ‘anna ṣālātī l-‘arḍi ...

ومع كل هذا إلا أنّ صالات الأرض ...
‘in spite of all this [nonetheless] the exhibition rooms ...’

(see *ma‘a ‘anna* مع أنّ above and *ma‘a* مع ‘with’ in 2.6.11)

- *‘alā / bi-l-rağmi (min)* (من) بالرغم / *rağma* (‘anna) (أنّ) رغم followed by resumptive *‘illā* إلا ‘in spite of’, ‘even though’, ‘although’, ‘nonetheless’, ‘however’.

This construction occurs in a number of variant forms. Since these are examples of correlative subordinates there are always two parts. The subordinate element introduced by *rağma* رغم ‘in spite of’, and its variants, normally precedes the main clause, which may be introduced by *‘illā* إلا ‘nonetheless’, as in the following examples, or a number of other options listed below:

bi-l-rağmi min ‘annahā hazzat ra’sahā bi-l-raḥḍi ‘illā ‘anna qalbahā
ğariqa fī hazzati ḥuznin ‘amīqin

بالرغم من أنّها هزّت رأسها بالرفض إلا أنّ قلبها غرق في هزّة حزن عميق
‘even though she shook her head in refusal [nonetheless] her heart was overwhelmed by a tremor of deep sorrow’

‘alā l-rağmi min ‘annahā ma ‘rūfatun bi-smi l-sayyidati ‘azīzata ‘illā
‘annahā fī l-ḥaqīqati lā tazālu ‘ānisatan

على الرغم من أنّها معروفة باسم السيدة عزيزة إلا أنّها في الحقيقة لا تزال آنسة
‘in spite of the fact that she is known as Mrs ‘Azīza [nonetheless] she is in fact still a Miss’

(see 3.21.4 on *mā zāla* ما زال ‘not to cease’, i.e. ‘to still be’)

wa-rağma ‘anna hadafahum ḥukmu miṣra ‘illā ‘annahum ‘adkiyā ‘u
jiddan

ورغم أنّ هدفهم حكم مصر إلا أنّهم أذكاء جدّاً
‘and in spite of the fact that their goal is to rule Egypt, [nonetheless] they are very clever’

Simple phrasal *rağma* رغم

rağma l-muddati l-ṭawīlati llatī 'amḍāhā fī l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati ...
'illā 'anna l-waṭana mā zāla ḥayyan 'indahu

رغم المدّة الطويلة التي أمضاها في الولايات المتحدة ... إلا أنّ الوطن ما زال حيّاً
 عنده

'in spite of the long time he has spent in the USA, [nonetheless] the
 homeland is still alive for him'

Other resumptives after *rağma* رغم 'in spite of':

- *ğayra 'anna* أنْ غير (see also above):

wa-rağma 'anna l-jawwa ḥāniqun dāḥila l-harami, ġayra 'annahu qad
ta'attara bi-ḥamāsi ġunaym

و رغم أنّ الجوّ خائق داخل الهرم غير أنّه قد تأثّر بحماس غنيم
 'in spite of the fact that the air in the pyramid was suffocating,
 [nonetheless] he was excited by Ghunaym's enthusiasm'

(cf. 3.12.1 on quasi-passive with instrument/agent)

- *fa-'inna* فإنْ 'for [indeed]', 'nevertheless' (see 3.2.1 on 'inna (إنْ))

wa-'alā l-rağmi min 'anna bilādahu tas'ā li-tajannubi l-ḥarbi
wa-tahtammu bi-l-binā' i fa-'innahā sa-tuqāwimu l-'udwāna 'alayhā
bi-kulli wasīlatin

وعلى الرغم من أنّ بلاده تسعى لتجنّب الحرب و تهتمّ بالبناء فإنّها ستقاوم العدوان
 عليها بكلّ وسيلة

'in spite of the fact that his country is striving to avoid war and
 concentrating on construction [nonetheless] it will resist aggression
 against it by every means'

- *wa-qad* وقد (reinforces the verb, see 3.10.4):

wa-rağma 'annahu laysa hunāka ḥtilāfun kabīrun baynahumā ... wa-qad
mārasa l-'adīdu min-a l-ḥay'āti hādā l-fikra

ورغم أنّه ليس هناك اختلاف كبير بينهم ... وقد مارس العديد من الهيئات هذا
 الفكر

'although there is no great disagreement between them, [nonetheless] a
 large number of organizations have practised this kind of thinking'

(see 'many' 2.1.5.1)

- *fa-* ف 'and so' (cf. 6.3.4 and especially 11.1)

wa-rağma tağallubi l-'iqā' i l-sarī' i 'alā l-'ağānī l-majmū'ati, fa-'ağlabu
l-ḡanni 'anna l-šabāba sa-yuṣābūna bi-ḥaybati l-'amali

ورغم تغلب الإيقاع السريع على الأغاني المجموعة فأغلب الظن أن الشباب سيصابون بخيبة الأمل

'in spite of the predominance of a fast rhythm in the collected songs, [nonetheless] the most likely [thing] is that young people will be disappointed'

(note that the second clause contains an example of 'anna أن introducing pred., see 7.5.2.2)

- *lākin* لكن 'but' (see 6.5.2):

rağma 'ahammiyyati sūriyā wa-mawqifiḥā l-tābiti min-a l-waḥdati l-'arabiyyati lākin tazallu li-l-'alāqāti l-miṣriyyati l-sūdāniyyati ḥuṣṣātuhā

رغم أهمية سوريا وموقفها الثابت من الوحدة العربية لكن تظل للعلاقات المصرية السودانية خصوصاتها

'in spite of the importance of Syria and its firm position in Arab unity, [nonetheless] Egyptian–Sudanese relations still have their special features'

7.5.2.12 'anna أن instead of 'an أن clauses

A small number of verbs may be followed by 'anna أن clauses when the 'an أن clause might be expected. Their use is determined by the degree of certainty in the verb of the main clause.

- *qarrara* قرّر 'to decide', 'to reach a decision' (cf. 7.5.1.1):

fa-bi-'imkāninā 'an nuqarrira binā'an 'alā mā taqaddama 'anna l-turāṭa ...

فبإمكاننا أن نقرّر بناء على ما تقدم أن التراث ...

'so we can reach a decision based on what has come before, that [our] heritage ...'

- *tawaqqa'a* توقع 'to expect' (cf. 7.5.1.1):

wa-yatawaqqa'u l-maktabu 'aydan 'annahu fī 'āmi 2006 ...

و يتوقع المكتب أيضا أنه في عام ٢٠٠٦ ...

'the office also expects that in the year 2006 ...'

(see 3.4 on the pronoun, *ḍamīr al-ša'n* ضمير الشأن, attached to 'annahu أنه 'the fact is')

7.6 FURTHER SIMPLE SUBORDINATORS

7.6.1 *li-* لـ ‘for’ (▷C3:80, 2.6.10) (cf. *kay* 7.6.2 كي)

Reason or purpose; verb is dep. imperf.:

tawaqqafū li-yastarīhū

توقفوا ليستريحوا

‘they stopped **in order to rest**’

‘atā dābiṭu l-murūri li-yu‘āyina l-ḥādīta

أتى ضابط المرور ليعاين الحادث

‘the traffic policeman came **to inspect** the accident’

li-ya‘īša ‘abnā’u l-waṭani ḥayātan ‘āminatan mustaqirratan

ليعيش أبناء الوطن حياة آمنة مستقرة

‘**in order that** the sons of the fatherland **might live** a safe and stable life’

Non-purpose (▷C3:81) (*li-kay* لكي also, see 7.6.2). The preposition *li-* لـ ‘for’ followed by the dep. imperf. verb often introduces a subordinate clause which is not the intention (purpose) of the agent but rather a consequence of it. It often conveys the idea of an infinitive construction in English, perhaps being a calque:

ladayhi l-kaṭīru min-a l-humūmi li-yaṭraḥahā ‘alā l-ra’isi

لديه الكثير من الهموم لي طرحها على الرئيس

‘he has a lot of worries **to put to** the president’, lit. ‘to put **them to**’, suggesting an overlap with relative or comment syntax (cf. 5.0.1)

wa-zāda l-‘ajzu fī l-muwāzanati li-yaṣila ‘ila 290 bilyūna dūlārīn

وزاد العجز في الموازنة ليصل إلى ٢٩٠ بليون دولار

‘the budget deficit increased **to reach** \$290 billion’

insakabat ‘aṣi ‘atu l-šamsi l-mušriqati bi-hudū’in li-tuḡaṭṭiya l-‘arḍa l-mumtaddata

انسكبت أشعة الشمس المشرقة بهدوء لتغطي الأرض الممتدة

‘the rays of the rising sun poured down gently **to cover** the earth spread out [beneath]’

7.6.1.1 Idioms

- *jā’a* جاء and *‘atā li-* لـ أتى lit. ‘to come for’:

tumma jā’a R.P. li-yu‘akkida tarkīza l-ḥamlati l-intiḥābiyyati ‘alā l-qadāyā l-dāḥiliyyati

ثم جاء ر.ب. ليؤكد تركيز الحملة الانتخابية على القضايا الداخلية

‘then R. P. **came to confirm** that the election campaign would concentrate on internal issues’

wa-jā'a ta'ādulu mūnākū 'alā mal'abihi ... li-yaj'alahu yatasāwā ma'a munāfisihi

وجاء تعادل موناكو على ملعبه (...) ليجعله يتساوى مع منافسه
'and Monaco's **home draw ... came to make it** level with its rival'

wa-'anna hādīhi l-jā'izata l-mamnūḥata mu'alḥḥaran ta'ū li-tu'azziza mawqī'a l-funduqi bi-'annahu ...

وأنّ هذه الجائزة الممنوحة مؤخرًا تأتي لتعزّز موقع الفندق بأنّه ...
'and that this award [which was] recently given **comes to strengthen** the position of the hotel as being' ...

- *ḥalā li-* لـ حلا lit. 'seemed sweet to':

kamā kāna yaḥlū li-R.Ḥ. 'an yuqaddima naḥsahu

كما كان يحلو لـ ر.ح. أن يقدم نفسه
'as R.H. **liked to** introduce himself', lit. 'as it used to please R.H. to introduce himself'

7.6.1.2 *lām al-juḥūd* (▷C3:82, not recognized as such by C (error in ▷C2:290) (see 4.3))

wa-mā kāna li-yatajāwaza ḍālika hādā l-'āma law-lā ta'tīru rtifā'i 'as 'āri l-naḥḥi

وما كان ليتجاوز ذلك هذا العام لولا تأثير ارتفاع أسعار النفط
'and **it would not have gone beyond** that this year had it not been for the effect of rising oil prices' (see 8.2.11 for *law-lā* لولا)

7.6.1.3 *li-'an* لأن (▷C3:82) 'so that'

For purpose; verb is dep. imperf.:

wa-qad ṣāḡahu min 'āmālihim wa-'ālāmihim li-'an yun'iṣa haykala l-rūḥi fa-yaḥḍarra wa-yazdahira

وقد صاغه من آمالهم و آلامهم لأنّ ينشئ هيكل الروح فيخضرّ ويزدهر
'they have formed it from their hopes and pains **so as to refresh** the framework of the soul so it will become green and blossom'

(see 7.4 causal *fa-* ف)

7.6.1.4 *li-'allā* لئلا 'lest', i.e. 'in order that not', from *li-'an lā* لأن لا (cf. 7.5.1.8):

li-'allā nansā لئلا ننسى 'lest we forget'

li-'allā yataḥawwala l-intiṣāru hazīmatan

لئلا يتحوّل الانتصار هزيمة
'so that the victory will **not** turn into a defeat'

7.6.1.5 *li-* + verbal noun alternative (▷C2:289) (see 2.6.10)

For purpose or reason:

li-munāqashaṭi l-qaḍiyyati l-filisṭīniyyati

لمناقشة القضية الفلسطينية

‘for discussion of the Palestinian issue’, i.e. ‘to discuss’

li-ta’sīsi lajnatin ‘ulyā

لتأسيس لجنة عليا

‘in order to form a supreme committee’

7.6.2 *kay* كي (▷C3:309) also *li-kay* لكي ‘in order to’

The particle *kay* كي ‘so that’ expresses a motive or reason and indicates the intention of the agent in the same way as the particle *li-* لـ ‘for’ (cf. also *li-’an* لأن ‘for that’). *kay* كي may occur by itself or with *li-* لـ, i.e. *li-kay* لكي. The verb after both *kay* كي and *li-kay* لكي is in dep. imperf. form.

Positive sense:

uḥrujī ma ‘ī ‘ilā l-nāsi li-kay yaraw ‘ayya mut‘atin ‘a ‘īšū

اخرجني معي إلى الناس لكي يروا أي متعة أعيش

‘come out [fem. sing.] with me to the people so that they can see what a pleasure I am experiencing’

(see 3.8.2 on agreement with *nās* ناس ‘people’)

wa-bi-l-rağmi min muḥāwālātī l-jabbārati li-kay ‘ansāki

وبالرغم من محاولاتي الجبارة لكي أنساك

‘and in spite of my enormous efforts to forget you’

li-kay tal‘aba dawran ‘asāsiyyan

لكي تلعب دورا أساسيا

‘in order to play a fundamental role’

kay yuhājimanā

كي يهاجمنا

‘in order to attack us’

The following example suggests the emergence of a calque style (cf. *jā’a li-* جاء لـ above):

li-’anna l-waḡta qad ḥāna li-kay tušārika l-wilāyātu l-muttaḥidatu

bi-fā ‘iliyyatin

لأن الوقت قد حان لكي تشارك الولايات المتحدة بفاعلية

‘because the time has come for [lit. “in order that”] the United States to participate effectively’

Neg. sense *kay-lā* كَيْلَا, *li-kay-lā* لِكَيْلَا 'lest', 'in order that not' (▷C3:309) (see also 4.2.1). Verb is always in the dep. imperf.:

li-kay-lā tatasarraba 'ilā 'aswāqi l-'ağdiyyati

لكيلا تتسرّب إلى أسواق الأغذية

'lest they infiltrate the food markets'

kay-mā كَيْمَا (and *li-kay-mā* لِكَيْمَا) 'in order to' (see 5.6.3) (▷C3:310) takes indep. imperf. form (although in CA dep. imperf. form was possible with 'an أن):

'ammā ḥamāda l-ṣaḡīru fa-qad ḍahaba 'ilā jaddatihi kay-mā yajidu 'indahā ba'ḍa l-ḥubbi llaḍi yaftaḥiduhu ladā 'abawayhi

أما حمادة الصغير فقد ذهب إلى جدته كيما يجد عندها بعض الحب الذي يفتقده لدى أبويه

'as for young Hamada he went to his grandmother **in order to** find with her some of the love he missed with his parents'

7.6.3 *lammā* لَمَّا 'when' 'since' (cf. 7.6.4 *id* إِذ) (▷C3:307)

lammā لَمَّا had a temporal and causal meaning in CA. These senses are both still found, but less commonly, particularly in the temporal sense for which 'indamā عندما 'when' (see 5.9.8) is used more frequently.

Temporal adverbial, with two perf. verbs where the validity of the second verb is wholly dependent upon the first:

lammā hazzahu wajada l-rajula mayyitan

لَمَّا هزّه وجد الرجل ميتاً

'when he shook him he found the man [to be] dead'

(see *wajada* وجد in 3.11.2.3)

wa-lammā qtarabat minhu ra'athu bi-dawrihā fa-btasamat

ولَمَّا اقتربت منه رأته بدورها فابتسمت

'and **when** she drew near to him she saw him in her turn, so she smiled'

(see 6.3.1 on the force of *fa*-ف in the second sentence)

lammā kāna yawmu fathī makkata, 'amara l-nabiyyu ...

لَمَّا كان يوم فتح مكة أمر النبي ...

'when it was the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet commanded ...'

(note absolute *kāna* كان here, see 3.16.1)

wa-lammā 'aṣ'arahā 'annahu yuḥibbuhā wa-yarḡabu fī l-taḥadduṭi 'ilayhā li-dālika l-sababi staḡrabat

ولَمَّا أشعرها أنّه يحبّها ويرغب في التحدّث إليها لذلك السبب استغربت

'and **when** he informed her that he loved her and wanted to talk to her for this reason she found [it] strange'

Causal in the sense of ‘since’ (i.e., ‘owing to the fact that’) (▷C3:308), often with *fa-qad* فـقـد (3.10.4) at head of main clause, here translated as ‘so’ for convenience:

wa-lammā lam yakun hunāka dalīlun ‘alā tajassusihi fa-qad ‘afrajū ‘anhu

ولما لم يكن هناك دليل على تجسسـه فقد أفرجوا عنه

‘and **since** there was no evidence of his spying [so] they released him’

wa-lammā kāna sababu ‘i jābi wa-mayli badriyya li-fayṣal majhūlan fa-qad

taḥayyara wa-ta ‘ajjaba zumalā ‘uhā wa-ma ‘arīfuhā min dālika l- ‘amri

ولما كان سبب إعجاب وميل بدرية لفيصل مجهولا فقد تحير وتعجب زملاؤها ومعارفها من ذلك الأمر

‘and **since** the reason for Badriyya’s being enamoured with Faysal and her inclination towards him was unknown [so] her colleagues and acquaintances were confused and surprised at it’

But it is also often unmarked:

lammā kānat lī ba ‘ḍu l-ṣilāti bi- ‘ā ‘ilatihā kuntu ‘ata ‘ajjabu li-māḍā lam tatazawwaj

لما كانت لي بعض الصلات بعائلتها كنت أتعجب لماذا لم تتزوج

‘**since** I had certain connections with her family [0] I used to wonder why she had not got married’

(see 10.18 for indirect questions, and 3.8.4 for agreement problems with *ba ‘ḍ* بعض)

lammā lam yakun ladayya mā ‘aqūluhu raḥḥabtu bi-da ‘wati laylā li-l-la ‘bi

لما لم يكن لدي ما أقوله رحبت بدعوة ليلي للعب

‘**since** I did not have anything to say [0] I welcomed Layla’s invitation to play’

7.6.3.1 *lammā ‘an* أن ‘when [that]’ (▷C3:308)

The addition of ‘*an* أن ‘that’ (+ perfect) does not appear to change the meaning:

wa-hāwala ‘an yaṣna ‘a ma ‘ī hāḍā l-ṣanī ‘a lammā ‘an qaddamtu ‘ilā lajnati l-ta ‘līfi ... ‘uṣūla kitābī

وحاول أن يصنع معي هذا الصنيع لما أن قدمت إلى لجنة التأليف ... أصول كتابي

‘and he tried this trick on with me **when** I presented to the publication committee ... the foundations of my book’ (see paronomasia 11.7.10)

7.6.3.2 *lammā* ل as ‘not yet’ (see also 4.2.4 and negative circ. quals above)

The syntax associated with this construction is very different from the affirmative *lammā* ل above. It has been almost entirely replaced by *lam...ba ‘ḍu* لم...بعد ‘not...yet’, see 4.2.3.

When the main action or event has not yet taken place, the verb is apocopated:

lā yazālu yaḍkuru ḥīnamā ntaza 'ūhu min 'ummihi wa-lammā yabluḡ-i
l-ḥāmisata min 'umrihi

لا يزال يذكر حينما انتزعوه من أمه ولما يبلغ الخامسة من عمره

'he can still recall when they snatched him away from his mother, **he not yet having reached** five years old'

Note that in this situation apoc. verbs (and indeed all verbs ending in an unvoiced consonant) take *-i* as their epenthetic vowel in juncture, namely, *yabluḡ[0]* يبلغ *+i*, probably to avoid confusion with the mood inflections *-u* and *-a*, cf. 1.9.1 for paradigms.

7.6.4 'id 'since', 'when' (▷C3:284)

'id 'is an old deictic deriving from the obsolete noun 'id 'time'. It now conveys either the sense of 'when' (see 2.5.3 adverbial compounds) or 'lo' (see 3.31.2).

- Introducing temporal adverbial clauses with the sense of 'when', denoting the past:

... raḡma taraddudihi fī l-bidāyati bi-ša'ni ḥarbi l-ḥalīji 'id kāna yu'ayyidu
 stimrāra farḡi l-'uqūbāti.

... رغم تردده في البداية بشأن حرب الخليج إذ كان يؤيد استمرار فرض العقوبات

... 'despite his hesitation at the beginning of the Gulf War, **when** he supported the continued imposition of sanctions'

Causal i.e., 'since' (▷C3:287). It may precede either a verbal or nominal sentence:

dālika l-mašrū'u lam yastamirra 'id yabdu 'anna l-ḥukūmata l-birīṭāniyyata
 qad šarafat-i l-naḡara 'anhu

ذلك المشروع لم يستمر إذ يبدو أن الحكومة البريطانية قد صرفت النظر عنه

'that project did not continue **as it** seems that the British government turned its attention away from it'

'illā 'annahu waqafa mutaraddidan baḡtatan 'id 'adraka l-laḡzata faqaṭ
 'annahu bi-dūni 'unwānin

إلا أنه وقف مترددا بغتة إذ أدرك اللحظة فقط أنه بدون عنوان

'but he stood perplexed suddenly **when** he realized at that instant only that [the corpse] did not have a label'

lā nunkiru 'anna hadaḡa rajulī l-'a'mālī huwa taḡqīqu l-ribḡi 'id 'annahu lā
 ya'malu ka-jīhatin ḡayriyyatin

لا ننكر أن هدف رجل الأعمال هو تحقيق الربح إذ أنه لا يعمل كجهة خيرية

'we do not deny that the businessman's aim is to make a profit, **since** he does not act as a charitable agency'

(see 3.2.2 for 'anna أَنْ 'that'; cf. li- 'anna لَأَنْ /ḥaytu 'anna حيث أَنْ)

The 'id إِذ clause may also precede the main clause:

wa-'*id* taqtaribu l-kuwaytu min-a l-'āmi 2001 li-tutawwaja 'āṣimatan
taqāfiyyatan fa-'innahā turakkizu juhdaḥā fī ṭalātati 'ahdāfin

وإذ تقترب الكويت من العام ٢٠٠١ لتتوج عاصمة ثقافية فإنها تركّز جهودها في ثلاثة أهداف

'and **since** Kuwait is on the verge of being crowned a cultural capital from 2001 it is concentrating its efforts on three objectives'

- Categorical negative sentences after 'id إِذ (▷C3:289) (see 4.1.2)

'*id lā qudrata lī 'alā 'an 'astariḥa ka-mā ya'mura l-ṭabība*

إذ لا قدرة لي على أن أستريح كما يأمر الطبيب

'because I am unable to rest as the doctor orders'

- At beginning of compound sentence, 'for' (▷C3:289)

'*id law jalasta ma'ahā 'alā mā'idatin wāḥidatin la-mā ḥadaṭa ṣay'un min dālika*

إذ لو جلست معها على مائدة واحدة لما حدث شيء من ذلك

'for if you had sat with her at the same table [lit. "at one table"] none of this would have happened' (see also 8.2.1)

7.6.5 'idā إِذَا 'when' (▷C3:291)

(For 'idā إِذَا of surprise (▷C3:292) 3.31, 8.3)

Like 'id إِذ 'when', 'idā إِذَا 'when' also derives from the obsolete noun 'id إِذ meaning 'time' (as does adverbial 'idan إِذَا 'in that case', 2.5.6)

Although the function of 'idā إِذَا in MWA has moved from temporal to conditional, examples of its purely temporal narrative function (▷C3:299) can still be found. 'idā إِذَا is normally followed by the perf.

Partly as a result of the conditional extension of 'idā إِذَا MWA has developed alternatives for purely temporal 'when':

'indamā عندما (see 5.9.8)

ḥīna(mā) حين(ما) (see 5.9.7)

waqta 'an وقت أن (see 7.5.1.10)

'idā إِذَا retains its original temporal sense in many contexts, however (8.3.11; see also 8.3.10):

min-a l-‘ābirīna ‘aqrībā’u yanzilūna ‘indanā ‘idā jā’ū min-a l-rīfi

من العابرين أقرباء ينزلون عندنا إذا جاءوا من الريف

‘among those passing through are relatives who stay with us **when** they come from the country’

wa-‘idā zara‘nā l-buḍūra l-mustawradata najiduhā lā tunāsibu l-turbata

وإذا زرنا البذور المستوردة نجدها لا تناسب التربة

‘and **when** we plant the imported seeds **we find them** unsuitable for the soil’

The occurrence of the main verb in indep. imperf. is not common (▷C3:301) (see 8.3.2).

7.6.5.1 Conditional meaning (▷C:302)

(See Chapter 8 for main treatment)

‘idā ḥaḍarat-i l-malā’ikatu dahabat-i l-ṣayāṭīnu

إذا حضرت الملائكة ذهبت الشياطين

‘if angels **come** devils **leave**’

7.6.5.2 ‘idā إذا of surprise, also for ‘id إذ ‘lo’ (see 3.31 for full treatment)

As sentence introducer:

fa-‘idā bihi yaḥuḍḍu l-naḥsa ‘alā ‘an taṣbuwa ‘ilayhā

فإذا به يحض النفس على أن تصبو إليها

‘so **there he was**, urging the soul to incline towards it’

fa-‘idā bihi samakatun ṣaḡīratun

فإذا به سمكة صغيرة

‘and **there it was**, a small fish’

7.6.6 ḥīna حين ‘when’ (▷C3:76)

(See also *ḥīna-mā* حينما ‘when’, lit. ‘at the time of’, 2.5.8.4 and 5.9.7; and 7.5.2.6 for *fi ḥini ‘anna* في حين أن ‘at the time when’)

ḥīna حين ‘when’ is a temporal adverbial annexed to verbal sentences (as 1st element of annexation) and may be followed by perf. or indep. imperf.:

ḥīna ‘aḡarra l-‘islāmu milkiyyata l-fardi l-mašrū‘ata li-l-māli fa-‘innahu

ḥamā tilka l-milkiyyata bi-tašrī‘ihī l-qānūniyyi

حين أقر الإسلام ملكية الفرد المشروعة للمال فإنه حمى تلك الملكية بتشريعه القانوني

‘**when** Islam declared the legal right of the individual to own wealth it defended that right of ownership by its legislation’

'inna l-'idānata takūnu min naṣībī l-nisā' i **hīna** yaqumna bi-tawratin
hādī'atin wa-'insāniyyatin fī sabīlī l-difā' i 'an huqūqihinna

إنّ الإدانة تكون من نصيب النساء حين يقمن بثورة هادئة و إنسانية في سبيل الدفاع عن
حقوقهن

'condemnation will be the lot of women **when** they carry out a peaceful and
humane revolution in the cause of defending their rights'

(see 3.16.3 on *kāna* كان 'be' supplying tense to equational sentence)

mā jarā lahu **hīna** rafaḍa l-insihaba bi-salāmin

ما جرى له حين رفض الانسحاب بسلام

'what happened to him **when** he refused to withdraw peacefully'

(cf. 1.12.4.2 on the indef. *bi-salāmin* بسلام 'some peace' here)

fī *hīni* حين *hīna* 'at the time of/that'. *hīna* 'time' may be preceded by a preposition (*fī* في 'in' or '*alā* على 'at') and either annexed to a verbal sentence:

fī **hīni** tarakū 'amalahum-i l-'asāsiyya

في حين تركوا عملهم الأساسي

'**when** they abandoned their basic task'

or followed by '*anna* أن 'that', often contrastive:

fī **hīni** '*anna* man taḥaddatū ...

في حين أن من تحدثوا

'**while** those that did speak (i.e., in contrast to those who did not) ...'

(see 5.4.1 on plural agreement with *man* من 'he who', 'those who')

fī **hīni** '*anna* l-'amra l-ḥasīma l-'awwala ... nātijun 'an-i l-ta'īri l-mubāširi
... fa'inna ...

في حين أن الأمر الحاسم الأول ... ناتج عن التأثير المباشر ... فإنّ ...

'**while** the first decisive issue ... is a result of the direct effect ..., then ...'

7.6.7 *hattā* حتى 'until' 'up to the point where', 'even'

In addition to its function as coordinating conjunction with the sense of 'even', and that of prepositional with the sense of 'until', 'as far as' (2.6.6, 6.11 and 2.19.12 cf. '*ilā* إلى 'to', 'till'), *hattā* حتى also introduces sub. dep. clauses.

7.6.7.1 'until', with perf. (▷ C3:84; also C3:86)

As a temporal *hattā* حتى 'until' may introduce a clause that is merely the effect or result of the main verb, without any implication of intention on the part of the

agent. In this case *hattā* حَتَّى may be followed by the verb in either the perf. or the indep. imperf., although the former is more common:

wa-zalla kullu wāḥidin minhumā yuzāyidu ‘alā l-’āḥari ḥattā waṣala si‘ru l-masraḥi ‘ila (25) ‘alfa junayhin

وظلَّ كلُّ واحدٍ منهما يزايد على الآخر حَتَّى وصل سعر المسرح إلى ٢٥ ألف جنيه
'and each kept on outbidding the other **until** the price of the theatre reached 25 thousand Egyptian pounds'

(see 3.17.14 on *zalla* ظَلَّ 'to remain', i.e. persist)

lam ‘akun ‘udriku l-ma‘nā l-‘amīqa li-hāḍihi l-‘ibārati ḥattā marartu ḥilāla l-‘āmi l-munṣarimi bi-tajāriba marīratin

لم أكن أدرك المعنى العميق لهذه العبارة حَتَّى مررت خلال العام المنصرم بتجارب مريرة
'I did not realize the deep meaning of this expression **until** during the past year I went through some bitter experiences'

ḥattā ‘aṣbaḥa hādā l-rajulu l-‘abqariyyu yaskunu kulla baytin miṣriyyin

حَتَّى أصبح هذا الرجل العبقرى يسكن كلَّ بيت مصري
'**until** this genius of a man came to inhabit every Egyptian house'

(see 3.17.3 on *aṣbaḥa* أصبح 'to become', 'to start')

7.6.7.2 'so that' (▷C3:85)

May also convey a sense of 'purpose', expressing the intention of the agent, with the sense of 'to the point that' (cf. *li-* لـ / *kay* كَي / *li-kay* لَكَي 'in order to', 7.6.1, 7.6.2 above). The following verb is in the dep. imperf.:

ḥattā yatimma l-ta‘āmulu ma‘ahā

حَتَّى يتمَّ التعامل معها
'so that cooperation can be effected with them'

(see 3.23.1 on *yatimma* يتمَّ 'is performed', 'is carried out')

ḥattā yatajannaba bi-qadri l-‘imkāni l-ḥawḍa fī tafṣilāti l-qaḍāyā l-iqtisādiyyati

حَتَّى يتجنَّب بقدر الإمكان الخوض في تفصيلات القضايا الاقتصادية
'so that he can avoid as much as possible going into the economic details of the cases'

ḥattā yaḥṣula ‘alā ma‘āšin

حَتَّى يحصل على معاش
'in order to obtain a livelihood'

Note also the following examples that seem to be a rhetorical extension of the above sense, i.e., 'to such an extent that':

lastu ɖa 'ifan 'aw mahzūzan ḥattā 'atruka l-furṣata li-l-lā 'ibi kay yaḥtalifa ma'ī

لست ضعيفا أو مهزوزا حتى أترك الفرصة للاعب كي يختلف معي
'I am not [so] weak or unsure of myself **to** leave the player a chance to disagree with me'

muṭālibīna l-'idarata l-'amrīkiyyata bi-l-tadaḥḥuli ḥattā yaḥtarima nitinyāhū ttifāqa wāy blāntayšan

مطالبين الإدارة الأمريكية بالتدخل حتى يحترم نتيهاو اتفاق واي بلانتيشن
'asking that the American administration intervene **until** Netanyahu respects the Wye Plantation agreement'

(cf. 1.2.6.1 on transliteration of foreign words)

7.6.7.3 Negative *ḥattā lā* حتى لا (▷C3:86) 'so that not'

yanāmūna fī l-ṭarīqi wa-l-ṣaqī 'i ḥattā lā yaḍī 'a dawruhum

ينامون في الطريق و الصقيع حتى لا يضيع دورهم
'they sleep in the street and in the cold **so that** their turn will **not** be lost'

'an tatimma bi-l-'alani ḥattā lā takūna ḍidda maṣālihi man waṣaftuhum bi-du'āti l-taḥḍīti

أن تتمّ بالعلن حتى لا تكون ضدّ مصالح من وصفتهم بدعاة التحديث
'to be carried out in public **so that** they should **not** be against the interests of those I have described as the advocates of modernization'

ḥattā lā yakūna naqṣun fī 'ayyi taḥaṣṣuṣin min-a l-taḥaṣṣuṣāti

حتى لا يكون نقص في أي تخصص من التخصصات
'**so that** there should be **no** deficiency in any specialization at all'

(see 1.12.4.1 on periphrastic indef. construction here)

7.6.7.4 With *la-qad* لقد + perfect (▷C3:90; see 3.10.4 on *qad* قد)

fa-l-ḥayātu l-mihniyyatu li-l-mu'allimi ḡayru maqbūlatin ḥattā la-qad 'aṣbaḥa min-a l-ṣa'bi 'iḡrā'u man yaḥṣulūna

فالحياة المهنية للمعلم غير مقبولة حتى لقد أصبح من الصعب إغراء من يحصلون
'the job [lit. professional life] of a teacher is unacceptable **so much so that** it has become difficult to entice those who achieve'

7.6.7.5 With *'idā* إذا in sense of 'until when'

wa-taḥallu l-ḥafāfiṣu mu'allaqatan fī l-kuḥūfi l-muḥlimati ḥattā 'idā ḥalla l-ḥalāmu nṭalaqat bi-l-'ālafi tataḡaddā 'alā ḥuqūli l-fākihati

وتظل الخفافيش معلقة في الكهوف حتى إذا حل الظلام انطلقت بالآلاف تتغذى على حقول الفاكهة

'and the bats remain hanging in the caves **until when** dark descends they emerge in their thousands to feed on the fruit fields'

7.6.7.6 *ḥattā 'idā mā* حتى إذا ما (C3:92) 'until'

wa-yaẓallu l-'amru 'alā ḥādīhi l-ṣūratī ḥattā 'idā mā ntaqalnā 'ilā l-tawaqqu 'āti l-tarbawiyati fa-'inna mā yabruzu fī ḥādā l-majālī ...

ويظل الأمر على هذه الصورة حتى إذا ما انتقلنا إلى التوقعات التربوية فإن ما يبرز في هذا المجال ...

'the matter remains like this **until** we return to the educational expectations, then what stands out in this sphere (is) ...'

7.6.7.7 *Time idioms with ḥattā* حتى, 'scarcely', 'hardly'

- *mā 'in ... ḥattā ...* حتى ... ما إن ... (C3:87–8) (correlative subordinators) (see neg. *mā* 4.1.1) 'no sooner ... than ...'

The fossilized double neg. *mā 'in* ما إن 'not not' followed by the verb in perf. or indep. imperf. is used in conjunction with *ḥattā* حتى 'until' which may also be followed by either the perf. or dep. imperf.:

mā 'in waṣalat maktabahā ḥattā raḥa 'at-i l-samā 'ata

ما إن وصلت مكتبها حتى رفعت السماعة

'as soon as she reached her office she lifted up the receiver'

mā 'in jalasā ḥattā rāḥa fī nawbatī bukā 'in histīriyyatin

ما إن جلسا حتى راح في نوبة بكاء هستيرية

'hardly had they both sat down **when** he went into a fit of hysterical weeping'

mā 'in taḥuṭṭu l-ṭā 'iratu 'alā 'ārḍi bayrūta ḥattā yulhiba l-ṣawqu 'akuffahum bi-l-taṣfīqi

ما إن تحط الطائرة على أرض بيروت حتى يلهب الشوق أكفهم بالتصفيق

'no sooner does the plane put down in Beirut **than** the longing sets their hands clapping'

- Note also the variant *mā 'in ... 'illā wa ...* إلا و ... (see 9.4.6):

wa-mā 'in waṣaltu 'āḥira l-ḡurfati 'illā wa-wajadtū nafsī dūna 'an 'atawaqqa 'a anẓuru 'ilayhinna ...

وما إن وصلت آخر الغرفة إلا ووجدت نفسي دون أن أتوقع أنظر إليهن ...

'and **no sooner** had I reached the end of the room **than** I found myself unexpectedly looking at them ...'

- Also occurs with 'an أَنْ but is more likely to be a misprint than a grammatical variant (see 1.2.1.1)

mā 'an yamtadda l-šatmu 'ilā šayḥānata ḥattā tamtali'a 'aynāhu bi-l-dumū'i

ما أَنْ يمتدَّ الشتم إلى شيخانة حتَّى تمتلئ عيناه بالدموع
'as soon as the abuse extended to Shaykhana [then] his eyes would become filled with tears'

- lam yalbat* لم يلبث (3.17.12) or *lam yamḍi* لم يمض (3.22.6) ... ḥattā ... حتَّى ... (not in C) '... was not long before ...':

wa-lam yalbat-i l-'uṣfuru ṭawīlan ḥattā htadā 'ilā bābi l-qafaṣi

ولم يلبث العصفور طويلا حتَّى اهتدى إلى باب القفص
'and it was not long before the sparrow was able to make its way to the door of the cage ...' or 'the sparrow did not take long'

lam yakun yamḍi 'usbu'un ḥattā nḥaraṭa l-ḥayyu kulluhu fi ...

لم يكن يمضي أسبوع حتَّى انخرط الحيّ كلّ في ...
'not a week had passed before the whole quarter got involved in ...'

- The neg. verb *mā kāda* ما كاد 'to hardly do' and variants (*lam yakad* لم يكاد, *lā yakādu* لا يكاد) ... ḥattā ... حتَّى ... (▷C3:88) (see also *kāda* كاد 'to almost, nearly do', 3.21.3) 'hardly ... when ...'

The verb following *mā kāda* ما كاد and its variants is always in the indep. imperf. The verb following *ḥattā* حتَّى can be either perf. or indep. imperf.:

mā kāda yasīru bi-sayyāratihī biḍ'ata 'amtārin, ḥattā wajada l-ṭarīqa 'amāmahu masdūdan

ما كاد يسير بسيارته بضعة أمتار حتَّى وجد الطريق أمامه مسدودا
'he had hardly driven a few metres in his car before he found the road ahead of him blocked'

7.6.8 *muḍ* منذ and *mundu* منذ 'since' (▷C3:78), see preps in 2.6.13 and syndetic circ. quals above 7.3.2

The particle *mundu* منذ and its variant *muḍ* منذ, introduce subordinate clauses with the sense of 'since'. The particle is followed immediately by a verb in the perf. The subordinate clause normally follows the main clause:

7.6.8.1 With perfect verbs

wa-laffatnī l-ḥayratu mud tanāhā 'ilayya 'annahu yūjadu rajulun šarīfun fi baladikum

ولفّنتني الحيرة مذ تناهى إلي أنه يوجد رجل شريف في بلدكم
 ‘and confusion has surrounded me **ever since** it came to me that there exists a noble man in your country’

(see 3.18 for passive *yūjadu* يوجد ‘it is found’, i.e. ‘exists’)

faḍlan ‘an-i l-zuhdi lladī ḥaṣiyahu mud ṭaraqa bāba al-ṣayḥūḥati
 فضلا عن الزهد الذي حشيه مذ طرق باب الشيخوخة
 ‘not to mention the abstinence which had surrounded him **ever since** he knocked on the door of old age’ (see 2.6.13)

fa-l-mabnā mundu wujida lam yakun faqaṭ saddan
 فالبنى منذ وُجد لم يكن فقط سدًا
 ‘so the structure **ever since** it came into existence has not just been a dam’
‘innahā jarīmatun ta‘rifuhā l-baṣariyyatu mundu qāmat ‘alā wajhi l-‘arḍi
 إنها جريمة تعرفها البشرية منذ قامت على وجه الأرض
 ‘it is a crime which humanity has known **ever since** it stood on the face of the earth’

7.6.8.2 With ‘an أن ‘that’ (▷C3:79) (see ‘an أن with preps 7.5.1.10)

Following verb still in the perf.:

mundu ‘an-i staqarra ‘amrī
 منذ أن استقرّ أمري
 ‘**ever since** my situation stabilized’
mundu ‘an bada’a l-ṣaḥru l-karīmu
 منذ أن بدأ الشهر الكريم
 ‘**since** the holy month began’

7.6.9 ḥaytu حيث ‘where’, ‘since’, ‘as’, etc. (▷C3:279) (see 2.5.5)

Indeclinable adv. introducing an adverbial clause with a basic locative function, to which the numerous, extended meanings can be traced back. It often modifies a place or an act of movement mentioned in the main clause. It is followed by a perf. or indep. imperf.

7.6.9.1 ḥaytu حيث with verbs (▷C3:280) has two meanings

- ‘where’:

ḥaytu yaltaqī l-baḥru bi-l-samā’i
 حيث يلتقي البحر بالسماء
 ‘**where** the sea meets the sky’

rāḥū 'ilā ḥaytu tatasannā lahum luqmatu l-'ayši

راحوا إلى حيث تتسنى لهم لقمة العيش

'they went **where** a morsel of bread could be obtained'

wa-dahaba 'ilā ḥayyi šindaḡata ḥaytu wulida

وذهب إلى حيّ شندغة حيث ولد

'he went to the Shindagha quarter **where** he was born'

ḥaytu sāhama fī ta'sīsi 'adadin min-a l-šarikāti

حيث ساهم في تأسيس عدد من الشركات

'**where** he took part in the founding of a number of companies'

sayṭarat-i l-qadāyā l-dāḥiliyyatu 'alā l-munāẓarati l-tālīṭati ḥaytu lam

tuwajjah li-l-muraššaḡina l-tālātati 'as 'ilatun ḥāṣṣatun bi-l-siyāsati

l-ḥārijīyyati

سيطرت القضايا الداخلية على المناظرة الثالثة حيث لم توجه للمرشحين الثلاثة أسئلة خاصة بالسياسة الخارجية

'domestic issues dominated the third debate **where** no questions concerning foreign policy were directed at the three candidates'

- 'in that', 'insofar as', 'since':

lam yantabih-i l-'insānu 'ilā 'aḍrāri ḥaḍihi l-māddati ... 'illā ḥilāla

l-sanawāti l-'aṣarati l-'aḥīrati ḥaytu lam yakun ya'taqidu 'anna

l-diyuksīna yatarassabu fī jismi l-'insāni

لم ينتبه الإنسان إلى أضرار هذه المادة ... إلا خلال السنوات العشرة الأخيرة حيث لم يكن يعتقد أنّ الديوكسين يترسّب في جسم الإنسان

'people only became aware of the harm of this substance in the last ten years, **as** they did not believe that dioxin formed residues in the human body'

(see 'illā 9.1 and compound tenses in 3.10.6)

- 7.6.9.2** With noun-phrases (see 'anna 7.5.2) in which the clause following *ḥaytu 'anna* is normally an explanation for the previous clause (cf. *li-'anna* 'because' 7.5.2.10 and *'id 'anna* 'since' 7.6.4.2):

... ḥaytu 'anna jamī'a l-mudarrībina l-muḥtarifina ladayhim ta'āqudātun

... حيث أنّ جميع المدربين المحترفين لديهم تعاقدات

... 'since all the professional trainers have contracts', lit. '... trainers, they have contracts'

(see topicalization 3.3)

... *ḥaytu 'anna hunāka 'tiqādan bi-'annahu sa-yattaḥidu siyāsatan 'aktara nḥiyāzan li-*

... حيث أن هناك اعتقاداً بأنه سيتخذ سياسة أكثر انحيازاً لـ

... 'for there is a belief that he will adopt a more biased policy towards'

but subordinate clause can take initial position in the sentence:

wa-ḥaytu 'anna l-suluṭātu fi ṣan'a'a ... qad ḥaraṣat 'alā taṣfiyati l-'arāḍi l-yamaniyyati min 'ayyati 'anāšira 'irḥābiyyatin ... fa-'inna ...

وحيث أن السلطات في صنعاء ... قد حرصت على تصفية الأراضي اليمنية من أية ... عناصر إرهابية ... فإن

'and since the authorities in Sana'a ... have striven to cleanse Yemeni territory of any terrorist elements ..., then ...'

7.6.9.3 With noun as its subject (▷ C3:280)

ḥaytu حيث as adv. may be followed by a noun in elliptical equational sentences:

fa-tawajjaha l-rašīdu bi-ṣaḥṣihi 'ilā ḥaytu 'abū nuwās

فتوجه الرشيد بشخصه إلى حيث أبو نواس

'so Rashid went in person to **where** Abū Nuwās [was]'

balaḡnā klīflānd 'ahamma muduni wilāyati 'ūhāyū l-'amrīkiyyati ba'da dītrūyt ḥaytu maṣāni'u l-sayyārāti

بلغنا كليفلاند أهم مدن ولاية أوهايو الأمريكية بعد ديترويت حيث مصانع السيارات

'we reached Cleveland, the most important town in the American state of Ohio after Detroit **where** the car factories [are]'

mufāraqatī l-bayta ḥaytu 'usratī l-ṣaḡīratu wa-maktabatī wa-'awraqī

مفارقتي البيت حيث أسرتي الصغيرة و مكتبتي و أوراقي

'my leaving the house **where** my little family, my library and my papers [were]' (see 2.10.1 on dir. obj. of verbal nouns)

or even an indep. pron.:

waqaftu ṭawīlan ḥaytu 'anā

وقفت طويلاً حيث أنا

'I stood for a long time **where** I [was]'

qif ḥaytu 'anta

قف حيث أنت

'stop **where** you [are]!'

7.6.9.4 *min ḥaytu* من حيث (▷ C3:283)

ḥaytu حيث may also be preceded by the prep. *min* من and followed by a noun or indep. pron. with the sense of 'from the point of view of', 'in terms of':

min ḥaytu huwa 'insānun

من حيث هو أنسان

'insofar as he is a human being'

diyānatun min ḥaytu hiya

ديانة من حيث هي

'a religion as such'

min ḥaytu l-mabda'u

من حيث المبدأ

'in [terms of] principle'

min ḥaytu l-'aqīdatu

من حيث العقيدة

'as far as belief is concerned'

ka-dālika min ḥaytu zurūfu wa-šurūtu l-'amali

كذلك من حيث ظروف و شروط العمل

'likewise in terms of circumstances and conditions of employment'

(see binomial annexation 2.3.7)

7.6.9.5 *ḥaytu* حيث or *ḥaytu-mā* ما حيث with perf. meaning 'wherever'
(▷C3:281) (see *mā* ما in 5.6.3)

wa-lākinna ḥalla hādīhi l-muškilāti ḥaytu-mā kānat lā yumkinu 'an yatimma 'illā 'alā mustawān qawmiyyin

ولكن حل هذه المشكلات حيث ما كانت لا يمكن أن يتم إلا على مستوى قومي

'but solving these problems **wherever** they are can only be realized at the national level'

(see 9.1, *tamma* تم in 3.23.1, 'can' in 3.20.1)

7.6.9.6 *bi-ḥaytu* بحيث + verb 'inasmuch as', 'to the extent that'
(▷C3:284)

The prep. *bi-ḥaytu* بحيث followed by a verb indicates that the meaning of the subordinate clause is a result of the event of the main clause:

'injāzu l-marḥalati l-'ulā min-a l-kulliyyati bi-ḥaytu 'aṣbaḥat jāhizatan li-stiqbāli l-ṭalabati

إنجاز المرحلة الأولى من الكلية بحيث أصبحت جاهزة لاستقبال الطلبة

'the completion of stage one of the college **so that** it has become ready to receive students'

kāna l-ḥarru šadīdan bi-ḥaytu lam tanfa‘ ma‘ahu l-mihāffu

كان الحر شديدا بحيث لم تنفع معه المهاف

‘the heat was intense **such that** the fans did not help with it’

tansīqu l-qur‘āni l-karīmi bi-ḥaytu yuḥawwalu ‘ilā barāyil#

تنسيق القرآن الكريم بحيث يحوّل إلى برايل

‘arranging the Holy Qur’an **such that** it can be converted to Braille’

(cf. 1.2.6.1 on transliterations of foreign words)

7.7 COMPARATIVE SUBORDINATORS

For details of all these see *kamā* كما ‘as’, etc. in 5.9.9.

7.7.1 *ka-‘an* كَأَنَّ ‘such as, like’ (▷C3:144; see 5.9.9.6)

‘illā ‘annahā ‘arafat kayfa tuwājihuhā ka-‘an taqūla ...

... إلا أنها عرفت كيف تواجهها كأن تقول

‘however, she knew how to overcome them [namely crises] **such as** saying ...’ (see 7.5.2.11)

7.7.2 (*wa-*) *ka-‘anna* كَأَنَّ (و) ‘it is as if’ (▷C3:143; 5.9.9.4)

(See 7.3.2. under syndetic circ. quals)

al-nāsu šāmītūna wa-ka-‘anna ‘alā ru‘ūsihim-i l-ṭayra

الناس صامتون وكأن على رؤوسهم الطير

‘the people [were] silent **as if** there were birds [of ill-omen] over their heads’

la-ka-‘annahā bihi wa-qad ‘āda min ḡaybatihī li-yaqīfa bi-jānibihā fī miḥnatihā

لأنها به وقد عاد من غيبته ليقف بجانبها في محنتها

‘**it was as though she was** there with him, his having returned from his absence to stand beside her in her crisis’ lit.

(see emphatic *la-* ل 1.6.7 and syndetic circ. quals with *qad* قد 7.3.2)

7.7.3 *kamā* كما ‘just as, same as’ and related structures (▷C3:236; 5.9.9)

7.7.3.1 *kamā* كما ‘just as’ (5.9.9.1)

kamā ḥaḍara marāsima l-iftitāḥi ‘adadun min-a l-ṣuyūḥi

كما حضر مراسم الافتتاح عدد من الشيوخ
‘just as a number of sheikhs attended the opening ceremonies’

7.7.3.2 *kamā* ‘anna كما أن ‘just as [the fact] that’ (5.9.9.3)

kamā ‘anna ta ‘zīza l-‘alāqāti l-tijāriyyati l-bayniyyati bayna l-duwali
l-‘islāmiyyati yaḥtāju ‘ilā fathī ‘timādātīn ḥāṣṣatīn

كما أن تعزيز العلاقات التجارية البينية بين الدول الإسلامية يحتاج إلى فتح اعتمادات خاصة
‘just as the strengthening of commercial interrelations between the Islamic states needs the introduction of special funds’

7.7.3.3 *kamā law* كما لو ‘as if’ (▷C3:324; 5.9.9.7, and cf. 8.2)

fa-qad-i nḥarajat kurbatī kamā law ḥadaṭat mu‘jizatun

فقد انفرجت كربتي كما لو حدثت معجزة
‘and my grief dispelled as if a miracle had happened’

7.8 ANNEXATION OF TEMPORAL AND LOCATIVE ADVERBS TO SENTENCES

Adverbs of time can be annexed to sentences, e.g., *ḥīna* حين ‘at the time [that]’ (see also 7.6.6), *yawma* يوم ‘on the day [that]’ (see 2.4.3.1), and also a restricted number of adverbs of place, e.g., *ḥaytu* حيث ‘where’ (see 7.6.9.1):

min yawmi ‘arafahā wa-huwa yaḥyā ḥayātan ‘uḥrā

من يوم عرفها وهو يحيا حياة أخرى
‘from the day he got to know her he was living a different life’ lit. ‘from the day of he got to know her’

and note the redundant *wa-* و ‘and’, probably by analogy with *mundu ... wa ...* منذ ... و ‘since’, see 6.2.7

‘a-ḥādā kullu mā ḥadaṭa yawma qutila l-za‘īmu?

أهذا كل ما حدث يوم قتل الزعيم؟
‘is this all that happened the day the leader was killed?’

8 CONDITIONALS

8.0 GENERAL CONDITIONAL SYNTAX

The two main conditional particles of CA are *'in* إِنْ 'if' and *law* لَوْ 'if only', each with a different function. In addition, the particle *'idā* إِذَا 'when' (past or future), although technically a temporal adverbial 'at the time of', precedes a clause often containing a conditional sense. *Law* لَوْ can be followed by a verb or nominal structure; and *'in* إِنْ and *'idā* إِذَا are generally, though not exclusively, followed by a verb. The verb in the cond. clause after *law* لَوْ and *'idā* إِذَا must be in the perf., whilst *'in* إِنْ may be followed by the perf. or the apoc. The fundamental functional difference between the two main conditional particles and *'idā* إِذَا is that *'idā* إِذَا sentences are generally concerned about the time when the main event or action of the verb occurs, not its being the consequence of another event. Indefinite conditional particles (see 8.5) may, like *'in* إِنْ conditionals, be followed by either the perf. or the apoc.

It is worth noting that certain historical changes appear to have taken place in the function of these particles. Although still common in MWA at the higher literary level, *'in* إِنْ is now being replaced more and more by *'idā* إِذَا and *law* لَوْ, although the use of *law* لَوْ tends to be reserved now for wishes and hypotheticals. In all examples in 8.3 *'idā* إِذَا is clearly the preferred particle over *'in* إِنْ in MWA even though in both CA and recent modern literary Arabic (▷C3:316) the use of *'in* إِنْ was predominant.

The trend for *'in* إِنْ 'if' to be replaced by *law* لَوْ 'if' and *'idā* إِذَا 'when', 'if' is likely to lead to the disappearance of *'in* إِنْ from MWA except in conservative (e.g. religious) contexts and two fossilized structures, (1) the case where the result clause does not contain a conditional verb (8.1.2) and (2) the incomplete conditional *wa-'in* وَإِنْ 'even if', 'although' (8.1.12).

The following table illustrates the distribution of the temporal and conditional particles in CA and MWA, with shaded areas representing the area covered by *'idā* إِذَا and dotted lines along the original semantic boundaries:

Three features of the CA and MWA systems are contrasted here: (1) that the relatively limited dual functions of CA *'idā* إِذَا as both 'when' and 'if' have now been generalized completely; (2) that CA *law* لَوْ 'if (unreal)' has expanded to cover some of the functions of *'in* إِنْ 'if (real)' as the latter falls increasingly into disuse and (3) that CA *lammā* لَمَّا 'when' (see 7.6.3) has effectively been replaced by MWA *'indamā* عِنْدَمَا (see 5.9.8) for narrative and historical 'when'.

As for *'idā mā* إِذَا مَا 'whenever', it retains its CA function in MWA as an optional and subjective variant of *'idā* إِذَا in the sense of 'whenever' (see 8.3.13).

	Temporal historical	Temporal habitual	Temporal durative	Conditional real (8.1)	Conditional unreal (8.2)
CA	<i>lammā</i> لَمَّا 'when'	<i>'idā mā</i> إِذَا مَا 'whenever'	<i>'idā</i> إِذَا 'when', 'if'	<i>'in</i> إِنْ 'if'	<i>law</i> لَوْ 'if'
MWA	<i>'indamā</i> عندما 'when'	<i>'idā mā</i> إِذَا مَا 'whenever'	<i>'idā</i> إِذَا 'when', 'if'		<i>law</i> لَوْ 'if'

In addition to these three particles there is a group of particles/compound particles (adverbs, relatives, etc.) introducing indefinite conditional constructions. These are dealt with in 8.5.

In MWA the traditional conditional sentence is made up of a condition (the protasis) *fi 'l al-šarṭ* فعل الشرط or *šarṭ* شرط (lit. '[verb of the] condition') and a result (the apodosis) *jawāb* جواب or *jazā'* جزاء (lit. 'answer' or 'requital'). It is a general principle that both protasis and apodosis are verbal sentences – made up normally of either perf. + perf. or apoc. + apoc. (although a combination of these is possible in theory) – and that the apodosis is genuinely the logical consequence of the occurrence of the protasis:

'in šā'at tamma l-wa'du

إن شاءت تمّ الوعد

'if **it** (namely, God's will, fem.) **wills**, then the promise **will be carried out**'

There is, however, some flexibility in this connection. Exceptions to the rule are of two kinds, either where the apodosis is not the logical consequence of the protasis and is instead an imperative, or marked future or perf. verb:

'in raja'a 'ilā 'tirāfihi fa-'mur bi-ḥabsihi

إن رجع الى اعترافه فأمر بحبسه

'if **he repeats** his confession **then order** his arrest'

or where the apodosis is not a verbal sentence at all:

wa-'in lam yatamakkanū fa-'innahum yatawahhamūna

و إن لم يتمكنوا فإنهم يتوهمون

'and **if they cannot [then]** **they** use their imagination'

'in dahabti 'ilā 'ummiki fa-'anti ṭāliqun

إن ذهبت إلى أمك فأنت طالق

'if you go to your mother then you are divorced'

In those cases the apodosis is invariably introduced by *fa-* ف (cf. resumptive *fa-* ف 11.1; C3:361–9 for a list of the contexts and 8.1.2 for detailed treatment).

In addition to some flexibility in the syntax of modern conditional sentences there are genuine problems of syntactic instability and conspicuous calque structures that are reflected in conditional-type sentences which do not follow the traditional grammatical rules very closely.

8.1 'in إن 'if' (▷C3:312)

Broad outline of tenses (▷C3:313; 314): the particle *'in* إن 'if' introduces the condition for a certain outcome. The tense structure is by no means stable since the symmetrical patterns of CA – i.e., perf. + perf. or apoc. + apoc., or combinations of these two variables – are not always followed. The apodosis of an *'in* إن type conditional clause seems as likely to contain a particle *fa-* ف at its head as the *'idā* إذا type clauses (see 8.1.2).

8.1.1 Regular classical model

Regular classical model perf.+ perf. and apoc. + apoc., also combinations (for example, of energetic form at head of apod., see 3.26.2).

Regular CA structures are not that common in MWA, and very few examples were found during the course of this study. The symmetrical structures of perf. + perf., and especially apoc. + apoc., occur in proverbs and other formulaic expressions, but are occasionally found in other texts:

'in tuḡliq sam'ahā 'an tartaratihi l-yawmiyyati yanṣaliḥ-i l-ḥālu ba'ḍa l-ṣay'i baynahumā

إن تغلق سمعها عن ثرثرتها اليومية ينصلح الحال بعض الشيء بينهما

'if she shuts herself off [lit. "closes her hearing"] to his daily gossiping things will improve somewhat between them'

wa-'in qabilū miṭla hāḍihi l-ittifāqiyyati mazzaqathum-i l-jamāhīru fī l-ṣāri'i

وإن قبلوا مثل هذه الاتفاقية مَرَقَتَهُم الجماهير في الشارع

'and if they accept such agreements the crowds in the streets will tear them apart'

Combinations of apoc. + perf. or vice versa are also rare:

'in 'uḡliqa bābu l-ḡurfati yarta'id-i l-saqfu wa-yubriq

إن أغلق باب الغرفة يرتعد السقف ويبرق

'if the door of the room is closed the ceiling shakes and glitters'

8.1.2 Apodosis as non-logical result of protasis

There are many conditional sentences in which the apod. is not the logical result of the conditional clause (see also 8.3.6 with *fa-* ف where some parallelism between the two particles is evident). In order to render this, MWA makes frequent use of various kinds of verbal sentences in the apod., beginning with *fa-* ف (▷C3:315, 362–8, 370), or indeed non-verbal sentences (▷C3:361–4). The inclusion of the particle *fa-* ف in this position permits greater syntactic flexibility – i.e., the *fa-* ف may be followed by an imperative, a complementizer, a future particle (*sa-* س / *sawfa-* سوف), an interrog. particle, an apoc., etc. The particle *fa-* ف also emphasizes in this context the time or sequential aspect of the apod. clause – which often contains a rhetorical element – in relation to the protasis clause (see *fa-* ف in 11.1 and also topic comment in 3.3 since the apod. was dealt with by some of the medieval Arab grammarians as a type of ‘comment’).

- Verbal apod. containing *fa-* ف:

'in kāna hunāka man yarā fī ḥadīṭi mubālaḡatan 'aw tašā'uman 'aw sū'a ḡannin fa-l-yuqārin bayna mā yuwazza'u min kutubi l-ša'wadwati wa-l-sihri ... wa-mā yuwazza'u min kutubi Muḥammad 'Abduh

إن كان هناك من يرى في حديثي مبالغة أو تشاؤما أو سوء ظن فليقارن بين ما يؤرّع من كتب الشعوذة والسحر... وما يؤرّع من كتب محمد عبده

‘if there is anyone who sees any exaggeration, pessimism or ill-will in what I am saying, [then] let him compare the books of sorcery and magic ... with the books of Muhammad ‘Abduh that are now being distributed’ (see 3.24.2 on indirect imperatives)

wa-'in wujida fa-yarji '[u] 'ilā l-miyāhi faqat

وإن وُجد فيرجع إلى المياه فقط

‘and if it does exist [then] it relates to [irrigation] waters only’

'in kāna laka sirrun fa-'af šihi

إن كان لك سرّ فأفشه

‘if you have a secret, [then] reveal it’ (cf. direct imperative in 3.24.1)

- Non-verbal apod.:

fa-'in lam takun-i l-ru'yā laka fa-li-man takūnu?

فإن لم تكن الرؤيا لك فلمن تكون؟

‘and if the vision is not yours, [then] whose then can it be?’

wa-'in-i stahkamāt-i l-'awlamatu fa-l-kullu 'abidun ladā l-šarikāti 'abra l-qārriyyati

وإن استحكمت العولة فالكل عبيد لدى الشركات عبر القارية

‘and if globalization takes control [then] all are slaves of the intercontinental companies’ (see *kull* كل 2.9.1.1)

8.1.3 Reinforcement of protasis

The protasis may also be reinforced with *la-* لـ (▷C3:315, 333, 369–70; 1.6.7) generally preceded by *wa-* و or *fa-* ف:

fa-la-'in taḡayyara l-makānu bayna l-'irāqi wa-lubnāna fa-ṭabī'atu l-ṣirā'i wāḥidatun lam tataḡayyar

فلئن تغيّر المكان بين العراق ولبنان فطبيعة الصراع واحدة لم تتغيّر

‘so **if** the place between Iraq and Lebanon changes, the nature of the dispute is still the same and has not changed’

wa-la-'in-i staḥdama 'falāsifatu' l-ḥadāṭati l-'arabu 'aṣkāran falsafīyyatan fa-li-l-wuṣūli 'ilā ḥulāṣātin muḥaddadatin

ولئن استخدم ‘فلاسفة’ الحداثة العرب أفكارا فلسفية فللوصول الى خلاصات محدّدة

‘and **if** the Arab ‘philosophers’ of modernism use philosophical ideas [then] it is in order to reach clearly defined conclusions’

8.1.4 ‘*in*’ إن ‘*if*’ with ‘*illā*’ إلا ‘unless’ in apodosis

The apod. of a conditional sentence beginning with ‘*in*’ إن may begin with the discourse marker ‘*illā*’ إلا ‘nevertheless’. In such examples the condition/result relationship between the two clauses is purely rhetorical (see also 7.5.2.11, and 8.3.3 with ‘*idā*’ إذا):

wa-hiya 'in kānat ḥaqīqīyyatan fī l-māḍi 'illā 'annahā lam ta'ud ka-dālika

وهي إن كانت حقيقية في الماضي إلا أنها لم تعد كذلك

‘and **if** it was real in the past, [nonetheless] it is no longer so’ (see 3.21.1.1 on *lam ta'ud* لم تعد; cf. also ‘*illā*’ إلا and ‘*anna*’ أن and *lākin* لكن at head of apod. of ‘*idā*’ إذا clauses, 8.3.3)

wa-'in kāna šaklu l-'ajhizati lā yuwaḍḍiḥu maḍmūnahā l-ḥaqīqīyya 'illā 'annahu yuṣīru 'iṣāratan wāḍiḥatan 'ilā l-maqṣūdi min kulli jihāzin

وإن كان شكل الأجهزة لا يوضّح مضمونها الحقيقي إلا أنه يشير إشارة واضحة الى المقصود من كل جهاز

‘and **if** the form of the various contraptions does not make clear what their real contents are, [nevertheless] it does point clearly to the purpose of each contraption’ (for absolute obj. see 2.4.2, 3.29.3)

8.1.5 Order of protasis and apod. (▷C3:317)

MWA maintains broadly the CA order of protasis–apod. in conditional sentences. However, the order in MWA is often reversed:

ta'ūdu l-ḥarāratu li-mu'addalātihā l-ṭabī'īyyati 'in baqiya l-ḍaḡtu l-jawwiyyu ka-mā huwa

ستعود الحرارة لمعدلاتها الطبيعية إن بقي الضغط الجوي كما هو
'the temperature will return to its normal levels **if the air pressure stays as it is**'

wa-hiya ka-dālika bi-l-fi 'li 'in wuḍi'at fi 'iṭārin saṭḥiyyin

وهي كذلك بالفعل إن وُضعت في إطار سطحي
'and it is actually so **if put** in a superficial framework'

Note the following calques in which a restoration of the CA word order would not produce a valid cond. sentence:

maṭaluhā maṭalu l-ṣinā 'ati l-ṭaqīlati, 'in lam takun 'ahamma

مثلها مثل الصناعة الثقيلة إن لم تكن أهم
'it is in the same position as heavy industry, **if not more important**',
lit. 'if it is not more important' (see 11.8.2)

fa-qad kānat hādihī l-mašākilu ... ta'ti fi muqaddamati l-qaḍāyā l-maṭrūḥati fi l-ḥamlati l-intiḥābiyyati 'in lam takun-i l-qaḍiyyata l-waḥīdata fi 'lan

فقد كانت هذه المشاكل ... تأتي في مقدّمة القضايا المطروحة في الحملة الانتخابية إن لم تكن القضية الوحيدة فعلا
'these problems came at the forefront of the issues raised in the election campaign, **if they were not the only issue in fact**' (see neg. after 'in إن 8.1.11)

8.1.6 Parenthetical 'in إن 'if' clauses (▷C3:317)

Where a conditional clause falls between two parts of another proposition it normally begins with 'in إن followed by the verb in the perf. (see also 11.4):

al-ḥulūlu llati ṭaraḥahā – 'in tammat bi-najāḥin – sawfa takfī

الحلول التي طرحها – إن تمت بنجاح – سوف تكفي
'the solutions he proposed – **if they are successfully carried out** – will suffice'

nādī l-ḥikmati 'umruhu 55 'āman wa-'in šā' llāhu sa-yabqā

نادي الحكمة عمره ٥٥ عاما وإن شاء الله سيبقى
'the Ḥikma club is 55 years old and **will** hopefully **continue**', lit. 'if God wills it will remain'

8.1.7 Continuous and non-conditional tenses (see 8.1.4)

When the conditional sentence is expressed through continuous tenses or other non-conditional tenses (and is therefore not a true condition but more likely a calque) *kāna* كان will occur in its usual tense modifying function:

wa-'in kānat-i l-mumattilātu yaḥtalifna fī šay'in 'an-i l-nisā'i l-'uḥrayāti fa-fī kawnihinna 'ab'ada 'an-i l-rāḥati wa-l-hudū'i min ḡayrihinna
 وإن كانت الممثلات يختلفن في شيء عن النساء الأخريات ففي كونهن أبعد عن الراحة والهدوء من غيرهن
 'and if actresses differ in one thing from other women it is that in their make-up they are less relaxed and calm than others' (see also 8.3.14)

8.1.8 'in إن 'if' followed by pronoun then verb (▷C3:318)

Such occurrences are rare and are normally for emphasis:

'in huwa ta'aḥḥara 'an-i l-sadādi fa-sa-yūqi'u l-banku l-ḥajza 'alā amwālihi
 إن هو تأخر عن السداد فسيوقع البنك الحجز على أمواله
 'if he delays in paying up, the bank will sequester his assets'

8.1.9 Ellipsis (▷C3:335)

The elliptical conditional *wa-'illā (fa)- وإلا* '[and] otherwise' (▷C3:338, 8.4) is used in opposition to a preceding statement in the sense of 'otherwise', i.e., the first statement must or must not happen otherwise the second proposition will/will not occur. *fa-* ف occurs at the head of the clause following *wa-'illā* وإلا and introduces non-verbal clauses:

fa-'innahum yajibu 'an yadfa'u wa-'illā fa-'innahu sawfa yuz'ijuhum fī l-karāji
 فإِنَّهُمْ يَجِبُ أَنْ يَدْفَعُوا وَإِلَّا فَإِنَّهُ سَوْفَ يُزْجِيهِمْ فِي الْكَرَاجِ
 'so they ought to pay **otherwise** [lit. "and if not"] he will harass them in the garage'

Verbal clauses after *wa-'illā* وإلا do not begin with *fa-* ف:

lākin min-a l-muḥimmi 'an yabqā l-ḥiwāru silmiyyan wa-dīmūqrāṭiyyan ... wa-'illā sa-takūnu l-fāji'atu l-ḥaḡīqīyyatan
 لكن من المهم أن يبقى الحوار سلمياً وديموقراطياً ... وإلا ستكون الفاجعة حقيقية
 'but it is important that the dialogue remains peaceful and democratic ... **otherwise** the disaster will be[come] real'

Ellipses of protasis *kāna* كان 'to be' may be elided and the dep. case status on the pred. (3.16.2) is retained:

'in 'ājilan 'aw 'ājilan
 إن آجلاً أو عاجلاً
 'sooner or later', lit. 'if [it were] at a future time or immediately'

Ellipses of the cond. particle in formulaic expressions also occurs:

fa-naḥnu šī'nā 'am 'abaynā juz 'un min hādā l- 'ālamī
 فنحن شئنا أم أبينا جزء من هذا العالم
 'and we, whether [if] **we like it or not**, are a part of this world'

8.1.10 Implied conditionals

Imperative + apoc. is an old structure still used to convey a cond. sense:

uṭlub tajid mā yasurruka
 اطلب تجد ما يسرك
 'seek [and if you do] **you will find** what pleases you'
unḡurū 'ilā l-ḡayli tajidū fihā l-sulālāti l-muḡtalīfata
 انظروا إلى الخيل تجدوا فيها السلالات المختلفة
 '[if you] **look** at horses **you will find** different stocks among them'

Apoc. + apoc. also occurs in restricted contexts:

ta'mal qalīlan taksib kaṭīran ta'mal kaṭīran taksib qalīlan
 تعمل قليلا تكسب كثيرا تعمل كثيرا تكسب قليلا
 '[if you] **work** a little [you will] **earn** a lot, [if you] **work** a lot [you will] **earn** a little'

Often in MWA the apoc. is replaced by a future marker + indep. imperf.:

unḡur li- 'aḡadīhim sa-tajiduhu yaḡūḡu fī ...
 انظر لأحدهم ستجده يخوض في ...
 '[if you] look at one of them **you will find him** plunging into ...', lit. 'look at one of them you will find ...'
taḡaddaṭ ma'ahu ... sa-tuḡāja' bi-l- 'ijābati
 تحدث معه ... ستفاجأ بالإجابة
 '[if you] talk with him ... **you will be surprised by** the response', lit. 'talk with him ... you will be surprised ...'

8.1.11 Negation of conditional clauses with 'in إن

Condition and result clauses are negated by *lam* لم + apoc.:

wa- 'in lam taša' lam yatimma
 وإن لم تشأ لم يتم
 'but if it (namely, God's will) **does not will it [then] it will not be carried out**' (cf. 6.2.5 on adversative sense of *wa-* و 'and', here translated 'but')

*al-wāqī 'u 'anna lafẓa l-turāṭi qad-i ktasā fi l-ḥiṭābi l-'arabiyyi l-ḥadīṭi
wa-l-mu 'āṣiri ma 'nan muḥtalifan mubāyinan – 'in lam yakun munāqīdan –
li-ma 'nā murādifihi l-mīrātu fi l-iṣṭilāhi l-qadīmi*

الواقع أن لفظ التراث قد اكتسب في الخطاب العربي الحديث والمعاصر معنى مختلفا
مباينا – إن لم يكن مناقضا – لمعنى مرادفه الميراث في الاصطلاح القديم
'the fact is, the expression 'heritage' in modern Arab discourse has acquired
a vastly different meaning from, **if not contradictory** to, its synonym 'mīrāṭ'
in ancient terminology' (see parenthetical clauses at 8.1.6)

8.1.12 Incomplete conditionals

Incomplete conditionals with *wa-'in* وإن and *ḥattā wa-'in* حتّى وإن (8.2.9, 8.6 for concessives *wa-law* ولو 'even if' and *ḥattā wa-law* حتّى ولو and 8.3.14 for *ḥattā 'idā* حتّى إذا 'even if'):

*wa-qat 'i l-'alāqāti l-diblūmāsiyyati ma 'a l-duwali llati taqarrara naqlu
sifārātihā 'ilā l-quḍsi ḥattā wa-'in kānat ḥaḍihi l-duwalu muṣannafatan 'alā
ra 'si qā'imati l-'aqtābi l-kibāri*

وقطع العلاقات الدبلوماسية مع الدول التي تقرّر نقل سفاراتها إلى القدس حتّى وإن
كانت هذه الدول مصنّفة على رأس قائمة الأقطاب الكبير
'and the severing of diplomatic relations with the states who have decided to
move their embassies to Jerusalem **even if** these states are categorized as
being at the head of the list of major countries'

*mu 'akkidan 'anna hādā l-badīla wa-'in kāna sa-yuqallilu min hāmiṣi ribḥi l-
funduqi wa-l-ṣarikāti l-siyāḥiyyati fa- 'innahu sa-yuḥaqqiqu*

مؤكدًا أن هذا البديل وإن كان سيقلّل من هامش ربح الفندق و الشركات السياحية فإنّه
سيحقق
'confirming that this change, **even if it will reduce** the margin of profit of the
hotel and the tourist companies, will achieve' (note *sa-* س as definite future
marker, 3.10.3)

8.1.13 Topic with 'in' إن clause as comment (see 3.3 and 8.3.10)

*fa-ha 'ulā 'i 'in ḥasirū ma 'rakata l-'igrāri 'illā 'annahum rabiḥū l-furṣata
llatī 'atāḥahā lahum*

فهؤلاء إن خسروا معركة الإقرار إلا أنهم ربّحوا الفرصة التي أتاحها لهم
'so those, if [although] they lose the acknowledgement battle [nonetheless]
they gain the opportunity it has given them'

8.2 *law ... la-* لو ... لا 'if [only]' (▷C3:320)

(For *wa-law* ولو clauses see concessives 8.6; ▷C3:331.)

The particle *law* لو is generally considered to head conditional (protasis) clauses whose validity is either impossible, highly unlikely, hypothetical or contrary to fact. It is normally accompanied by *la-* لا (see 1.6.7) at the head of the apod.

8.2.1 As pure counterfactual (▷C3:321; 370 for *la-* لا)

In this sense the apod. generally retains *la-* لا. The verbs in both the protasis and apod. tend to be in the simple perf. tense (often corresponding to English pluperf., cf. 3.10.7). The idea expressed in the following examples is that something in the past would have/would not have occurred (the protasis) had it been/not been for the validity of the idea in the apod.:

law sa'alanī la-qultu lahu ...

لو سألني لقلت له ...

'if he had asked me, [then] I would have said to him ...'

*law lam yakun musalsalu 'mā zāla l-nīlu yajrī' mu'attiran 'ilā ḥaddin kabīrin
la-mā ḥadaṭa ḥawlahu kullu hādā l-iḥtilāfi*

لو لم يكن مسلسل ما زال النيل يجري مؤثرا الى حد كبير لما حدث حوله كل هذا
الاختلاف

'if the series "The Nile flows on" had not been so extremely exciting, [then] all this argument about it would not have happened'

*law kāna l-'amru bi-yadin yuwāfiqūhā ša'buhā 'alā taqdīmi mā huwa
maṭlūbun minhā min tanāzulāti la-ḥalla l-salāmu wa-rtāḥa l-jamī'u*

لو كان الأمر بيد يوافقها شعبها على تقديم ما هو مطلوب منها من تنازلات لحل السلام
وارتاح الجميع

'if the matter had been in the hand [lit. "in a hand" [of someone] which the people [lit. "its people"] supported in putting forward the compromises that were needed, [then] peace would have occurred and everyone would have been happy' (see *mā ... min* من ... ما 2.6.11 and 5.4.4)

Note the use of *kāna sawfa* كان سوف (see 3.10.3):

*rubbamā law 'arafa zawjuhā 'anna l-ḥawḍa fī tafāṣīlihā 'atnā'a miḥnatihā
kāna sawfa yusā'iduhā wa-yuqarribuhā minhu la-nṣā'a li-raḡbatihā*

ربما لو عرف زوجها أن الخوض في تفاصيلها أثناء محنتها كان سوف يساعدها ويقربها
منه لانصاع لرغبتها

‘perhaps **if** the husband had known that going into details during her torment would have helped her and brought her nearer to him, [**then**] he would have yielded to her wish’

But note that a pluperf. structure in the protasis is also possible (cf. 3.10.6):

wa-law kânū qabilū bi-... la-mā wajadū 'anfusahum l-yawma ...

ولو كانوا قبلوا ب... لما وجدوا أنفسهم اليوم ...

‘and **if** they had accepted ..., [**then**] they would not have found themselves today ...’

Rare usage with *qad* قد emphasizing past aspect:

law qad sumiḥa lahum bi-'ubūri l-bawwābati la-mā ḍṭurrū 'ilā l-wuqūfi hākaḍā fī l-samsi l-ḥāriqati

لو قد سمح لهم بعبور البوابة لما اضطرُّوا إلى الوقوف هكذا في الشمس الحارقة

‘had they [lit. “**if** they **had**”] been allowed to pass through the gate they would not have had to stand like this under the scorching sun’

law 'amkana waḍ'u makātiba 'alā l-judrāni la-fa 'alū dālīka

لو أمكن وضع مكاتب على الجدران لذلك

‘**if** it were possible to put desks on the walls, [**then**] they would do it’

8.2.2 Negatives

Negation of the protasis is as for 'in إن and 'idā إذا, i.e., *lam* لم + apoc.:

law lam yabta'id fī l-waḡti l-munāsibi la-'aṣābahu l-infiḡāru

لو لم يبتعد في الوقت المناسب لأصابه الانفجار

‘**had he not stepped away** at the right moment the explosion would have hit him’

When the apod. clause is negated the verb is always in the perf. and is always negated by the particle *mā* ما ‘not’:

law kāna l-'amru bi-hāḍihi l-ṣūratī la-mā wajada hā'ulā'i fī 'anfusihiḡ hāḡatan 'ilā ntiḡādi ṣtiḡāli ḡayrihiḡ bi-l-turā'i

لو كان الأمر بهذه الصورة لما وجد هؤلاء في أنفسهم حاجة إلى انتقاد اشتغال غيرهم بالتراث

‘**if** the matter had been in this form **then** those people **would not** have found in themselves any need to criticize others’ preoccupation with heritage’

wa-law ḡaṣala miṡlu hāḡa l-taṡawwuri la-mā rāḡa li-l-'amīrikiyyīna

ولو حصل مثل هذا التطور لما راق للأميركيين

‘and **if** a development such as this had taken place it **would not** have pleased the Americans’

law kāna l-ḥiwāru yujdī ma ‘a ‘aṭrāfin ‘āḥarīna la-mā kāna mawqifu
l-baṭriyarki ya ‘ḥuḍu hādā l-ḥajma min-a l-ihtimāmi

لو كان الحوار يجدي مع أطراف آخرين لما كان موقف البطريك يأخذ هذا الحجم من الاهتمام

‘if the dialogue with other parties were (being) of use, the stance of the Patriarch **would not** be assuming interest of this magnitude”

8.2.3 As synonym of ‘*in*’ (C3:321)

law لو ‘if’ can occur with the sense of ‘*in*’ إن, thus losing its counterfactual quality. Sentences of this type with *law* لو can be divided into two categories:

Those which have *fa-* ف in the apod. because they are normal CA non-verbal apodoses (as in 8.2.1):

‘id law kāna li-l-ṣaḥṣi l-wāḥidi ‘aḳtaru min ra ‘isin mubāširin fa-lā natijata
li-dālika ḡayru

إذ لو كان للشخص الواحد أكثر من رئيس مباشر فلا نتيجة لذلك غير

‘for **if** one person has more than one direct boss [then] the only result of that is’ (see 9.5.1)

Those with or without *fa-* ف in the apod. with either *lan* لن as future neg. marker (in neg. apod. clauses) or any other unmarked verb:

wa-law sa’alta ‘aḥadahum min ‘ayna ‘atayta bi-hādā l-ḥaqqi ... fa-lan tajida
raddan

ولو سألت أحدهم من أين أتيت بهذا الحق ... فلن تجد رداً

‘and **if** you ask one of them where did he get this truth from ..., [then] you will not find an answer’

law daḥalnā sibāqa tasalluḥin nawawiyin fi l-minṭaqati lan yantahiya

لو دخلنا سباق تسلح نووي في المنطقة لن ينتهي

‘if we enter a nuclear arms race in the region it will never [lit. **will not**] end’

law ‘alimat bi-l-‘amri yumkinu ‘an taṭluba minhu ‘an yuṭalliqahā

لو علمت بالأمر يمكن أن تطلب منه أن يطلقها

‘if she were to find out about the matter she could [lit. “**it would be possible** that”] ask him to divorce her’

law لو also occurs in cond. sentences with an unlikely future sense, retaining the syntax used in counterfactual sentences (8.2.1):

law ‘utiḥa li-l-ṣu ‘ūbi l-‘arabiyyati ‘an tusammiya l-za ‘ima l-‘aḳtara
ṣa ‘biyyatan fi hādhi l-‘āwinati la-‘ajābat ...

لو أتيح للشعوب العربية أن تسمي الزعيم الأكثر شعبية في هذه الاونة لأجابت ...
 'if the Arab people were given [the opportunity] to name the most popular leader during these times, [then] they would answer ...' (for *tamyīz* see 2.4.4, 2.11.1 and 3.29.5)

8.2.4 *law* 'anna 'لو أن 'were it that' (▷C3:322; see 3.2.2 for 'anna أن 'that')

If the particle *law* لو is to be followed by a noun or pronoun, the complementizing particle 'anna أن must follow the particle *law* لو. The same variations for the apod. as for *law* لو in 8.2.1 and 8.2.3 seem to apply:

Counterfactual (8.2.1)

law 'annī rajulun 'āḥaru *la*-kāna lī ma'ahā ša'nun
 لو أنني رجل آخر لكان لي معها شأن
 'if I were any other man, [then] I would have something to say to her'
wa-law 'anna l-muntijīna l-sīnamā 'iyyīna staqra 'ū l-ta'rīḥa *la*- 'arafū
 'anna ...
 ولو أن المنتجين السينمائيين استقرأوا التاريخ لعرفوا أن ...
 'and if cinema producers [had] studied history [then] they would know that ...'

As synonym of 'in إن

wa-law 'annanī wajadtu hādā l-ḥubba l-dā'ima wa-l-ḥanāna l-ḥaqīqiyya
lan 'aktuba ḥarfan wāḥidan wa-sa-'akūnu sa'īdan
 ولو أنني وجدت هذا الحب الدائم و الحنان الحقيقي لن أكتب حرفا واحدا و سأكون سعيدا
 'and if I find this everlasting love and true tenderness I shall not write a single word and I will be happy'
law 'anna dārisan 'ajnabiyyan lā ya 'rifu tārīḥa mišra jā'a 'ilā l-qāhirati
 yadrusu tārīḥahā ... 'a'taqīdu 'anna hādā l-dārisa ...
 لو أن دارسا أجنبيا لا يعرف تاريخ مصر جاء الى القاهرة يدرس تاريخها ... اعتقد أن هذا الدارس ...
 'if a foreign scholar who did not know the history of Egypt were to come to Cairo to study its history, ... I think that that scholar ...'

See rel. clauses 5.1, asyndetic purpose circ. quals 7.3.1.

8.2.5 Elliptical variant as a wish (▷C3:334)

The apod. may be elided in expressions of hope, wishes:

law raḥimta ‘*abdaka yā mawlāya*

لو رحمت عبدك يا مولاي

‘if you pardon your obedient servant, my Lord!’

8.2.6 Inversion of *law* لو clause (▷C3:323)

As with ‘*in* إن (see 8.1.5) and ‘*idā* إذا (see 8.3.8) *law* لو clauses may be inverted. Under these conditions the inverted apod. does not bear the prefix *la-* لـ:

yumkinuhā ... ‘an taḥtafiẓa bi-naḍārati wa-ṣabābi biṣratihā law-i ttaba ‘at-i l-naṣā ‘ihā l-tāliyata

يمكنها ... أن تحتفظ بنضارة وشباب بشرتها لو اتبعت النصائح التالية

‘she ... can keep the freshness and youth of her complexion if she follows the following advice’ (see binomial annexation 2.3.7)

8.2.7 *law* لو after wishes and hopes (▷C3:324)

With its counterfactual implications *law* لو has always been used in expressions of longing or wishing. The verb following *law* لو may be either in the perf., apoc., or indep. imperf.:

tamannaytu law tursilī ‘ilayya šay’an

تمنيت لو ترسلي إليّ شيئاً

‘I wished you [fem.] would [lit. if] send me something’

yatamannā law kuntu ḡayra mutazawwijatin

يتمنى لو كنت غير متزوجة

‘he wishes I were not [lit. if] married [fem.]’

wadadtu law ‘aqdī l-‘umra ‘amāma l-šāṣati ma‘a l-‘abṭālī

وددت لو أقضي العمر أمام الشاشة مع الأبطال

‘I wished [if] I could spend my whole life in front of the screen with the heroes’

After exclamations and interjections (▷C3:325), also elliptical (cf. 8.2.5):

‘āhi law tanhāru kullu l-ṣurūḥi

آه لو تنهار كلّ الصروح

‘How I wish [if] all the castles would collapse!’

8.2.8 ‘if only’ clauses (▷C3:326), also elliptical

(Cf. 8.2.5 and 8.2.7)

law kānat qad sami‘at kalāma l-ṭabībi

لو كانت قد سمعت كلام الطبيب

‘if only she had listened to the doctor’s advice’

8.2.9 Incomplete conditionals

Inversion (and ellipsis) in *wa-law* ولو concessive sentences (see also 8.6; ▷C3:335): in cases of inversion a complete (verbal) sentence or clause is not required after *wa-law* ولو since the *law* لو clause implies an ellipsed *kāna* كان:

al-‘ihsān[u] fī mu‘āmalati l-jāri wa-law ḡayra muslimin

الإحسان في معاملة الجار ولو غير مسلم

‘charity in dealing with one’s neighbour **even if** a non-Muslim’

fa-‘idā kāna l-fardu lā yamliku qadran min-a l-tafā‘uli wa-law maḥdūdan

fa-‘al-‘aḡḡalu ‘an yaṣmūta

فإذا كان الفرد لا يملك قدرا من التفاؤل ولو محدودا فالأفضل أن يصمت

‘so if an individual does not possess a degree of optimism, **even** [a] limited [amount], then it is better that he remains silent’ (see rhetorical cond. 8.3.3)

fa-‘inna ‘aḡadan min ‘usarihim lā yufakkiru fī l-tabarru‘i wa-law

bi-ṣaqqatin

فإن أحدا من أسرهم لا يفكر في التبرع ولو بشقة

‘and no-one in their families is thinking of donating, **not even** a morsel (widow’s mite)’ (see 4.2 on neg. agents)

Total ellipsis of cond. clause:

‘a tatazawwajīnahu ḡattā law lam yakun ladayhi ṣay‘un ‘alā l-‘iṭlāqi ?

na‘am, wa-law ...

أتتزوجينه حتى لو لم يكن لديه شيء على الإطلاق؟ نعم ولو ...

‘are you going to marry him even if he possesses nothing at all? Yes, **even if** ...’

ḡattā (wa)-law (و) حتى ‘even if’ variant (cf. 8.1.12 and 8.3.14) *ḡattā* حتى and *ḡattā wa-law* حتى ولو (7.6.7.7) may be followed by a clause:

ḡattā wa-law kāna ḡadā l-dīnu huwa l-dīna l-rasmiyya li-l-dawlati

حتى ولو كان هذا الدين هو الدين الرسمي للدولة

‘**even if** this religion is the official state religion’ (see 3.5 for the the pronoun *huwa* هو, here separating def. subj. from pred.)

ḡattā law lam ya‘ud ‘ayyun minhā yaḡmilu smahu

حتى لو لم يعد أيّ منها يحمل اسمه

‘**even if** none of them bears his name any more’

(for *lam ya'ud* لم يعد see 3.21.1.1)

or a phrase:

hattā wa-law fi l-šitā 'i حتى ولو في الشتاء 'even in winter'

8.2.10 *kamā law* ('anna) كما لو 'as if'

(▷C3:324; for *kamā* كما 'as if' see 5.9.9.)

After the comparative *kamā* كما, *law* لو may be followed directly by a verb in the perf:

tu'āmiluhā kamā law kānat ḥādīmatan lakumā

تعاملها كما لو كانت خادمة لكم

'you [sing.] treat her **as though she were** a servant of yours [dual]'

or by the complementizer 'anna أن:

tumma nḥanā naḥwahā kamā law 'annahu yaḥnū 'alā ṭiflatin

ثم انحني نحوها كما لو أنه يحنو على طفلة

'then he bent towards her **as though he were** leaning over a child'

zaharū kamā law 'annahum yaqifūna fi wajhi fikrati l-istiqlāli

ظهروا كما لو أنهم يقفون في وجه فكرة الاستقلال

'they appeared to be [lit. "**as though they are**"] standing in the face of the idea of independence'

8.2.11 *law-lā* لو لا 'if it were not for' (▷C3:326)

law-lā لو لا 'if it were not for' clauses have an elided pred. The apod. normally begins with *la-* لا (▷C:370; 1.6.7.)

law + neg. *lā* لا may be prefixed to either nouns:

law-lā ṣabru l-'aṭibbā 'i wa-l-waqtu l-ṭawīlu llaḏī kānū yamnaḥūnahu lahumā

bi-l-ṣarḥi wa-l-waṣfi wa-l-ṭam'anati **la-mā** staṭā 'ā 'an yaṣmudā

لولا صبر الأطباء و الوقت الطويل الذي كانوا يمنحونه لهما بالشرح و الوصف والطمأنينة لما استطاعا أن يصمدا

'**if it were not for** the patience of the doctors and the long time they devoted to explaining, describing and reassuring them, [**then**] the two of them would not have been able to hold out'

or pronouns (▷C3:327):

wa- 'annī law-lāhā la-mā mtalaktu tilka l-jaḍwata – al-ṭāqata l-hā'ilata

وَأَنِّي لَوْلَاها لَمَّا امتلكْتُ تلكَ الجذوةَ-الطاقة الهائلة

'and that **had it not been for that** I would not have possessed that firebrand
– [that] enormous energy

The previous examples contain a neg. apod. (for detailed explanation see 4.1.6).
However, a positive apod. is also possible, of course:

law-lāhā la-ṣārat mumillatan

لَوْلَاها لَصَارَتْ مُمِلَّة

'if it **were not for them** [the treacheries] **[then]** it [i.e., life] would have
become boring'

Inversion is not uncommon (▷C3:328). Under these conditions the inverted apod.
does not bear the prefix *la-*:

wa-hāḍihi l-majmū'atu hiya l-ra'su l-mufakkiru llaḍi bi-dūnihi taḥtallu

mawāzīnu l- 'amali wa-tasūdu l-fawḍa law-lā qiyāmuḥā

وهذه المجموعة هي الرأس المفكر الذي بدونه تختل موازين العمل و تسود الفوضى لولا
قيامها

this group is the think-tank without which the balance(s) of work would be
destroyed and chaos would prevail, **were it not** for its [the group's] existence

8.2.12 *law-lā 'anna* لولا أن 'if not for the fact that'

Often inverted (▷C3:328; 8.2.4):

kānū qad-i ttafaqū 'alā l-tanfiḍi law-lā 'anna l-ḥarba qad qāmat

كانوا قد اتفقوا على التنفيذ لولا أن الحرب قد قامت

they would have agreed to the carrying out [of it] **were it not for the fact**
that the war had started

8.2.13 *law-lā 'an* لولا أن 'but for'

Quasi-adversative (▷C3:329):

kāda l-taṣwīru yantahī law-lā 'an saqaṭat-i l-kamirā min fawqi l-ḥāmili

كاد التصوير ينتهي لولا أن سقطت الكاميرا من فوق الحامل

'the photographing would have almost been completed **but for** the camera
falling off the tripod'

8.3 'idā إذا 'if', 'when' (▷C3:302, C3:361–9)

In the following presentation 'idā إذا 'if', 'when' will be dealt with under four main categories: (1) as a pure conditional (8.3.1); (2) as a hybrid conditional/temporal (8.3.10); (3) as a pure temporal (8.3.11); and (4) in the form 'idā mā إذا ما. 'whenever' (8.3.13) The latter two do not, strictly speaking, belong in a chapter on conditionals but are kept together here for convenience.

8.3.1 'idā إذا 'if' as a pure conditional

'idā 'a'jabanī kitābun tamannaytu law-i qtanaytuhu

إذا أعجبتني كتاب تمنيت لو اقتنيته

'if a book pleases me I wish I owned it'

(See law لو after wishes and hopes 8.2.7)

fa-'idā ḥallalnā 'amala hādā l-ṣaḥṣi wajadnā 'annahu lā yamuttu 'ilā mihnati l-handasati 'aw mihnati l-ṭibbi 'aw mihnati l-qānūni bi-ṣilatin kabīratin

فإذا حللنا عمل هذا الشخص وجدنا أنه لا يمت إلى الهندسة أو مهنة الطب أو مهنة القانون بصلة كبيرة

'if we analyse the work of this person we will find that it does not relate very closely to the professions of engineering, medicine or law'

'idā tawahḥaynā diqqatan qulna 'inna ...

إذا توخينا دقة قلنا إن ...

'if we are pursuing accuracy we can say that ...'

Also renders the past (determinable by context):

'idā kāna kātibu l-'inṣā'i mulimman bi-miṭli haḍihi l-luḡāti kāna 'aqdara 'alā murāsalatihim

إذا كان كاتب الإنشاء ملماً بمثل هذه اللغة كان أقدر على مراسلتهم

'if the secretary of the chancellery was conversant with such languages as these he was more able to correspond with them [namely, foreign people]'

8.3.2 Variant forms of verb in apod.

The protasis is always perf., but the verb of the apod. frequently has indep. imperf. form, either unmarked:

ma'a ḍālika 'idā ḥaraja minhā fī riḥlatin 'aw ziyāratin 'ilā makānin mā min-a l-'ālamī narāhu lā yaḥṣā l-iḥtināqa ka-'asmāki l-baḥri min hādā l-ḥurūji

مع ذلك إذا خرج منها في رحلة أو زيارة إلى مكان ما من العالم نراه لا يخشى الاختناق كأسماء البحر من هذا الخروج

‘however, **if he leaves** it for travelling or to visit any place in the world **we find** [lit. “see”] that he does not fear being stifled like the fish of the sea do in this way’

‘idā baḥaṭnā fī šaḥṣiyyatihi najidu ‘annahu kāna yarā ‘abawayhi yata ‘āmalāni ka-ḡālīka

إذا بحثنا في شخصيته نجد أنه كان يرى أبويه يتعاملان كذلك

‘**if we examine** his personality **we shall find** that he used to watch his parents behaving towards each other in this way’

or marked as future with *sa-* سـ or *sawfa* سوف (3.10.3) if specifically future meaning is intended:

wa-‘idā sa‘altanī l-‘āna li-māḡdā wāṣaltu al-taradduda ‘alā ‘iyādatihi ba‘da ‘an šāraḡanī bi-ḡālīka wa-li-māḡdā lam ‘aḡhab li-‘iyādati ṭabibin ‘āḡara sa-yakūnu jawābī ...

وإذا سألتني الآن لماذا واصلت التردد على عيادته بعد أن صارحتني بذلك ولماذا لم أذهب لعيادة طبيب آخر سيكون جوابي...

‘and **if you ask** me now why I continued to go to his clinic after he clearly told me about that and why I did not go to some other doctor’s clinic, my answer **will be...**’

8.3.3 Apod. as non-verbal sentence

When the apod. is not a verbal sentence, *‘idā* إذا follows the same rules as *‘in* إن ‘if’ (see 8.1.2; C3:302) in prefixing *fa-* فـ to the apod.:

‘idā ‘asqatahā ‘aḡaduhum bi-l-quwwati ‘alā l-‘arḡi ‘aw qaḡaḡahā ‘alā l-ḡa‘iṭi fa-‘innahā taruddu ‘alayhi bi-silsilatin min-a l-ṣatā‘imi

إذا أسقطها أحدهم بالقوة على الأرض أو قذفها على الحائط فإنها ترد عليه بسلسلة من الشتائم

‘**if** one of them violently **throws her** to the ground or throws her against the wall, **[then]** she replies with a stream of abuse’

‘idā kunnā naš‘uru bihi ‘aḡyānan fa-hāḡdā ya‘nī ‘anna li-wujūdihi sababan

إذا كنّا نشعر به أحيانا فهذا يعني أن لوجوده سببا

‘**if we are** sometimes **aware of it**, **[then]** that means there is a reason for its existence’, for *‘idā mā* ما إذا see 8.3.13)

‘idā mā taraknā l-rašīda fa-‘inna l-ḡalīfata l-mu‘assisa ‘abā ja‘far[in] al-manṣūr[i] ḡaṣiṣa bi-dirāsatin jiddiyyatin

إذا ما تركنا الرشيد فإن الخليفة المؤسس أبا جعفر المنصور حظي بدراسة جدية

‘**if** we leave aside al-Rašīd then [we will find that] the founding Caliph Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr has attracted serious studies’

(for *al-ḡalīfata* ‘the Caliph’, a masc. noun with fem. marker see 1.12.2.1), and for proper name inflections see 1.8.5)

This also normally applies to an apod. with imperative form:

'idā stamarra fī dīqihi fa-ḥāwili 'an tuḡayyirī min waḍ'īyyatihi

إذا استمرّ في ضيقه فحاولي أن تغيّري من وضعيته

'if it [the child] remains in discomfort, [then] try [fem. sing.] changing its position'

'idā kunta ḥārija dā'irati l-sintrāli fa-ṭlub il-raḡma (16)

إذا كنت خارج دائرة السنترال فاطلب رقم (١٦)

'if you are outside the exchange area [then] dial 16'

although the imperative can also be unmarked:

'idā raḡibta fī 'ilḡā'i l-iṣtirāki 'arsil risālatan fāriḡatan 'ilā ...

إذا رغبت في إلغاء الاشتراك أرسل رسالة فارغة إلى ...

'if you wish to cancel your subscription send an empty message to ...'

In the following examples the conditional element is purely rhetorical (cf. 8.1.7). *kāna* كان is required here because the underlying sentences are equational in Ar. (3.1), which by nature can only become conditional through the introduction of *kāna* كان in its modalizing function:

wa-'idā kānat riwāyatu 'ahdaf suwayf miṣriyyatan – qalban – fa-'innahā inglīziyyatun – qāliban

وإذا كانت رواية أهدف سويّف مصرية – قلباً – فإنّها انجليزية – قلباً

'and if Ahdaf Suwayf's story is Egyptian – at heart – [then] it is English – in shape'

wa-'idā kānat-i l-'alāqātu l-sūriyyatu l-sa'ūdiyyatu munḍu 'amadin ba'īdin maṭīnatan wa-qawīyyatan ... fa-'inna ...

وإذا كانت العلاقات السورية السعودية منذ أمد بعيد متينة وقوية ... فإنّ ...

'and if Syrian–Saudi relations have been firm and strong for a long time ... [then] ...'

As in sentences with *'in* إن 'if' (8.1.7), when conditional sentences with *'idā* إذا are expressed through continuous tenses or other non-conditional tenses – therefore not qualifying as true conditions - *kāna* كان must be used as a modalizer after the particle *'idā* إذا :

'idā kunnā naḡariyyan naḡūlu 'inna l-māla l-hāriba yumkinu 'an ya'ūda fa-'inna l-māla l-muharraba lan ya'ūda 'abadan

وإذا كنّا نظرياً نقول إنّ المال الهارب يمكن أن يعود فإنّ المال المهرب لن يعود أبداً

'if we [can] say theoretically that emigrant money may come back, smuggled money will never come back'

wa-'idā kunnā natafahhamu ḥirṣa ṭūkiyū 'alā stiṭmāri da'mihā l-ḡaḡmi li-yūniskū ... fa-'innanā lā nastaṭī'u 'an nufassira ...

وإذا كنّا نتفهّم حرص طوكيو على استثمار دعمها الضخم ليونسكو ... فإننا لا نستطيع أن نفسر ...

‘and **if we understand** Tokyo's desire to invest its huge support in UNESCO ..., we are unable to explain ...’

'idā kāna hādā l-namūdaju yasmaḥu bi-našri mu'addātin wa-nuẓumin tasliḥiyyatin mutaqaḍdimatin fa-hunāka namāḍiju 'uḥrā

إذا كان هذا النموذج يسمح بنشر معدات و نظم تسليحية متقدمة فهناك نماذج أخرى
‘if this type **allows** the propagation of equipment and advanced weapon systems, there are other types’

The particles *lākinna* لكن ‘but’ and *'illā* إلا ‘except’ may also introduce the apod. of these conditionals (see 8.1.4 with *'in* إن) (>C3:352; see 9.4.5):

wa-'idā kāna lawnu fānillati l-'ulimbī wa-l-'ahlī yajma'uhumā l-lawnu l-'aḥmaru, lākinna hunāka farqan

وإذا كان لون فانلة الأولي والأهلي يجمعهما اللون الأحمر، لكن هناك فرقا
‘and if the shirts of the Olympia and Ahli teams share the colour red,
[nonetheless] there is a difference’

fa-'idā kāna min al-nādiri 'an tadūra l-intihābatu ... ḥawla l-siyāsati l-ḥārijīyyati, 'illā 'annahu min-a l-nādiri 'ayḍan 'an taḡība qaḍāyāhā

فإذا كان من النادر أن تدور الانتخابات ... حول السياسة الخارجية، إلا أنه من النادر أيضا أن تغيب قضاياها

‘so if it is unusual for the elections to revolve ... around foreign policy,
[nonetheless] it is also rare that these issues would be absent’

wa-'idā kāna l-'amirikiyyūna yuḍhilūna marrātin kaṭīratan 'illā 'annahum lā yuḥayyibūna 'abadan

وإذا كان الأميركيون يذهلون مرات كثيرة إلا أنهم لا يخيبون أبدا
‘and if the Americans often give cause for surprise [nonetheless] they never disappoint’

8.3.4 With same syntax and sense as *law* لو

The apod. may also be prefixed with the emphatic *la-* لـ (1.6.7) mimicking the syntax of *law* لو (see 8.2.1):

wa-'idā sta'raqnā tā'rīḥā 'ajhizatinā l-taqāfiyyati la-wajadnā nisbatan min kibāri l-mutaṭaqqafīna 'amilat bihā

وإذا استعرضنا تاريخ أجهزتنا الثقافية لوجدنا نسبة من كبار المثقفين عملت بها
‘if we were to review our cultural organs, [then] we would certainly find that a (significant) proportion of senior intellectuals have worked in them’

'idā 'aḍafnā li-dālika mā yatimmu 'ijrā 'uhu fī l-marākizi l-ṭibbiyyati la-fūji nā bi-raqmin ḍaḥmin yuṭīru l-rahbata

إذا أضفنا لذلك ما يتم إجراؤه في المراكز الطبية لفوجئنا برقم ضخم يثير الرهبة

‘if we added to this what is happening in medical centres **[then]** we would certainly be amazed by a horrifying large number’

8.3.5 With default *kāna* كان as conditional element of equational sentences

In order to form conditionals from equational sentences (3.1) – which often includes those containing preps - *kāna* كان must be used in its modalizing function (see also 8.3.3) (this would generally apply also to *law* لو and *in* إن above):

'idā kāna lī min 'umniyyatin 'atamannāhā li-kulli llaḍīna 'uḥibbuhum fī hādā l-'āmi l-jadīdī fa-hiya 'an yumatti 'ahum-u llāhu bi-l-ṣiḥḥati wa-l-'āfiyati
 إذا كان لي من أمنية أتمناها لكل الذين أحبهم في هذا العام الجديد فهي أن يمتعهم الله بالصحة والعافية
 ‘if **I had** one wish for all those I love this new year it would be that God grant them health and well-being’, lit. ‘**if there was for me**’ (see *min* من 2.6.11)

8.3.6 With *kāna* كان to express pres. perf. sense

For the protasis to have explicit perf. or past meaning (>C3:316), *kāna* كان ‘to be’ is combined with the main verb, which is generally reinforced with *qad* قد. Unlike non-conditional structures of this type in which the sense is generally pluperf. (see 3.10.7) the use of *kāna* كان plus or minus *qad* قد + perf. after cond. *'idā* إذا conveys a sense of pres. perf. in English. Under these conditions the usual word order of *kāna* كان with compound tenses is retained, namely, *kāna* كان + agent + verb (see 3.10.6). The apod. in such cases generally begins with *fa*-ف.

With *qad* قد:

'idā kunnā qad 'ašarnā 'ilā 'ahammiyyati ḥifẓi kitābi llāhi li-l-istiḥādī bihi fa-lā 'aqalla min 'an yakūna kātibu l-'inšā' i ḥāfiẓan li-'aḥādīti rasūli llāhi 'alayhi l-salāmu
 إذا كنا قد أشرنا إلى أهمية حفظ كتاب الله للاستشهاد به فلا أقل من أن يكون كاتب الإنشاء حافظاً لأحاديث رسول الله عليه السلام
 ‘if **[given that] we have indicated** the importance of memorizing God's Book in order to cite it, **then** it was no less important for the secretary of the chancellery to be a memorizer of the Traditions of God's Messenger (Peace be upon him)’

'idā kānat-i l-dawlatu l-taḥdīṭiyyatu l-'arabiyyatu qad tarjamāt fikrata l-taqaddumi taqlīdan li-l-namāḍiji l-'urūbiyyati l-jāhizati ... fa-'inna ...

إذا كانت الدولة التحديثية قد ترجمت فكرة التقدم تقليدا للنماذج الأوروبية
الجاهزة ... فإن ...

‘if the modernist Arab state **has interpreted** the concept of “advancement” in
imitation of ready-made European models ..., **then** ...’

*‘idā kānat-i l-ḥukūmatu l-muta‘āqibatu qad fašilat fī ‘idārati l-širā‘i
l-siyāsiyyi mundu ... fa-’inna ...*

إذا كانت الحكومات المتعاقبة قد فشلت في إدارة الصراع السياسي منذ ... فإن ...

‘if successive governments **have failed** in managing the political conflict
since ..., **then** ...’

Without *qad* قد:

wa-’idā kānat sūriyā ra‘at masīrata l-’amni fī lubnāna fa-’inna ...

وإذا كانت سوريا رعت مسيرة الأمن في لبنان فإن ...

‘and if Syria **has overseen** the security process in Lebanon, **then** ...’

*wa-’idā kānat-i l-minṭaqatu ‘aṣḥaḥat taḥtawī ḥālīyyan ‘alā jāmi‘ātin lā
taqillu ‘ahammiyyatan ... ‘illā ‘anna ...*

وإذا كانت المنطقة أصبحت تحتوي حاليا على جامعات لا تقل أهمية ... إلا أن ...

‘and if the region **has currently begun** to comprise universities that are no
less important ..., **nonetheless** ...’ (see 3.17.3 and 3.29.5)

8.3.7 Embedded or parenthetical

Conditionals with *‘idā* إذا can be embedded, e.g. after *‘ammā* أَمَا ‘as for’
(▷C3:306, and cf. 3.3.4) with conditional and rhetorical sense:

*‘ammā ‘idā ‘aradtum ‘ijābatan ‘an su‘āli: li-māḍā tumawwilunā l-jihātu
l-’ajnabiyyatu fa-l-’ijābatu baṣīṭatun*

أَمَا إذا أردتم إجابة عن سؤال: لماذا تمولنا الجهات الأجنبية فالإجابة بسيطة

‘[as for] if you want an answer to the question of why foreign agencies are
financing us, the answer is easy’

*‘ammā ‘idā kānat ḥāḍihi l-naṣā ‘ihu ḡayra kāfiyatin li-tahdī‘ati raw‘iki fī
natfī ša‘riki wa-mu‘āqabati dātiki fa-ḥāwili l-taḥadduṭa ‘an-i l-’amri ma‘a
‘aṣḍiqā‘a ‘awfiyā‘a*

أَمَا إذا كانت هذه النصائح غير كافية لتهدئة روعك في نتف شعرك ومعاينة ذاتك
فحاولي التحدث عن الأمر مع أصدقاء أوفياء

‘[as for] if this advice is insufficient to allay your fear about plucking out
your hair and punishing yourself, then try to speak about it to trustworthy
friends’

or they may occur parenthetically:

lā ba'sa 'idā kunti lā tuḥibbīna l-ḥalība min-a l-ḥuṣūlī 'alā l-kālsiyūm min 'aṭ'imatin 'uḥrā

لا بأس إذا كنت لا تحبين الحليب من الحصول على الكالسيوم من أطعمة أخرى
'there is no harm, **if you do not like milk**, in getting calcium from other foods'

If there is topicalization (see 3.3), the 'idā sentence can form the comment:

kaṭīrun min-a l-'aṣjārī 'idā mana'ta 'anhā l-mā'a tamtaddu juḍūruhā 'ilā 'a'māqī l-'arḍī wa-taqwā

كثير من الأشجار إذا منعت عنها الماء تمتد جذورها إلى أعماق الأرض وتقوى
'many trees, **if you deprive them of water**, their roots sink deep into the earth and become strong'

8.3.8 Inversion

The most common clause sequence is still the CA order protasis + apod., but this order is now commonly reversed:

lā 'azā'a lahum 'idā lam ya'rifū dālika

لا عزاء لهم إذا لم يعرفوا ذلك
'it is no consolation to them **if they do not know** that' (see cat. neg. 4.1.2)

yaṣtaddu bihā hādā l-'iḥsāsu 'idā ša'arat bi-'annahū yuhaddidu ḥaqqahā

يشدد بها هذا الإحساس إذا شعرت بأنه يهدد حقها
'this feeling will intensify **if she feels** that he is threatening her right'

bi-mā fi dālika stiḥdāmu l-quwwati 'idā lazīma l-'amru

بما في ذلك استخدام القوة إذا لزم الأمر
'including the use of power **if it becomes necessary**'

(see 5.7 on *bi-mā fi* بما في)

intabihī 'idā kāna l-'amru ka-dālika

انتبهي إذا كان الأمر كذلك
'watch out [fem.] **if that is how things really are**'

fa-kayfa sawfa tufakkiru hiya 'idā jā'a l-yawmu llaḍī 'anṭuqu bihi wa-lā 'uḥfi 'anhā kulla mā jāla fi dunyāya

فكيف سوف تفكر هي إذا جاء اليوم الذي أنطق به ولا أخفي عنها كل ما جال في دنياي

'and how would she think **when the day came** that I was talking of and I would not hide anything that had been going on in my world'

'idā is occasionally followed by pronoun then verb, mainly for emphasis (cf. 8.1.8):

qad yuḥkamu lahā bi-l-ṭalāqī 'idā hiya raḡibat fī dālika

قد يحكم لها بالطلاق إذا هي رغبته في ذلك

'judgement for divorce will certainly be passed in her favour **if she** is the one who desires it' (cf. 3.9.1 on emphatic free pronoun agreement)

8.3.9 Negation of protasis

Negation of the protasis clause with *'idā* إذا is always effected by *lam* لم + apoc. (see verbal negs 4.2.3, and 8.1.11, 8.2.2):

'idā lam tunazzam hādihī l-'alāqātu jamī'uhā fī 'iṭārin mutawāzinin fa-lan talbaṭa l-ḥilāfātu 'an tadibba bayna 'afrādi l-hay'ati

إذا لم تنظم هذه العلاقات جميعاً في إطار متوازن فلن تلبث الخلافات أن تدب بين أفراد الهيئة

'if these relationships **are not** all **organized** in a balanced way, [then] differences between individual members of the organization will soon creep in' (see 3.17.12 on idiomatic *lan talbaṭa* لن تلبث 'will not tarry')

'idā lam yuṣāhidū 'iqālan 'alā ra'sihī tabassamū wa-rahḥabū bihi bi-'aṣwātin 'āliyatīn

إذا لم يشاهدوا عقلاً على رأسه تبسموا ورحبوا به بأصوات عالية

'if they **do not see** a headband on his head they smile and welcome him with loud voices'

8.3.10 Conditional-temporal sense

'idā إذا in the sense of 'if and when': the interpretation, as above, is subjective but the following examples seem to combine both a conditional and temporal sense. The syntax is identical to the cond. sentences illustrated above, usually with both verbs in the perf.:

'idā ṣaluḥat ṣaluḥa l-mujtama'u

إذا صلحت صلح المجتمع

'if and when it [namely, the family] **is healthy** society **is healthy**'

'idā 'ajaza 'an-i l-qiyāmi bihi baytu l-māli wajaba 'alā l-muslimīna kāffatan

إذا عجز عن القيام به بيت المال وجب على المسلمين كافة

'if and when the community treasury **is unable to** carry it out, **the obligation falls** on the Muslims generally'

'idā ḡaḍibat-i l-mar'atu faqadat 'unūṭatahā

إذا غضبت المرأة فقدت أنوثتها

'if and when a woman **becomes angry** she **loses** her femininity'

Topic with *'idā* إذا sentence as comment (cf. 3.3 and see also 8.1.13):

ba'du l-kuttābi 'idā ḥarajū min masāqīti ru'ūsihim yaḥtaniqūna bi-l-ḡurbati wa-waḥṣati l-'amkinati l-jadīdati 'alayhim

بعض الكتّاب إذا خرجوا من مساقط رؤوسهم يختنقون بالعربة ووحشة الأماكن الجديدة عليهم

'some writers, if/when they leave their birthplace, become stifled by the separation and the loneliness of the places new to them'

8.3.11 Temporal

Purely temporal: here the meaning may be a non-specific 'when' or, overlapping with *'idā mā* إذا عا (see 8.3.13), the sense of 'whenever'. Note that the sense can be past or present habitual. The syntax is identical with conditional *'idā* إذا :

'idā 'anna marīḍun 'anna l-jamī'u

إذا أن مريض أن الجميع

'when one patient moaned everyone moaned'

'idā ḥarajat-i l-'asmāku min-a l-baḥri tamūtu bi-l-iḥtināqi

إذا خرجت الأسماك من البحر تموت بالاختناق

'when fish come out of the sea they die of asphyxiation'

'idā sami'a 'adāna l-fajri fī hudū'i l-layli ṭariba l-qalbu

إذا سمع أذان الفجر في هدوء الليل طرب قلبه

'when he hears the dawn prayer call in the calm of the night his heart rejoices'

With inversion:

wa-lakinnahā bada'at ta'lafu tilka l-ibtimāsāti wa-taftaqidu ṣāhibahā 'idā ḡāba

ولكنّها بدأت تألف تلك الابتسامات و تفتقد صاحبها إذا غاب

'but she began to get used to those smiles and miss their bearer when(ever) he was away'

min-a l-'ābirīna 'aqribā'u yanzilūnā 'indanā 'idā jā'ū min-a l-rīfi

من العابرين أقباء ينزلون عندنا إذا جاءوا من الريف

'among those passing through (are) relatives who stay with us whenever they come from the countryside'

8.3.12 With *kāna* كان (or its sisters) to express habitual acts

To express a past (historical) meaning the auxiliary *kāna* كان 'to be' (or any of its 'sisters') is used (▷C3:300 and cf. 3.10.6). The whole sentence then becomes a

comment on the noun-agent of *kāna* كان (or its 'sisters'); verbs in the interior of the sentence are normally perfect although they can be indep. imperf. as they generally indicate habitual acts:

ḥattā ṣāra 'idā waṣalat 'arabatu l-mā'i wa-lam yakūnū mawjūdīna mala'a lahum jirārahum

حتى صار إذا وصلت عربة الماء ولم يكونوا موجودين ملاً لهم جرارهم
'until the situation reached the point that whenever the water wagon arrived when they were not around he would fill their clay pitchers for them'

kuntu 'idā waṣaltu 'ilā l-munḥanā 'inda furni l-ḥājji nāsif 'altafītu 'ilā l-ḥalfi

كنت اذا وصلت الى المنحنى عند فرن الحاج ناصيف التفت الى الخلف
'whenever I used to reach the corner at Hajj Nasif's bakery I would look behind me'

wa-kānat-i l-ṣawāri'u 'idā tasāqaṭa 'alayhā l-maṭaru 'aṣbaḥat mamlū'atan bi-l-ṭīni

وكانت الشوارع اذا تساقط عليها المطر أصبحت مملوءة بالطين
'and the streets would, whenever rain fell on them, become full of mud'

8.3.13 Followed by *mā* ما and with the sense of 'whenever'

'*idā mā* إذا ما has the meaning 'whenever', 'when' (>C3:305), where the redundant *mā* ما suffix serves to suggest vagueness (5.6.3), and it thus overlaps with plain '*idā* إذا in this sense. The syntax is the same as the unsuffixed '*idā* إذا, and the meaning may be either temporal:

'idā mā qtarabat min-a l-sifārati futiḥa bābu l-sifārati l-kahrabā'iyyu

إذا ما اقتربت من السفارة فتح باب السفارة الكهربائي
'whenever it [namely, the car] approached the embassy the electric gate of the embassy was opened'

'idā mā stayqaṭa l-raṣīdu, istad'ā nadīmahu

إذا ما استيقظ الرشيد، استدعى نديمه
'whenever Rashid woke up, he summoned his drinking companion'

'idā mā ḥāwalnā taqyīma ḥādīhi l-ḥujaji yumkinu 'an nu'akkida 'alā ba'di l-mulāḥaḏāti

إذا حاولنا تقييم هذه الحجج يمكن أن نؤكد على بعض الملاحظات
'when we try to evaluate these arguments we can confirm certain observations' (for *yumkinu* يمكن see 7.5.1.1 for example, also 3.20.1)

8.3.14 Incomplete conditionals (cf. 8.1.12, 8.2.9)

ḥattā 'idā sallamnā bi-'anna ḥādīhi ... tumattīlu l-yawma ...

حتى إذا سلمنا بأن هذه ... تمثل اليوم ...

'even if we accept that this ... represents today ...'

8.4 ELLIPTICAL CONDITIONAL *wa-'illā* ولا 'if not', 'if it is not the case' (▷C3:336, AS A CASE OF ELLIPSIS)

wa-'illā ولا (and sometimes *wa-'illā fa-* فـ ولا see 8.1.9 and 11.3) in the sense of 'if not', 'if it is not the case', relates to a previous statement. It is historically an exceptive (see Chapter 9) with the assumed etymology of *'in lā ...* إن لا ... 'if not ... then ...' of which it is a compound. The verb after the compound is elided:

Neg. apod. clauses after *wa-'illā* ولا are headed by *la-* لا which suggests an implied protasis with *law* لو 'if' (see 8.2.1):

wa-ḥādīhi l-bunā lam tutajāwaz wa-'illā la-mā staṭā 'at 'an tuṭilla bi-ra'sihā l-yawma ḥayyatan wa-fa-'ālatan fī l-bunā l-mujtama'iyyati l-mu'āṣirati

وهذه البنى لم تتجاوز وإلا لما استطاعت أن تظل برأسها اليوم حية وفعالة في البنى المجتمعية المعاصرة

'these structures have not been superseded; **otherwise** [lit. 'if they had'] they would not be able to stand high today as living and effective in the structures of modern society'

wa-hiya 'ayḍan 'awfā min sayyidika wa-sayyidi wa-'illā la-mā māta kalbun ḥasratan 'alā sayyidihi llaḍi raḥala

وهي أيضا أوفى من سيدي وإلا لما مات كلب حسرة على سيده الذي رحل

'and they [the dogs] are more faithful than you or me; **otherwise** [lit. "if not"] no dog would have died from grief at the death of its master'

This construction is often used after an elided apod. of a true cond. sentence:

al-siyāsatu min-a l-dīni wa-man qāla 'inna l-'islāma lā siyāsata fīhi radadnā 'alayhi wa-'alqamnāhu l-dalīla fa-'in tāba ... wa-'illā 'udnā

السياسة من الدين ومن قال إن الإسلام لا سياسة فيه ردنا عليه وألقناه الدليل فإن تاب ... وإلا عدنا

Politics is part of religion, and whoever says that Islam does not have any politics in it, we would reject this from them and make them swallow the evidence, and if he repents [all well and good], **and if not**, we would return [to the matter, i.e. do it again]

8.5 INDEFINITE CONDITIONALS (▷C3:353)

There is a small set of particles that may be divided into three categories whose accompanying sentences are closely related to conditional structures. It is said

that these particles ‘assume the meaning’ of a conditional particle, in addition to their normal (original) function as interrogatives, for instance. They are called indefinite conditionals because they refer to an undefined entity in the protasis that they introduce. Syntactically they mimic the true conditional particles because they contain both a protasis and apod., and their syntax shows the same flexibility associated with conditional clauses in MWA. The same rules for *fa-* ف in the apod. as for other conditional structures above apply (contrast indirect questions with *man* مَنْ ‘who’ and *mā* ما ‘what’ in 10.18 where the syntax is different). That the particles in this group may occur with apoc., in their conditional function enables us to distinguish them from relatives and interros.

8.5.1 Relative conditionals (cf. nominalized relatives 5.4)

The particles in the set of rel. indefinite conditionals function either pronominally or adverbially, or both.

man مَنْ ‘who[so][ever]’ (▷C3:354–5) may be followed by verbs either in the perf. or apoc., although the latter is more common. Alternatively the apod. may be preceded by *fa-* ف + nom. sentence or *fa-qad* فقد + perf. (contrast paired rel. sentences 5.4.1.1, with perf. or indep. imperf. verb, in both cases with the non-conditional sense ‘the kind of people who do x also do y’):

man yanẓur ‘ilā l-ta’īrī l-’abqā yarahu fī l-’adabi wa-l-fanni wa-l-’ilmi

من ينظر الى التأثير الأبقى يره في الأدب والفن والعلم

‘**whosoever** would take a look at the most lasting effect would see it in literature, art and science’ (note that *yarahu* يره is clearly apoc.)

man yaḍa’ rijlahu fihā yaḥkum ‘alā nafsīhi bi-l-’amā

من يضع رجله فيها يحكم على نفسه بالعمى

‘**whoever** would put his foot into it would doom himself to blindness’

man yarahā yazūnna ‘annahā ḥāmilun bi-’arba’ati tawā’ima

بأربعة توائم من يرها يظن أنها حامل

‘**whoever** saw her would think that she was pregnant with four [sets of] twins’

mā ما as indefinite conditional in *mahmā* مهما ‘whatsoever’ (▷C3:208, 354):

mā ما does not occur by itself as an indef. conditional; rather it is invariably replaced by *mahmā* مهما. The verbs in both the ‘conditional’ and the ‘result’ clause can be perf., apoc. or indep. imperf. The result clause may also begin with *fa-* ف. Unlike *man* مَنْ above which can have either a rel. or conditional function, *mahmā* مهما is always conditional, and either pronominal or adverbial.

Pronominal ‘no matter what’ (▷C3:355):

mahmā kāna ḥajmuhu

مهما كان حجمه

‘no matter what its size may be’

mahmā kānat-i l-tafsīrātu ḥawla hādhihi l-nuqtati bi-l-dāti fa-’inna ...

... مهما كانت التفسيرات حول هذه النقطة بالذات فإن ...

‘whatever the explanations concerning this particular point [then] ...’

(see 2.8.3.3)

mahmā yakun, lā yata’āraḍu ‘timādu l-nuẓumi l-rādāriyyati l-maḥmūlati

‘alā l-ṭā’irāti ma’a ...

... مهما يكن، لا يتعارض اعتماد النظم الرادارية المحمولة على الطائرات مع ...

‘whatever might be [the case], the reliability of the radar systems carried on aeroplanes does not conflict with...’

(note that the verb following *mahmā* مهما in the idiomatic ‘whatever the case’ is normally apoc.)

The use of the indep. imperf. on the verb in the apod., as in the following example, shows a clear departure from CA syntax:

mahmā balaḡa ḥadsu l-’insāni ‘aw quwwatuhu ‘alā l-tanabbu’i tabqā

lahazātun fī dā’irati l-ḡaybi

مهما بلغ حدس الإنسان أو قوته على التنبؤ تبقى لحظات في دائرة الغيب

‘Whatever man’s intelligence and power of prediction may achieve, some moments will remain in the sphere of the unknown’

Adverbial ‘no matter how’ (▷C3:355):

’innahum mahmā ḥṭalafū šu’ūban wa-’awṭānan, fa-’innahum ‘iḥwatun

qarābatan wa-nasaban

إنهم مهما اختلفوا شعوبا وأوطانا فإنهم إخوة قرابة ونسبا

‘no matter how they differed as peoples or in homeland, they are brothers in kinship and relationship’ (see specifying complement 2.4.4.1)

mahmā tuḥāwil ‘an tuḡayyira l-ḥaqā’iqa ‘āṣābahā wahanun

... مهما تحاول أن تغير الحقائق أصابها وهن ...

‘no matter how it attempts to alter the facts it has been afflicted by a weakness’, lit. ‘a weakness has afflicted it’

Postposing of the *mahmā* مهما clause is not uncommon in MWA:

li-’anna l-ṭifla yaš’uru bi-dālika mahmā ṣaḡurat sinnuhu

لأنَّ الطفل يشعر بذلك مهما صغرت سنّه

‘because a child will feel that no matter how young it is’

mahmā ... min من ... مهما ‘no matter what ... in the way of’ (▷C3:356)

mahmā 'tarāhu fī l-nihāyi min wahanin wa-mtiqā'in

مهما اعتراه في النهاية من وهن و امتقاع

'no matter what langour and pallor finally came over it [namely, her face]',
lit. 'no matter what ... **in the way of** ...' (see explanatory *min* من 2.6.11 and 5.4.4)

8.5.2 Conditionals

(Contrast interros. in indirect questions, 10.16, 10.17.)

The following are attested as conditional particles in CA, although they were rarely used. Some educated Arab writers continue to emulate the classical style, but only a small number of these particles with a true conditional function in MWA has been found during the collection of material for this study. These conditionals function nowadays mainly as adverbials:

'annā أنى 'however', 'wherever'

(restricted to literary usage) and

'ayyāna أيان 'when', 'whenever'

(the latter being an archaic particle of which no examples were found)

yulāḥiqhā 'āruhā 'annā dahabat

يلحقها عارها أنى ذهبت

'her disgrace follows her **wherever** she goes'

'ayna[-mā] أين (ما) 'wherever' (▷C3:359).

The adverbial 'ayna أين 'where' occurs with *mā* ما followed by the perf. tense or apoc. form. The position of the conditional clause with 'ayna أين (*mā* ما) at its head is flexible, occurring either in the normal position or postposed which is very common in MWA. The syntactic rules pertaining to the 'result' clause are flexible, i.e., with the verb of that clause not occurring in any fixed tense, particularly in the postposed examples:

'aynamā dahaba wa-jāla fī 'awāšimi l-'ālamī wa-'anḥā'i l-'arḍi yaḥmilu
ma 'ahu šay'an 'an-i l-janūbi

أينما ذهب وجال في عواصم العالم وأنحاء الأرض يحمل معه شيئا عن الجنوب

'**wherever** he goes and roams in the capitals of the world and parts of the globe he (always) takes with him something about the south'

al-'islāmu yūšī bi-'ahli l-kitābi ḥayran 'aynamā kānū

الإسلام يوصي بأهل الكتاب خيرا أينما كانوا

'Islam recommends charity towards People of the Book **wherever** they may be'

kānat tatba 'uhu l-'abšāru 'aynamā ḥalla

كانت تتبعه الأبصار أينما حل

'eyes followed him **wherever** he went'

'*ayyu* أيّ (▷C:357) 'whichever', 'whatever'

Indef. pron. with verb, normally *kāna* كان, occurring in the perf. or apoc.: note that the pron. inflects according to its grammatical status in the sentence, in this case, preposed pred. of *kāna* كان:

bi- 'tibārihā 'umman 'ayyan kānat wasīlatu l- 'umūmati

باعتبارها أمًا أيًا كانت وسيلة الأمومة

'in her capacity as a mother **no matter what** the means of motherhood may have been' (see 2.5.8.5 for *bi- 'tibāri* باعتبار and obj. of verbal nouns 2.10)

'*ayyan takun-i l-ḥalfiyyātu wa-l-dawāfi 'u*

أيًا تكن الخلفيات والدوافع

'**no matter what** the backgrounds and motives were'

'*ayyumā* أيما 'which/whatever' (▷C3:357) (for its exclamatory usage see ▷C3:228 and 3.28.3).

Followed by noun in indep. case, although its occurrence is rare in MWA:

'*ayyumā qalbun lam yaḥfiq bi-l-ḥubbi wa-law marratan wāḥidatan?*

أيما قلب لم يخفق بالحب ولو مرة واحدة؟

'**whatever heart** has not pulsated with love even once?'

kayfa [-mā] (كيف) 'however' (▷C3:358, 359).

kayfa كيف 'how' can form a compound with *mā* ما followed by the perf. or indep. imperf. and is normally postposed:

wa-jarraba mu 'jizātihi baqiya l-yawmi wa-l- 'ayyāmi l-tāliyatī fi 'amākina mutafarriqatin kayfa-mā ttafaqa

وجرب معجزاته بقية اليوم والأيام التالية في أماكن متفرقة كيفما اتفق

'he tried out his miracles for the rest of the day and during the following days in different places **however** it happened'

wa-huwa l-qādiru 'alā balwarati hāḍihi l-dunyā kayfa-mā yašā 'u

وهو القادر على بلورة هذه الدنيا كيفما يشاء

'he being the one capable of crystallizing this world **however** he wants'

kayfa كيف 'however' as true cond. is rare:

kayfa takun takun mu 'āmalatu l-nāsi laka

كيف تكن تكن معاملة الناس لك

'**however** you may be, so will be other people's treatment of you'

matā متى 'whenever' (▷C3:359).

More common as an adverbial:

matā taṣīlu tajidunā fi ntiṣārika

متى تصل تجدنا في انتظارك

'**when** you arrive you will find us waiting for you'

although the following reading is also possible:

matā taṣīl tajidnā fi ntiḏārika

متى تصل تجدنا في انتظارك

‘whenever you arrive you [will] find us waiting for you’

8.5.3 Adverbial conditionals

The following examples illustrate the function of a small set of adverbials that can also have conditional meaning, being compounded with *mā* ما to emphasize their vagueness. The following verb is nearly always in the perf. tense.

ḥaytūmā حيثما ‘wherever’ (▷C3:282) (for *ḥaytu* حيث see 7.6.9)

With adverbial *ḥaytūmā* حيثما, as with so many of this type of particle, the accompanying syntax is flexible. When the particle occurs at the head of the ‘conditional’ clause the verb in each clause may normally be either apoc. or perf. (but see 5.9.6 where there is evidence that its status is becoming indeterminate). When *ḥaytūmā* حيثما occurs postpositionally only the following verb is subject to conditional rules with all conditional structures:

ḥaytūmā ḥalla ḥallaḥa warā’ahu dahṣatan

حيثما حلّ خلف وراءه دهشة

‘wherever he stopped he left astonishment behind him’

al-judrānu sawdā’u wa-mahdūmatun ‘aḥjāruhā mutasāqīṭatun ḥaytūmā ttaḥaqa l-suqūṭu

الجدران سوداء و مهدومة أحجارها متساقطة حيثما اتفق السقوط

‘the walls were black and destroyed, the stones falling wherever they happened to fall’ (cf. paronomasia in 11.7.10 and see *na’t sababī* 2.1.3.4)

kullamā كلما ‘the more ... the more ...’, ‘whenever’ (▷C3:219) (for *kull* كل as quantifier see 2.9.1.1).

kullamā كلما has a quasi-conditional function conveying the sense of ‘the more ... the more ...’, in addition to its sense of ‘whenever’, ‘each time when’ (see 5.9.10). The verbs in each clause are normally in the perf.:

wa-lākin kullamā marrat-i l-sanawātu faqadnā l-kaṭīra

ولكن كلما مرّت السنوات فقدنا الكثير

‘but the more the years passed, the more we lost’

kullamā كلما ‘the more ...’ is occasionally repeated but is not necessary:

kullamā tamassakat tilka l-mu’assasātu bi-l-dawri l-munāṭi bihā kullamā tawārā l-farāḡu l-siyāsīyyu ‘an-i l-‘anzāri

كلما تمسكت تلك المؤسسات بالدور المناط بها كلما توارى الفراغ السياسي عن الأنظار

‘the more those organizations stuck to the role entrusted to them, the more the political void disappeared from view’

8.6 CONCESSIVE CLAUSES (▷C3:330; 332)

wa-law ولو ‘even if’ and *wa-’in* وإن ‘even if’ in postpositionals (see 8.1.12 and 8.2.9; ▷C3:331).

In concessive constructions the actuality of the event stated in the ‘even if/though ... (something were to happen)’ clause has no influence upon the validity of the non-conditional clause, whose event will occur regardless.

The concessive clause is nearly always postpositioned (but it may also occur parenthetically) and the same grammatical rules as for normal cond. clauses apply. The postpositioned conditional clause is linked to the preceding clause by the coordinating particle *wa-* و:

laysa hādā kalāmanā, wa-’in kunnā nu’ayyiduhu

ليس هذا كلامنا وإن كنّا نؤيده

‘this is not what we said, **even though** we supported it’

qad ‘aṣḥabū min-a l-nāḥiyati l-siyāsiyyati ka-l-muslimīna ... wa-’in baqū min-a l-nāḥiyati l-ṣaḥṣiyyati ‘alā ‘aqā’idihim

قد أصبحوا من الناحية السياسية كالمسلمين ... وإن بقوا من الناحية الشخصية على عقائدهم

‘they became like the Muslims from the political point of view, **even though** they remained from the personal point of view in their own beliefs’

hākaḍā yabda’u bi-hudū’in qaḍā’a sā’ātihi l-’aḥīrati wa-’in ḡallat-i l-laḥḡatu l-nihā’iyyatu majhūlata l-mawqī’i

هكذا يبدأ بهدوء قضاء ساعاته الأخيرة وإن ظلت اللحظات النهائية مجهولة الموقع

‘thus he began calmly to spend his last hours, **even though** the occurrence of the final moment was still unknown’ (see 2.1.3.2 for unreal annexation, and ḡalla ظل in 3.17.14)

With *ḡattā* (wa-) *law* ولو حتّى ‘even if’ (see *ḡattā* حتّى in 6.11 and 7.6.7 and *ḡattā* (wa-) ‘in وإن):

li-’anna l-ṭifla l-marīḍa yaḡtāju ‘ilā man yarfa’u lahu ma’nawīyyātihi ḡattā wa-law kānat-i l-qulūbu tuḡālifu l-wujūha

لأنّ الطفل المريض يحتاج إلى مَنْ يرفع له معنوياته حتّى ولو كانت القلوب تخالف الوجوه

‘because a sick child needs someone to raise its morale, **even if** the heart contradicts the face’

wa-kal-’anna l-riwāyatu turīdu ‘an taqūla ‘an lā ṣay’a sa-yataḡayyaru fī hādā l-mujtama’i ḡattā wa-law nasafat-i l-ḡarbu kulla l-māḍi l-muḡlimi l-mu’timi

وكانّ الرواية تريد أن تقول أن لا شئ سيتغير في هذا المجتمع حتّى ولو نسفت الحرب كل الماضي المظلم المعتم

'it is as though the novel wants to say that nothing will change in this society **even if** the war were to blow away all of the dark and gloomy past' (see 'an al-muḥaffafa أن المخففة 4.1.5, 3.2.2, 7.5.1.9)

This construction (like *wa-law* ولو or *wa-'in* وإن) may also occur parenthetically:

'idā ṭalaba l-'amāna 'ayyu fardīn **ḥattā law** kāna min-a l-muḥāribīna qubila minhu

إذا طلب الأمان أي فرد حتى لو كان من المحاربين قبل منه

'if (when) any individual seeks safe conduct, **even if** he is one of the combatants, [the request] will be accepted from him'

(see 'idā إذا 'when' in clear temporal sense 8.3.11)

8.7 CONDITIONALS IN REPORTED SPEECH

(See 10.19.1 for indirect questions with 'idā إذا, 10.19.3 with 'in إن.)

'idā إذا, 'when', and to a lesser degree 'in إن 'if', are used to head reported questions, involving the verb *sa'ala* سأل 'to ask', or similar verbs. Such sentences often bear the traits of a calque from Western languages with the sense of 'if', 'whether':

wa-sa'altu 'idā kuntu 'astaṭī'u 'an 'ajlisa hunāka

وسألت إذا كنت أستطيع أن أجلس هناك

'and I asked **whether** I could sit there'

(note use of *kāna* كان 'be' with an indep.imperf. verb in the protasis to denote the past)

lā 'a'rifu 'idā kāna hādā ṭabī'atan fihā 'am li-'annahā lā tunjibu

لا أعرف إذا كان هذا طبيعة فيها أم لأنها لا تنجب

'I do not know **whether** this was a peculiarity in her or [whether it was] because she is not producing children'

9 EXCEPTIVES

9.0 GENERAL PRINCIPLES

The exceptive particle with the widest range of functions in MWA is 'illā ^{إلا} ‘except’ although it is being replaced more and more in MWA by *siwā* ^{سوى} (see 9.5.2 as an exceptive particle, and also 2.9.2.4 and 7.5.2.11 for clausal *siwā* ^{سوى}).

Exceptive sentences contain two parts: the general thing from which the exception is made, i.e., the antecedent (*al-mustaṭnā minhu*), which is the part that generally precedes the particle 'illā ^{إلا}, and the excepted element (*al-mustaṭnā*). Since 'illā ^{إلا} is etymologically 'in ^{إن} + lā ^{لا} ‘if not’, it will have neg., i.e. exclusive, effect after a positive statement (+ × – = –) and positive, i.e. inclusive, effect after a neg. statement (– × – = +). The same also applies to *ḡayr* ^{غير} (see 9.5.1). Accordingly, elements which are logically included in the statement will show agreement with their antecedent (cf. 2.0), and excluded elements will default to the dep. form (cf. 2.0).

Traditional grammar recognizes three types of “exceptive sentence” (*jumlat al-istiṭnā'*) in MWA, differing in the logical relationship between the antecedent and the excepted element, which determines the inflection of the latter. By far the most common is *istiṭnā' mufarraḡ* (lit. “exhaustive exception”), where there is no antecedent (9.1). Secondly there is *istiṭnā' muttaṣil* (lit. “continuous exception”), where antecedent and excepted element are homogeneous (9.2), and finally, the least common type, *istiṭnā' munqaṭi'* (lit. “discontinuous exception”), where antecedent and excepted element are heterogeneous (see further in this paragraph).

There are in practice four possible structures (the examples below are artificial, see the relevant paragraphs for authentic specimens):

1. Exhaustive exception, always negative: there being no antecedent, the excepted element is the logical argument and inflects accordingly, e.g.

mā qāma 'illā zaydun

ما قام إلا زيدٌ

“only **Zayd** stood up” or “no-one stood up except **Zayd**” (cf. 4.2.2 on neg. agents)

lit. “not stood up if not **Zayd** [indep.]”, with *zaydun* ^{زيدٌ} marked here as the logical agent of the verb.

2. Continuous exception, positive: the excepted element is excluded from the action and therefore has default dep. case (see 2.4 on non-agr.), e.g.

qāma l-qawmu 'illā zaydan

قام القومُ إلا زيدًا

“the people [indep.] stood up, except **Zayd** [dep.]”

i.e. Zayd is excluded from the standing up and so cannot agree in case with *al-qawmu* ‘the people’.

3. Continuous exception, negative: the excepted element, after a double negative (“not ... if not”), is logically in apposition to the antecedent and therefore agrees with it (cf. 2.2.2), e.g.

mā qāma l-qawmu 'illā zaydun

ما قام القومُ إلا زيدٌ

“the **people** [indep.] did **not** stand up except **Zayd** [indep.]”

lit. “not stood the people, if not Zayd”.

4. Discontinuous exception is very rare and no examples were found. The following made-up example simply illustrates the principle that in this type the excepted element, being heterogeneous with the antecedent, has default non-agr. in dep. case:

lam yaḥḍur-i l-musāfirīna 'illā 'anti'atahum

لم يحضر المسافرون إلا أمتعتهم

“the **travellers** [indep.] did not arrive except their **belongings** [dep.]”

where the belongings and the travellers are of a different genus.

Exceptive sentences vary in their complexity, and the agr. rules are not always followed (as in CA, there is a tendency for dep. forms to occur where agr. would be correct). The particle *'illā* إلا may also be accompanied by another particle, or followed by a noun or noun phrase, prep. phrase or even longer clauses and sentences.

There are a number of translation options for exceptive sentences; ‘only’ (even when the initial clause is negative in Arabic), ‘nothing but’, ‘not...until’, and even ‘without’, when the exceptive particle is followed by a subordinate clause.

9.1 *istiṭnā' mufarraġ* ‘EXCEPTION WITHOUT ANTECEDENT’

The general principle of *istiṭnā' mufarraġ* ‘exception without antecedent’ is that the excepted element must be inflected for the logical and grammatical function of the absent antecedent.

- It occurs only in negative sentences. In the following examples the excepted elements are classified by function.

Agent:

wa-lam yabqa lahu 'illā l-samaru wa-mu'ānasatu l-tilifiziyyīn
 ولم يبق له إلا السمر ومؤانسة التلفزيون
 'nothing was left for him **but** conversation and watching television'
lam ya'ud 'amāmahā 'illā munāṣadatu wazīri l-ta'līmī
 لم يعد أمامها إلا مناشدة وزير التعليم
 'there was nothing left for her **but** to seek help from the Minister of Education'

Pred. of *kāna* كان:

lam yakun 'illā majnūnan
 لم يكن إلا مجنونا
 'he was nothing **but** insane'

Obj. of verb:

lam 'aṣḥab ma'ī 'illā juz'an wāḥidan min-a 'l-futūḥāt al-makkiyya'
 لم أصحب معي إلا جزءا واحدا من الفتوحات المكية
 'I only took with me one part of "The Meccan Revelations"',
 lit. 'did not take with me **except**'
lam yuqaddim 'illā 'arḍan masraḥiyyan wāḥidan faqaṭ
 لم يقدم إلا عرضا مسرحيا واحدا فقط
 'has presented **only** one single theatre show' [obj. of verb]

(note the use of *faqaṭ* فقط for emphasis, see 3.30.3)

lam tanqul 'illā ṭamāniyata 'aṣḥāṣin faqaṭ
 لم تنقل إلا ٨ أشخاص فقط
 'carried [fem.sing] **but** 8 people only' [obj. of verb]

Pred. of equational sentence:

mā bayāḍuhu 'illā n'ikāsun li-ḍaw'i l-šamsi
 ما بياضه الا انعكاس لضوء الشمس
 'it's whiteness is **nothing but** a reflection of the light of the sun'
mā hum 'illā ṭuġmatun min-a l-jubanā'i
 ما هم إلا طغمة من الجبناء
 'they are **nothing but** a bunch of cowards'

Prepositional phrase:

mā min nārin 'illā fika wa-mā min samā'in 'illā fika
 ما من نار إلا فيك وما من سماء إلا فيك
 'there is no hellfire **except** in you and no heaven **except** in you'

(see neg. *mā ... min* من ... ما in 4.1.1)

'amrāḍun lā tu 'ālaju 'illā bi-l-dawā' i l-mustawradi

أمراض لا تعالج إلا بالدواء المستورد

'illnesses which can **only** be treated with imported medicine'
[prepositional phrase]

al-dahru miṭlu l- 'arḍi fa-huwa lā yatakawwanu 'illā min tatālī l-ṭāqāti l-kawniyyati

الدهر مثل الأرض فهو لا يتكوّن إلا من تتالي الطاقات الكونية

'time is like the earth, it is composed **only** of the succession of cosmic powers' [prepositional phrase]

- Adverbs of time:

lam 'abqa 'illā ṭawāniya

لم أبق إلا ثواني

'I stayed **only** some seconds'

lā yuftaḥu l-jihāzu 'illā ba 'da taḡḍiyatihi bi-hāḍihi l- 'arqāmi l- 'arba'ati

لا يفتح الجهاز إلا بعد تغذيته بهذه الأرقام الأربعة

'the apparatus will **only** be switched on after entering these four numbers, lit. 'after the supplying of it with these four numbers'

lam tastamirra 'illā 'āman wāḥidan

لم تستمرّ إلا عاما واحدا

'it lasted **only** a single year'

lā talbasu l-fustāna mahmā kāna ḡāliyan 'illā marratan wāḥidatan

لا تلبس الفستان مَهْمَا كان غاليا إلا مرة واحدة

'she wears the dress, no matter how expensive it was, **only** one single time'

(Note how the two clauses can be interrupted by a parenthetical clause but the grammatical status of the excepted element is unaffected.)

- A pronoun may also be attached to 'illā:

lam 'a 'ud 'arā 'illāka

لم أعد أرى إلاك

'I no longer see **anyone but you**'

9.2 *istiṭnā' muttaṣil* 'continuous exception': POSITIVE (▷C3:349)

The general principle of *istiṭnā' muttaṣil* 'continuous exception' is that the logical exclusion is marked by grammatical discord. The excepted noun takes dep. case:

wa-qad turjimat kutubuhu fī ḥayātihi 'illā kitāban wāḥidan turjima ba'da wafātihi bi-ḥamsi sinīna

و قد تُرجمت كتبه في حياته إلا كتابا واحدا تُرجم بعد وفاته بخمس سنين
'all his **books** were translated during his life **except one** [dep.] which was translated five years after his death'

taraka l-'amala 'illā 'ašgālan ḥafīfatan yu'addihā li-ba'ḍi jirānihi

ترك العمل إلا أشغالا خفيفة يؤدّيها لبعض جيرانه
'he gave up **work** **except** small **jobs** [dep.] which he did for some of his neighbours'

9.3 *istiṭnā' muttaṣil* 'continuous exception': NEGATIVE

The general principle is that the logical inclusion is marked by agreement with the antecedent:

lam yatrūk lahum šay'an 'illā naṣībahu fī baytin qadīm

لم يترك لهم شيئا إلا نصيبه في بيت قديم
'he did not leave **anything** for them **except** for his **share** in an old house'

In the following example the indep. form on noun after *'illā* إلا is required since the concord is with the function and not the form of the antecedent:

lā 'ilāha 'illā llāhu

لا إله إلا الله

'there is no God **but** Allah' (see cat. denial 4.1.2)

9.3.1 *istiṭnā' munqaṭi'* 'discontinuous exception'

This is a category of which no examples were found for this study.

9.4 INTER-CLAUSAL *'illā* إلا

9.4.1 With conditional particle

'illā إلا also occurs in conjunction with an independent conditional-type clause headed by *'idā* إذا (see 8.3) and may be preceded by negative (or occasionally

positive) phrases and sentences (▷C3:339) (see also negatives in **Chapter 4** and conditionals in **Chapter 8**).

In such constructions the idea expressed in the first clause, which is usually, though not necessarily, negative, is not valid unless the proposition in the conditional clause is carried out.

The category of exhaustive exception may involve more complex longer sentences such as conditionals. In such examples the antecedent is implied. For instance:

wa-lā tustatāru šahiyyatu l-ḥāḍirīna ‘alā l-kalāmi ‘illā ‘idā kāna l-ḥadīṭu ḥawla jarīmati qatlin ‘aw qaḍiyyatin dīniyyatin

ولا تُستثار شهية الحاضرين على الكلام إلا إذا كان الحديث حول جريمة قتل أو قضية دينية

‘the appetite to speak amongst those present was **only** stirred when the conversation was about a murder, crime or a religious issue’,
lit. ‘was not stirred **except when**’

lan tadḥula fī ‘ayyi ḥiwārīn ma‘a munazzamati l-taḥrīri l-filasṭīniyyati ‘illā ‘idā ltazamat bi-l-šurūṭi

لن تدخل في أي حوار مع منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية إلا إذا التزمت بالشروط

‘[the USA] will not enter into any dialogue with the PLO **unless** it adheres to the conditions’, lit. ‘**except if/when**’

‘inna l-dīna lā yakūnu dīnan ‘illā ‘idā rabaṭa l-ḥalqa bi-l-ḥaqqi

إن الدين لا يكون ديناً إلا إذا ربط الخلق بالحق

‘religion is not religion **unless** it binds people to the Truth’, lit. ‘**except when**’

9.4.2 ‘illā + inverted equational. sentence (no wa- و) (▷C3:340; cf. 9.4.6)

‘illā ‘except’ can be followed by inverted equational sentences (3.1.3):

mā ‘aẓīmun ‘illā warā’ahu mra’atun

ما عظيم إلا وراءه امرأة

‘behind every great man is a woman’,
lit. ‘there is no great man **except behind him [is] a woman**’

mā ẓahara ḥaqqun ‘illā warā’ahu muṭālibun

ما ظهر حق إلا وراءه مطالب

‘no right was ever realized **without there being someone in pursuit [of it]**’

9.4.3 *mā huwa/hiya 'illā 'an ... ḥattā* ما هو\هي إلا أن ... حتى
'no sooner ... than' (▷C3:346–7, cf. 4.2.6 and 7.6.7.8)

'illā 'except' can also be followed by a clause beginning with 'an أن with noun phrase function (7.5) in conjunction with ḥattā حتى 'until':

mā huwa 'illā 'an naẓarnā 'ilā mawḍū'i l-da'awāti ḥattā ktaṣafnā
'annanā ...

ما هو إلا أن نظرنا إلى موضوع الدعوات حتى اكتشفنا أننا ...

'no sooner **had** we looked at the subject of the demands **than** we discovered that we ...'

mā / 'in... 'illā...wa- ما \ إن...إلا...و 'no more than...until' (▷C1:128-9; ▷C3:347; see also 4.2.6 and 7.6.7.8)

Neg. *mā* 'not' combines with 'illā 'except' with a temporal expression, to form an exceptive idiom with *wa-* 'and', whose clause has the status of a circ. qual. (7.3.2):

mā hiya 'illā laḥazātun wa-ṣṭabakat-i l-nujūmu ma'a l-kawākibi fī
ma'rakatin bi-l-'aydi wa-l-'arjuli

ما هي إلا لحظات واشتبكت النجوم مع الكواكب في معركة بالأيدي والأرجل
'it **was no** [lit. 'is no'] more **than** [a few] moments before the Stars and the Planets became engaged in a battle with hands and feet'

Negative 'in إن is still used occasionally in MWA in this way:

'in hiya 'illā biḍa'u sā'ātin wa-yaṭla'u l-fajru

إن هي إلا بضع ساعات ويطلع الفجر

'it **is no** more **than** a few hours before dawn breaks'

9.4.5 *'illā 'anna / 'illā 'an* إلا أن adversative, 'but', 'yet'
(▷C3:351–2) (see 7.5.2.11 and also cf. *lākinna* لكن 'but', 6.5)

'illā 'anna أن and 'illā 'an أن introduce adversative clauses, often in rather loose relationships The preceding clause may be either affirmative or negative:

taraddadat 'illā 'annahā faqadat ḥajalahā sarī'an

ترددت إلا أنها فقدت خجلها سريعاً

'she hesitated, **but** [she] quickly lost her embarrassment'

lam taḥẓa 'iḥsānun 21 'āman bi-qadrin kabīrin min-a l-jamālī wa-l-fitnati
'illā 'annahā kānat tamliku min-a l-mālī mā yakfī li-'is 'ādī 'aṣarātīn min
zumalā'ihā

لم تحظ إحسان ٢١ عاما بقدر كبير من الجمال والفتنة إلا أنها كانت تملك من المال ما يكفي لإسعاد عشرات من زملائها

‘in 21 years Iḥsān was not blessed with much beauty or charm, **yet she** possessed enough wealth to make dozens of her fellows happy’, lit. ‘of wealth what was enough’

(see 5.4.4.1 on the reversed *mā ... min* من ... ما construction here)

‘aḥjamat ‘an-i l-duḥūli fī l-tajribati ṭilata ‘āmayni dirāsiyyayni ‘illā ‘annahā saqāṭat šarī‘ata naẓratin ḥāṭifatin

أحجمت عن الدخول في التجربة طيلة عامين دراسيين إلا أنها سقطت صريعة نظرة خاطفة

‘she refrained from entering the experiment for two academic years **but alas** she fell victim to a stolen glance’

The construction *‘illā ‘anna* إلا أن is especially common after the concessives like *ma‘a* مع (with or without *‘anna* أن) ‘although’ and all *rağma* رغم combinations ‘in spite of’ (see 7.5.2.11):

lam ‘aqdir ‘alā raddihi rağma mu‘āyašatī lahu bi-stimrārīn ‘illā ‘anna l-ḥanīna ḥaḍīhi l-marrata kāna muğāyiran

لم أقدر على رده رغم معاشتي له باستمرار إلا أن الحنين هذه المرة كان مغايراً
‘I was unable to resist it [= yearning] **in spite of** having lived with it constantly, **but** this time the yearning was different’

ma‘a taḥaffuẓī fī tanāwuli ba‘ḍi l-‘aṭ‘imati l-dasimati ‘illā ‘anna waznī qad zāda ziyādatan malḥūẓatan

مع تحفظي في تناول بعض الأطعمة الدسمة إلا أن وزني قد زاد زيادة ملحوظة
‘**in spite of** my caution in eating fatty foods [nonetheless] my weight increased noticeably’

Also after conditionals (see 8.3.3):

wa-‘in ‘ašarrū ‘alā l-safari sa-nasmaḥu lahum ‘illā ‘annanā lan nuqaddima ‘ayyata musā‘adatin

وإن أصروا على السفر سنسمح لهم إلا أننا لن نقدم أية مساعدة
‘and if they insist on travelling we will allow them, **except** we will not give them any assistance’ (see 2.9.1.6)

Note the use of *‘illā ‘an* إلا أن in the idiomatic expression *mā kāna min* ما كان من + noun. ‘there was no choice for ... but to’ (see *min* من in negs. 4.1.1):

fa-mā kāna min-a l-‘imbarātūri ‘illā ‘an šadda riḥālahu

فما كان من الإمبراطور إلا أن شد رحاله

‘so the Emperor had no choice **but to** leave’, lit. ‘but that he fasten his saddlebags’

fa-mā kāna min šaḍīqihā ‘illā ‘an ‘aḥraja min jaybihi mablağan māliyyan ‘alā sabīli l-‘iqrāḍi

فما كان من صديقها إلا أن أخرج من جيبه مبلغا ماليا على سبيل الإقراض
'her friend had no choice **but to** take an amount of money from his pocket
by way of a loan'

Also with neg. *mā ... min* من ... ما variant (see 4.1.1):

mā min šay'in 'amāmahu 'illā 'an ya 'ūda li-qaryatihi
ما من شيء أمامه إلا أن يعود لقريته
'there was nothing before him **except** to return to his village' (probably a
calque)

9.4.6 'illā wa- + phrases and sentences, 'without' (▷ C3:344, C3:346)

'illā wa- + لا و may be followed by either verbal or nominative sentence or prepositional phrase, all of which function as an adverbial subordinate clause. In each case, therefore, the clause following 'illā لا و has the status of a circ. qual. (see 7.3.2) in which the occurrence of the event/information conveyed in the circ. clause is simultaneous to the event/action of the main clause:

lam nuqdim 'alā l-zawāji 'illā wa-kullun minnā yaṭiqu bi-l- 'āḥari ṭiqatan
'aḏīmatan
لم نقدم على الزواج إلا وكل منا يثق بالآخر ثقة عظيمة
'we did not enter into marriage **without** each of us being extremely confident
about the other'

(see 3.29.3 for *ṭiqatan* ثقة 'confidence' as absolute object, and 2.9.1.1 for *kull* كل)

li- 'annahu lā tamūtu 'ajūzun fī 'ā'ilatikum 'illā wa-li-wālidika naṣībun fī
'irṭihā
لأنه لا تموت عجوز في عائلتكم إلا ولوالدك نصيب في إرثها
'because no old woman in your family dies **without** your father having a
share of her inheritance'

(see 3.4 for the pron./*ḍamīr al-ša'n* on *li- 'annahu* لأنه 'because [the fact] is')

mā šāhadtu 'āṭiran 'islāmiyyatan 'illā wa-tadakkartu baytan qadīman
ما شاهدت آثارا إسلامية إلا وتذكرت بيتا قديما
'I never saw any Islamic remains **without** remembering some old verse
of poetry'

Also occurs without *wa-* و :

wa-lākin mā min ṭawratin 'illā ntahat bi-l-inhiyāri tadrījiyyan
ولكن ما من ثورة إلا انتهت بالانهيار تدريجيا

‘but no revolution has ever ended in anything but gradual collapse’,
lit. ‘but there is no revolution **except** it has ended in collapse gradually’

mā min ‘ummatin šā’a fihā ḥtirāmu l-ḥuqūqi wa-’adā’u l-wājibāti ‘illā stamsaka ‘ūdūhā

ما من أمة شاع فيها احترام الحقوق وأداء الواجبات إلا استمسك عودها

‘there is no nation among whom respect for rights and performance of duties is all-pervasive which has not retained its strength’, lit. ‘**except** that it has retained its strength’

9.4.7 Elliptical *wa-’illā* و ‘if not’

Elliptical *wa-’illā* و ‘if not’ (see 8.4 for main treatment)

hal hādā kulluhu naṭijatu l-ḥurūji ‘alā [qawānīni l-mādī] wa-tawāzunāti l-’ayši fihī? ... wa-’illā li-mādā taḡibu l-sa’ādātu l-ḥaqīqiyyatu ‘an ‘ālamīnā hādā

هل هذا كله نتيجة الخروج على قوانين الماضي وتوازنات العيش فيه؟... وإلا لماذا تغيب السعادة الحقيقية عن عالمنا هذا

‘is all of this a result of transgressing the [laws of the past] and the equilibrium of living in it? ... **if not** then why is true happiness missing from this world of ours?’

9.4.8 After quasi-negatives (▷C3:348)

Exceptive sentences are quite common after verbs or nouns with a negative sense:

nahānā ṣallā llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama ‘an duḥūli buyūti ‘ahli l-kitābi ‘illā bi-’iḍnin

نهانا صلى الله عليه و سلم عن دخول بيوت أهل الكتاب إلا بإذن

‘The blessed [Prophet] has forbidden us to enter the houses of the People of the Book **without** permission’ (note that the blessing replaces the name of the Prophet)

‘adamu l-ḥujū’i ‘ilā ṭabībīn ‘illā ‘inda l-ḍarūratī -l-quṣwā

عدم اللجوء إلى طبيب إلا عند الضرورة القصوى

‘not visiting a doctor **except** in extreme necessity’

warā’a maktabīn ḥālīn ‘illā min tilifūnīn

وراء مكتب خال إلا من تلفون

‘behind a desk empty **but for** a telephone’

They also occur with an interrogative in a neg. sense (*istifhām ‘inkārī*) (see also 4.8; ▷C3:349):

hal sami 'ū minnī 'illā kulla mā yasurruhum

هل سمعوا مني إلا كل ما يسرهم

'have they ever heard anything from me that did not please them?',

lit. 'except everything that pleased them'

hal 'umniyātī 'illā ḥamāqatun fī miḥrābi ḥubbiki?

هل أمنيأتي إلا حماقة في محراب حبك؟

'are my hopes **nothing but** foolishness in the sanctuary of your love?'

9.5 OTHER EXCEPTIVE ELEMENTS

9.5.1 *ḡayr* غير 'other than', 'except' (cf. 2.9.2.3)

When *ḡayr* غير functions as an exceptive noun its case ending is as for the excepted noun after 'illā إلا. In other words, its inflection indicates the logical/grammatical function of the phrase which it heads; dep. if excluded, agreement if included in the antecedent. Since *ḡayr* غير functions as the 1st element of an annexation structure the following noun is always in the obl. case, see 2.3. The exceptive meaning arises from the neg. construction only, i.e., 'not ... other than', while in a positive construction the sense is 'else', 'other than':

ka-dālika fa-'inna l-bunūka lā tajidu ḡayra l-ḥārijī ... li-tūdi 'a fīhi 'amwālahā

كذلك فإن البنوك لا تجد غير الخارج ... لتودع فيه أموالها

'likewise the banks can find **only** [lit. "cannot find other than"] abroad ... to deposit their money'

lā yu 'tī l-'islāmu 'ayya 'tibārin li-ḡayri l-'uḥuwwati l-'insāniyyati

لا يعطي الإسلام أي اعتبار لغير الأخوة الإنسانية

'Islam gives no consideration to **anything but** human brotherhood'

lā šay'a fīhā ḡayru najmatin wahidatin

لا شيء فيها غير نجمة واحدة

'there was nothing in it **except** a single star', lit. 'other than a single star'

(see 4.1.2)

ḡayra 'anna أن غير, see 7.5.2.11 (▷C2:151) 'however', 'but', occurs as conjunction, followed by noun or pron.:

'innahu lā yufakkiru bi-tarki l-maḥzani ḡayra 'annahu lā yanbaḡī 'an yasmaḥa lahum bi-kīšāfi hādīhi l-ḥaqīqati

إنه لا يفكر بترك المخزن غير أنه لا ينبغي أن يسمح لهم باكتشاف هذه الحقيقة

'he is not thinking about leaving the store **but** he should not allow them to discover this fact'

Phrasal *ġayr* غير preceded by an affirmative does not have an exceptive sense (see 2.9.2.3.3) [although this number is likely to go now, to be replaced by bullet points]

yusmaḥu li-l- 'a 'dā' i wa-ġayri l- 'a 'dā' i bi-l- 'akli fī l-maṭ' ami l-ḥārījīyyi

يسمح للأعضاء وغير الأعضاء بالأكل في المطعم الخارجي

'members and **non-members** are allowed to eat in the outside restaurant'

9.5.2 *siwā* سوى 'other than', 'except' (see above 2.9.2.4 for main treatment)

siwā سوى occurs interphrasally in an exceptive sense and has similar syntax to *ġayr* غير. However, *siwā* سوى cannot be followed by an adj. (cf. 2.9.2.4), nor used generically with def. art. (cf. *ġayr* غير 2.9.2.3.5). It is invariable and occurs mainly with negatives.

li- 'anna l-baṭṭa lā yatanāwalu siwā l- 'aġḍiyati l-ḥaḍrā' i faqat

لأن البط لا يتناول سوى الأغذية الخضراء فقط

'because ducks accept nothing **but** green foods only'

(see 1.12.3.1 on generic article)

'id lam yakun 'ibrāhīmu siwā mudarrisin fī 'ihdā l-madārisi l-ibtidā' iyyati

إذ لم يكن إبراهيم سوى مدرّس في إحدى المدارس الابتدائية

'as Ibrahīm was **only** a teacher in one of the primary schools'

fa- 'arabu l-naḥḥi laysa lahum hammun siwā 'inhā' i dawrinā

فعرّب النفط ليس لهم سوى إنهاء دورنا

'the oil Arabs have no other concern **but** to put an end to our role'

Reinforced with *faqat* فقط (see in restrictives, 3.30.3):

lam yabqa bi-ḥazīnati l-nādī siwā 15 'alfi junayhin faqat

لم يبق بخزينة النادي سوى ١٥ ألف جنيه فقط

'there remained in the Club Treasury **but** £15,000 **only**'

Also used instead of 'illā إلا (although it should only be followed by noun phrase):

lam yaṣil ba 'du siwā 'ilā qillatin min buyūti l-miṣriyyīna

لم يصل بعد سوى إلى قلة من بيوت المصريين ...

'has not yet reached **but for** a small number of Egyptian homes'

Also with rel. *mā* ما 'what' (see 5.4):

laysa 'indī siwā mā warīṭuhu 'an wālidī

ليس عندي سوى ما ورثته عن والدي

'I only have what I have inherited from my father', lit. 'I do not have **except what**'

siwā 'anna 'أن سوى 'except that, but' (see 7.5.2.11) occurs as conj. followed by noun or pron.:

lam ya 'ud yaḍkuru siwā 'anna l-waqta marra sarī 'an fī tilka l-laylati
لم يعد يذكر سوى أن الوقت مرَّ سريعاً في تلك الليلة
'he still remembers **only** that the time passed quickly that night'

Also occurs with 'an أن (cf. 'illā 'an إلا 9.4.5)

lam 'ajid min ḥīlatin li-taskīni l-'ālāmi siwā 'an 'aḥuḍahu fī ḥiḍnī
لم أجد من حيلة لتسكين الآلام سوى أن آخذه في حضني
'I found **no other way** to calm the pains than to take him to my bosom'

Like *ḡayr* غير it may be preceded by an affirmative, but the sense is then not exceptive (see also 2.9.2.4). It is normally followed by a bound pron.:

'indanā wa-'inda siwānā
عندنا وعند سوانا
'amongst us and others', lit. '**other than us**'
bi-'annah qāmi 'atun li-ra'yi siwāhā
بأنها قامة لرأي سواها
'that it suppresses the opinion of others', lit. '**other than it**'

9.5.3 Fossilized exceptive verbs

(*mā*) ḥalā خلا (ما), (*mā*) 'adā عدا (*ḥāšā* حاشا >C3:192) also *fī-mā ḥalā* فيما خلا combination, all in the sense of 'excluding'.

These exceptive structures function either as verbs + noun in dep. case (when used with *mā* ما) or as particles + pron. or noun in obl. case:

fī kaṭīrin min-a l-ḥālāti mā 'adā l-ḥālāti l-istiṭnā 'iyyata
في كثير من الحالات ما عدا الحالات الاستثنائية
'in many situations **excluding** exceptional ones, lit. 'exceptional situations'
taḥtalifu jidriyyan 'an kulli mā 'adāhā
تختلف جذرياً عن كلّ ما عداها
'it differs radically from **everything else**'
wa-nkabba l-jamī 'u yudawwinūna mulāḥaẓātihim ... mā 'adāhu huwa
وانكبّ الجميع يدوّنون ملاحظاتهم ... ما عداه هو
'they all bent forward recording their observations ... **except him**'

(see 2.8.5 emphatic prons.)

‘adā l-faṣli l-’aḥīri minhu

عدا الفصل الأخير منه

‘excluding the last chapter’

ḥāšā li-llāhi حاشا لله ‘God forbid’

No examples of *mā ḥalā/ fī-mā kḥalā* ما خلا \ فيما خلا ‘except’ were found during this study.

10 INTERROGATIVES, INDIRECT SPEECH

10.0 INTRODUCTION

There is no inversion or other word order change in questions, even when the question is introduced by one of the interrogative elements.

Questions can always be informally marked with ‘?’ alone (not a CA usage, but borrowed from Western conventions), especially in dialogues:

hāḏā wa ‘duki هذا وعدك؟ ‘is this your promise?’

wa- ‘anā? وأنا؟ ‘what about me?’, lit. ‘and I?’

but mostly one of the interrogatives described below will be used.

Yes–no questions are introduced by either the particle ‘a إ (10.1) prefixed to the first word of the sentence, or the free-standing word *hal* هل (10.2). In CA the two were not synonymous: while ‘a- إ was used with any type of question, *hal* هل was used predominantly with questions anticipating the answer ‘no’ or implying a negative, but this distinction is not so clearly made in MWA. However, MWA, like CA, continues to use only *hal* هل in indirect questions (10.16).

In MWA *hal* هل is rather rare with the marked neg. (but see 10.13), while neg. questions with ‘a- إ are frequent (see 10.1.1).

Wh-questions are headed by an interrogative from the set: *mā* ما ‘what?’, *man* مَنْ ‘who?’, ‘ayna أين ‘where?’, *matā* متى ‘when?’, *kayfa* كيف ‘how?’, *kam* كم ‘how much?’, ‘ayyu أي ‘which?’ and *li-māḏā* لماذا ‘why?’, and in combination with preposition(al)s, dealt with below, as well as some less common interrogatives.

In all cases the presence of a question mark (often combined with an exclamation mark) is increasingly common, though it is strictly speaking redundant, cf. 1.3. The translations below retain the original punctuation, i.e. single, double or absent question marks, etc., regardless of the English conventions.

Indirect questions use the same interrogatives, (see 10.16, 10.17), but there are some differences in syntax between relative *mā/man* ما/من ‘what’, ‘who’ (see 5.4) and their interrog. homonyms (see 10.18).

Rhetorical questions are listed as a separate category in 10.13, though they cannot always be identified with certainty, especially in view of the variations in punctuation.

It will be obvious that many of the examples here are taken from transcriptions into MWA of speech which may well have been originally in dialect. All that can be said is that the resulting written forms nevertheless

represent at least an assumption of literary validity, even if occasionally the product is not very convincing.

10.1 QUESTIONS WITH 'a- ʾ (▷C1:137)

'a- ʾ is prefixed to both nom. and verbal sentences in yes–no questions.

- Nominal sentences:

'a-*hāḍāni* mā tabḥaṭīna 'anhu?

أهذان ما تبحثين عنه؟

'are these two what you are looking for?'

'a-*huwa* ḡaḍabu wālidihi

أهو غضب والده

'is it the anger of his father'

- With *ḥaqqan* حقا 'truly', 'really' (cf. 2.4.8 on the dep., i.e. adverbial form):

'a-*ḥaqqan* 'anā 'uṣbihuka wa-bi-*hāḍā* l-jamāli??

أحقاً أنا أشبهك وبهذا الجمال؟

'Do I really resemble you, and in this beauty??'

- Verbal sentences:

'a-*tumāni*'u law ṭalabtu minka l-nuzūla 'ilā ḥāriji l-sayyārati?

أتمانع لو طلبت منك النزول إلى خارج السيارة؟

'would you object if I asked you to get out of the car?'

'a-*kāna* l-jundīyyu yuḥāwiruhu ḥaqqan?

أكان الجندي يحاوره حقاً؟

'was the soldier really speaking to him?'

'a-*hākaḍā* yamūtu banī 'ādama?

أهكذا يموت بني آدم؟

'is this how people die?', lit. 'is it like this people die?'

Note semi-colloquial invariable *banī 'ādama* بني آدم lit. 'sons of Adam', which should here be *banū* بنو [indep.] but by now is almost a proper name, hence with default dep. form (cf. 1.8.5).

10.1.1 Alternative questions (▷C3:50)

Alternative questions use 'a- أ or *hal* هل, with mostly 'am أم 'or' (see 6.7) before the second question, often with ellipsis in the second clause. The occurrence of 'aw أو 'or' in alternative questions was not found in our data.

- With 'a- أ:

'a-huwa jadīrun bi-l-riṭā 'i 'am-i l-ḥanaqī?

أهو جدير بالثناء أم الحنق؟

'is it [more] worth lamenting it or getting angry over it?'

'a-huwa taḥdīdun 'am wa'dun bi-l- 'ifrāji? naḍīru bad 'i l- 'aḍābi 'am bašīru ntiḥā 'i l-miḥnati?

أهو تهديد أم وعد بالإفراج؟ نذير بدء العذاب أم بشير انتهاء المحنة؟

'is it a threat or a promise of deliverance? A warning of the start of the torment or the good news of the end of the ordeal?'

'a-kānat hiya l- 'uḥrā ḥaḍrā 'a 'am ṣaḥrā 'a jardā 'a

أكانت هي الأخرى خضراء أم صحراء جرداء

'was it also green or [was it] desert and bare?'

'a-laysū muwāṭinīna lahum kāffatu ḥuqūqi l-muwāṭanati? 'am hum muwāṭinūna min-a l-darajati l-tāniyati 'aw-i tālīṭati?

أليسوا مواطنين لهم كافة حقوق المواطنة؟ أم هم مواطنون من الدرجة الثانية أو الثالثة؟

'are they not citizens with all the rights of citizenship? Or are they citizens of second or third rank?'

- With *hal* هل:

hal-i l-sa 'ādatu ta 'tī 'am naṣna 'uhā?

هل السعادة تأتي أم نصنعها؟

'does happiness [simply] come or do we manufacture it?'

hal huwa ḥulmun 'am yaqzātun?

هل هو حلم أم يقظة؟

'is it a dream or wakefulness?!'

hal sā 'at-i l- 'umūru baynahu wa-bayna laylā ... 'am māḍā?

هل ساءت الأمور بينه وبين ليلى ... أم ماذا؟

'have things gone wrong between him and Layla ... or what?'

hal-i ktaṣafa kawkaban durriyyan lam yakun yu 'raf min qablu 'am 'awjada ḥtirā 'an yaj 'alu min-a l-ḥayāti 'aktara yusran, 'am yanduru bi-kārīṭatin 'üzūniyyatin jadīdatin?

هل اكتشف كوكبا دريا لم يكن يعرف من قبل أم أوجد اختراعا يجعل من الحياة أكثر يسرا، أم ينذر بكارثة أوزونية جديدة؟
 ‘**did he** discover a bright star previously unknown **or** did he create an invention which makes life easier, **or** which warns of some new ozone catastrophe?’

(here the last pair of alternatives are both dependent on ‘an invention’)

The following is not an alternative question but a simple disjunction (see 6.7):

hal ’astaṭī ’u? ’aw ḥattā hal ’urīdu?

هل أستطيع؟ أو حتى هل أريد؟

‘**Can I? Or do I** even want to?’

(for *ḥattā* حتى ‘even’ see 6.11)

As with simple questions no interrogative prefix is needed (cf. 10.0) if the context is clear:

al-ḥallu bi l-dawlati ’am ḥārijahā?

الحلّ بالدولة أم خارجها؟

‘is the solution within the country **or** outside it?’

min masqaṭ ’am min makānin ’āḥara?

من مسقط أم من مكان آخر؟

‘from Muscat **or** from some other place?’

10.1.2 Negative questions (▷C1:138)

Compounds with *’a-* أ and neg. questions (cf. 4.7 on the negatives; some of these may also be considered as rhetorical questions, see 10.13).

- *’a-lā* ألا:

’a-lā tarḡabu fī l-mazīd?

ألا ترغب في المزيد؟

‘**don’t you** want your change?’, lit. ‘the excess [money]’

’a-lā taẓunnīna ’anna ḍālika l-kalba qad ’aḍḍahu?

ألا تظنين أن ذلك الكلب قد عضه؟

‘you [fem. sing.] **don’t** think that that dog has bitten him [do you]?’

'a-lā yakfī bi- 'annaka 'āṭilun?

ألا يكفي بأنك عاطل؟

'is it not enough that you are out of work?'

- *'a-laysa* أليس:

'a-laysa ġarīban 'anna ...?

أليس غريباً أن ...؟

'is it not strange that ...?'

'a-laysat hiya l-muta' allimata?

أليست هي المتعلمة؟

'is not she the educated one?'

'a-lasti sa 'īdatan bi- 'an sa-takūnu laki 'uḥtun ṣaġīratun?

ألست سعيدة بأن ستكون لك أخت صغيرة؟

'aren't you [fem. sing.] happy that you are going to have a little sister?'

lit. 'that a little sister will be to you'

(see 3.10.3.1 on 'an أن 'that' + future prefix *sa-* س)

- *'a-lam* ألم:

'a-lam taḍkur yamīnaka llaḍī 'aqsamtahu?

ألم تذكر يمينك الذي أقسمته؟

'do you not remember the oath you swore?'

'a-lam yakun-i l-mudīru l- 'āmmu 'ab 'ada naẓaran?

ألم يكن المدير العام أبعد نظراً؟

'was not the managing director more far-sighted?'

(see 2.11 on comparative syntax)

'a-lam tašba 'ī min-a l-ṭayarāni?

ألم تشبني من الطيران؟

'haven't you [fem. sing.] had enough of flying?'

- *'a-mā* أما:

'a-mā yazālu ḥayyan?

أما يزال حياً؟

'is he still alive?', lit. 'has he not ceased living?'

(see 3.21.4 on *zāla* زال 'to still do')

- 'a-lan:

'a-lan natazawwaja?
 ألن نتزوج؟
 'are we **not going to** get married?'
 'a-lan tal 'abī ma 'ī?
 ألن تلعبني معي؟
 'won't you [fem. sing.] play with me?'

10.2 QUESTIONS WITH *hal* هل (▷C1:139)

hal هل occurs with both nom. and verbal sentences in yes–no questions.

- With nominal sentences:

hal hiya mra'atun majnūnatun?
 هل هي امرأة مجنونة؟
 'is she a madwoman?
hal 'anti 'arabiyyatun?
 هل أنت عربية؟
 'are you an Arab [woman]?'
hal hunāka 'aṣ'abu fī ḥayātinā min 'an narā 'azwājanā yumattīlna 'amāmanā 'adwāra l-'išqi?
 هل هناك أصعب في حياتنا من أن نرى أزواجنا يمثلن أمامنا أدوار العشق؟
 'is there anything more difficult in our life than to see our wives acting in front of us roles of love?'
- With verbal sentences:

hal yaḥiḥqu lī 'an 'aḡḍaba?
 هل يحق لي أن أغضب؟
 'do I have the right to be angry?'
 (for impersonal verbs with 'an أن 'that' see 7.5.1.1)
hal tarā 'anna dālika 'amrun jayyidun?
 هل ترى أن ذلك أمر جيد؟
 'do you think that is a good thing?'
hal tubaddilu malābisaka bi-ntizāmi?
 هل تبدل ملابسك بانتظام؟
 'do you change your clothes regularly?'

hal nastad'ī l-šurṭata?

هل نستدعي الشرطة؟

'shall we call the police?'

- More complex questions:

hal man yajhalu ḥayrun mimman ya'rifu?

هل من يجهل خير ممن يعرف؟

'is he who is ignorant better than him who knows?

(cf. 5.4.1 on *man* من 'he who' and the spelling *mimman* ممن = *min* من + *man* (من))

- *hal min* هل مِنْ occurs when the subject of the question is totally vague (cf. indefiniteness with *min* من in 1.12.4.1 and negation with *laysa min* ليس من in 4.2.8):

hal min ḍayrin li-man yargabu fī 'iṣlāḥi l-dunyā?

هل من ضير لمن يرغب في إصلاح الدنيا؟

'is it any offence for someone who desires to reform the world?'

hal min 'amalin fī taḡlibi l-ḥayri 'alā l-šarri fī l-bašari?

هل من أمل في تغليب الخير على الشر في البشر؟

'is there any hope for the triumph of good over evil among mankind?'

For *hal* هل in rhetorical questions see 10.13, in indirect questions 10.16.

10.3 *man* مَنْ 'who' (▷C1:142)

man مَنْ 'who?' is invariable, like the rel. *man* مَنْ (see 5.4).

Unlike rel. clauses, which contain a referential pronoun to link them to the antecedent, interrogative sentences with *man* مَنْ (and *mā* ما, see 10.4) by definition lack the item being asked about, hence there is no requirement for a ref. pron.

- With nominal sentences (see 3.0) *man* مَنْ replaces the pred.:

man huwa?

من هو؟

'who is he?'

man sa'īd?

من سعيد؟

'who is Sa'īd?'

man 'as 'adu ḥālan?

من أسعد حالا؟

‘who is in the happier situation?’, lit. ‘happier as to situation’, cf. 2.4.4.1

- With verbal sentences *man* من replaces any element:

man qara 'ahā? .. man 'ahrajaḥā min qabri l-ḥurūfi..?

من قرأها؟ .. من أخرجها من قبر الحروف .. ؟

‘who read it? .. who brought it out from the tomb of letters .. ?’

man yansā dāka l-manẓara?

من ينسى ذاك المنظر

‘who will ever forget that sight?’

man sa-yafḥamu 'annanī kāriḥun – munḍu l-bidāyati – li-l-safari?

من سيفهم أنني كاره – منذ البداية – للسفر؟

‘who will understand that I have disliked – from the beginning – to travel?’

man turaššiḥu li-laḡabi 'aḡḡali lā 'ibī ḥāḡḡa l-mawsimi?

من ترشح للقب افضل لاعبي هذا الموسم؟

‘who[m] will you nominate for the title of best players of this season?’

These interrogatives also follow the same principle as the rel. *man* من and *mā* ما (see 5.4) with preposition(al)s; unlike English, the prepositional unit cannot be separated:

'ilā man nattaḡiḡu?

إلى من نتجه؟

‘to whom do we turn?’,

with no possibility of an equivalent to ‘who do we turn to?’

miṡlu man?

مثل من

‘like who[m]?’; lit. ‘the like of whom’

ma'a man 'unāḡiḡu l-mawḡḡu 'a l- 'āna?

مع من أناقش الموضوع الآن؟

‘with whom do I discuss the subject now?’

They also occur as the second element of an annexation unit (see 2.3):

ḡimuḡrāṡiyyatu man?

ديمقراطية من؟

‘whose democracy?’, lit. ‘the democracy of who[m]?’

The variant *man dā* من ذا, reinforced by the deictic *dā* ذا ‘there’, ‘that’ (▷C1:144, C3:169) and always written as separate words (contrast *mā dā* ماذا ‘what’ in 10.4, usually written as one word) was not found in the data.

10.3.1 Redundant separating pronouns

There is a marked tendency for a redundant pron. (notionally a ‘separating pron.’, cf. 3.5, perhaps with interference from rel. syntax, see 5.0.1) to intervene between *man* من and the topic of the question with the sense of ‘who is the one who’:

man huwa l-’afḏalu baynahum?

من هو الافضل بينهم؟

‘who is [the one who is] the best among them?’,

lit. ‘who is he, the best among them?’

man huwa l-mas’ūlu ‘an tajmī ‘i hāḏa l-’adadi l-kabīri min-a l-ḏubbāṭi?

من هو المسؤول عن تجميع هذا العدد الكبير من الضباط

‘who is the one responsible for gathering together this large number of officers?’

For the explicit relative sense *man* من is combined with the rel. nouns (▷C1:144, C3:169, as also *mā* ما below):

man-i llaḏī sa-yuṣābu bi-rtifā ‘i ḏagṭi l-dami?

من الذي سيصاب بارتفاع ضغط الدم؟

‘who is the one who will be afflicted with a rise in blood pressure?’

10.4 *mā* ما ‘WHAT’ (▷C1:142)

mā ما ‘what?’ is invariable, like the rel. *mā* ما (see 5.4, and see below for compounds such as *li-mā dā* لماذا ‘why?’, etc.).

As with *man* من ‘who?’ (see 10.3) the difference between the rel. and the interrog. structure is that interrog. clauses contain no referential pron.

- With nominal sentences (see 3.0) *mā* ما replaces the pred.:

mā hāḏa l-wāfīdu l-jadīdu?

ما هذا الوافد الجديد؟

‘what is this new delegate?’

mā l-’amalu ‘iḏan?

ما العمل إذن؟

‘what is to be done, then?’, lit. ‘what is the action, then?’

(cf. 2.5.6 on adverbial *‘idān* إذن ‘then’, ‘in that case’ and compare the spelling with the variant *‘idā* below, 10.13.3)

mā tafsīru kullī hādā?

ما تفسير كل هذا؟

‘what is the explanation of all this?’

mā naw‘u l-nihāyati llatī yasta‘iddu li-mulāqātihā?

ما نوع النهاية التي يستعد لملاقاتها؟

‘what is the kind of end which he is preparing to meet?’

- Often with redundant pronoun, cf. *man* من above, 10.3.1:

mā huwa l-sababu?

ما هو السبب؟

‘what is the cause?’

mā hiya l-‘iršādātu l-murfaqatu bi-l-māddati?

ما هي الإرشادات المرفقة بالمادة؟

‘what are the instructions enclosed with the substance?’

- With verbal sentences (see 3.0, 3.7) the expanded *māḍā* ماذا variant (usually written as one word, contrast *man dā* من ذا above) is found more often than simple *mā* ما perhaps because *mā* ما already has several other pre-verbal functions:

māḍā taqūlu l-waṭā‘iqu?

ماذا تقول الوثائق؟

‘what do the documents say?’

māḍā yanquṣu l-muntaḥabu ḥālīyyan?

ماذا ينقص المنتخب حالياً؟

‘what does the team currently lack?’

māḍā kāna warā‘a l-ziyāratī?

ماذا كان وراء الزيارة؟

‘what was behind the visit?’

bal māḍā yamna‘u lubnāna min-a l-su‘ālī ‘an mu‘āhadati l-difā‘i l-muṣṭariki?

بل ماذا يمنع لبنان من السؤال عن معاهدة الدفاع المشترك؟

‘but what is preventing Lebanon from asking about the Common Defence Pact?’

māḍā yašğaluki yā ‘azīzātī?

ماذا يشغلك يا عزيزتي؟

‘what is bothering you, my dear?’

Like *man* من above, both *mā* ما and *māḍā* ماذا are found with rel. clauses as the question (▷C1:144, C3:169):

mā llaḍī 'awqa 'ahā fī dālika l-maṣīri l-muḥīfi?

ما الذي أوقعها في ذلك المصير المخيف؟

'what was it **that** plunged her into that fearful fate?'

For questions with prepositionals, *bi-ma* بم 'with what?', etc. see 10.5.

10.4.1 Gender agreement (▷C1:149)

Both *man* من and *mā* ما may refer to any number or gender. With *man* من agreement is with the natural or grammatical number and gender of the topic of the question:

man hum? wa-mā *hiya* huwiyyatuhum?

من هم؟ وما هي هويتهم؟

'who **are they**? And what **is** their nationality?', lit. 'what is **it** [fem.] their nationality'

man hum-u llaḍīna yaqīfūna warā 'a hāḍihi l-muḥaṭṭaṭāti?

من هم الذين يقفون وراء هذه المخططات؟

'who **are those who are standing** behind these plans?'

With *mā* ما only sing. pronouns occur, the fem. also occurring when the reference is to a non-human plur. (cf. 2.1.1 on fem. agreement with plur.):

mā hāḍihi l-tanmiyatu llatī yataḥaddaṭūna 'anhā?

ما هذه التنمية التي يتحدثون عنها؟

'what is **this** development [fem.] about which they are talking?'

mā hiya l-ṣūratu llatī tataṣakkalu hunā?

ما هي الصورة التي تتشكل هنا؟

'what is the image which is being formed here?', lit. 'what is **it** [fem.] the image which ...?'

mā hiya l-ḥaṣā'isu llatī tumayyizu kulla marḥalatin?

ما هي الخصائص التي تميز كل مرحلة؟

'what **are** the traits [non-human plur.] which distinguish each stage?'

10.5 *mā* ما IN SHORTENED FORM

mā ما 'what?', in the shortened form *-ma* مَ, is combined with prepositionals to form compound interrogatives, e.g. *bi-ma* بِمَ 'with what?', *li-ma* لِمَ 'for what', 'why?'. The shortening distinguishes them from the rels. *bi-mā* بِمَا 'that with

which', 'with what', *li-mā* لِمَا 'that for which', 'because of what', 'amma' عما 'about what', etc.

However, the rule is not always observed, and the unshortened forms are still seen:

bi-mā yu'minu

بِمَا يُؤْمِنُ

'what does he believe in' (unmarked question)

Usage is not consistent in indirect questions, see 10.18.2.

10.5.1 *li-ma* لِمَ 'why?' and *li-māḍā* لِمَاذَا 'for what?' (▷C1:148, 2:289):

For 'why' both *li-ma* لِمَ and the longer *li-māḍā* لِمَاذَا, lit. 'for what' are used:

- *li-ma* لِمَ (note that confusion with *lam* لَمْ 'not', see 4.2.3, is often eliminated on distributional grounds, since it does not occur before perf. verbs or other negs):

li-ma tastajibu? لِمَ تستجيب؟

'why does she answer?'

(if this were neg. *lam* لَمْ 'not' + apoc. namely, 'she did not answer', the verb would be *tastajib* تستجب)

li-ma lā 'atafā'alu?

لِمَ لا أَتَفَاءَلُ؟

'why should I not be optimistic?'

li-ma hāḍihi l-'aswāru l-ḍaḥmatu?

لِمَ هذه الأسوار الضخمة؟

'why these thick walls?'

li-ma kunta tulāḥaqunī?

لِمَ كنت تلاحقني؟

'why have you been chasing me?'

- *li-māḍā* لِمَاذَا:

li-māḍā 'akūnu muḥtalifatan 'an ḡayrī?

لِمَاذَا أكون مختلفا عن غيري؟

'why should I be different from others?'

li-māḏā l- 'āna wa-laysa min qablu?

لماذا الآن وليس من قبل؟

‘why now and not before?’

(see 6.12.3 for *wa-laysa* وليس ‘and not’, 2.5.4 for invariable *qablu* قبل ‘before’)

li-māḏā lam ta'ti bi-l- 'amsi?

لماذا لم تأتي بالأمس؟

‘why did you [fem. sing.] not come yesterday?’

li-māḏā lā tuṣaddiqūna?

لماذا لا تصدقون؟

‘why do you not believe?’

10.5.2 Other questions with *-ma* (▷C1:149)

Other combinations of prep. and shortened form of *mā* ما (see 10.5 for the shortening of *-mā* to *-ma*) are: *'ilā-ma* إلام ‘up to where’, ‘whither?’, *'alā-ma* علام ‘on what?’, *bi-ma* بم ‘by what?’, *'amma* عم ‘about what?’ (cf. 1.2.2 for spelling, and contrast this with *'ammā* إذا below, 10.19.2), *mimma* مم ‘from what?’ (spelling, 1.2.2), *ḥattā-ma* حتام ‘until what?’; not all were seen in the data:

bi-ma taš'uru 'indamā tusajjilu hadafan ḥāsiman?

بم تشعر عندما تسجل هدفا حاسما؟

‘what do you feel when you score a decisive goal?’

mā 'adrāka 'annahu ntaḥara? wa-mimma?

ما أدراك أنه انتحر؟ ومم؟

‘how do you know he committed suicide? And what from?’

(the phrase *mā 'adrāka* ما أدراك is Qur’anic, lit. ‘what made you know?’)

ḥattāma hāḏā l- 'iṣrāru?

حتام هذا الإصرار؟

‘how long will this insistence go on?, lit. ‘until what this insistence?’

'ilāma hāḏā l-tajāhulu?

إلام هذا التجاهل؟

‘how long will this feigned ignorance go on?’, lit. ‘to what?’

'alāma tuba 'tīru 'amwālaka?

علام تبعثر أموالك؟

‘on what are you squandering your money?’

10.6 'ayyu أَيّ 'which?', 'what?' (▷C1:150)

'ayyu أَيّ 'which', 'what?' is annexed to its noun and is the only interrog. which is inflected for gender and case, though the masc. is tending to become the default, e.g.:

'ayyu ḥayratin? 'ayyu majhūlin?

أي حيرة؟ أي مجهول؟

'what [masc.] confusion [fem.]? what unknown person?'

min 'ayyi l-buldāni 'anta?

من أي البلدان أنت؟

'from which country are you?',

lit. 'which [masc.] of the countries [grammatically fem. sing.]'

But the fem. is also seen:

'ayyatu rā 'iḥatin hāḍihi?

أية رائحة هذه؟

'what smell is this?'

For the exclamatory 'ayyu أَيّ 'what ... !' see 3.28.3, for 'ayyu أَيّ indicating vagueness 'any', see 1.12.4.1, 2.9.1.6, and see 8.5.2 for 'ayyu أَيّ in conditional sentences.

The example below is punctuated as a question but the intention is obviously exclamatory (cf. 1.3):

'ayyu ḥulmin 'awṣalatnā 'ilayhi hāḍihi l-la 'batu?

أي حلم اوصلتنا اليه هذه اللعبة؟

'what a dream this game brought us to!'

10.7 kam كَمْ 'how much?', 'how many?' (▷C1:156)

Interrogative kam كَمْ 'how much?', 'how many?' is always followed by sing. nouns in dep. form (cf. numerals at 2.12.4) and its syntax is thus quite different from the expletive kam كَمْ (see 3.28.2), which is followed by obl. nouns:

kam qiršan dafa 'ta fī hāḍā?

كم قرشا دفعت في هذا؟

'how many piastres [dep. sing.] did you pay for this?'

This type must be seen as elliptical:

kam 'umruka?

كم عمرك؟

'how old are you?', lit. 'how much is your age?',

namely, kam sanatan 'umruka 'how many years is your age?'

As with *man/mā* ما/من and all the wh-interrogatives, preposition[al]s immediately precede them:

bi-kam-i štarayta dālīka?
 بكم اشتريت ذلك؟
 ‘for how much did you buy that?’

10.8 ‘ayna أين ‘where?’ (▷C1:160)

‘ayna أين ‘where?’ and the remaining interrogatives occur before both nominal and verbal sentences:

wa-’ayna ’anā l-āna?
 وأين أنا الآن؟
 ‘and where am I now?’
’ayna yakūnu jtimā ’unā?
 أين يكون اجتماعنا؟
 ‘where will our meeting be?’
’ayna naḍa ’uhu?
 أين نضعه؟
 ‘where shall we put it?’

10.8.1 ‘ilā ’ayna إلى أين ‘whither?’ and min ’ayna من أين ‘whence?’

‘ilā ’ayna إلى أين ‘to where?’, ‘whither?’, min ’ayna من أين ‘from where?’, ‘whence?’ are extensions of ‘ayna أين:

’ilā ’ayna ’ahrubu?
 إلى أين أهرب؟
 ‘whither shall I flee?’
’ilā ’ayna yamqī?
 إلى أين يمضي؟
 ‘where can/will he go [to]?’
min ’ayna kāna lahā ’an tatanabba’a ’annahā sawfa taqḍī šahrayni?
 من أين كان لها أن تتنبأ أنها سوف تقضي شهرين؟
 ‘from where did she get the right to prophesy that she would spend two months?’

(see 2.6.10 on this sense of *li-* لـ ‘right, privilege’)

min 'ayna lahu bi-l-nuqūdi?

من أين له بالنقود؟

‘where would he get the money from?’

(cf. 10.13.6.1 on the idiom with *li-* لـ ‘for’, ‘to’)

10.9 *kayfa* كيف ‘how?’ (▷C1:159)

kayfa 'ahrubu?

كيف أهرب؟

‘how shall I flee?’

kayfa yataḥaddadu maḥḥūmu l-turāṭi?

كيف يتحدث مفهوم التراث؟

‘how is the concept of heritage defined?’

kayfa tantahī l-riwāyatu?

كيف تنتهي الرواية؟

‘how does the story end?’

With nom. sentence a redundant pron. (cf. 10.3.1) is sometimes found:

kayfa hiya sti 'dādātukum?

كيف هي استعداداتكم؟

‘how are [they] your preparations?’

10.10 *matā* متى ‘when?’ (▷C1:159)

matā 'astaḥī'u 'an 'aktuba bi-yadī?

متى أستطيع أن أكتب بيدي؟

‘when shall I be able to write with my own hand?’

matā hāḍā l-ḥaḥḥu?

متى هذا الحفل؟

‘when is this gathering?’

10.10.1 *munḍu matā* منذ متى ‘since when?’ and *'ilā matā* إلى متى ‘until when?’

munḍu matā منذ متى ‘since when?’ (cf. *munḍu* منذ in 2.6.13) and other compounds occur, often with an interposed *wa-* و ‘and’, cf. 6.2.7:

mundu matā wa-huwa mahjūrun? wa-ḥattā matā sa-yazallu jā'i 'an?

منذ متى وهو مهجور؟ وحتى متى سيظل جائعا؟

'since when had he been deserted? Until when would he remain hungry?'

'ilā matā wa-'anta tasta 'iddu li-'an tamtaṭiya ḥiṣānaka l-'abqa'a?

إلى متى وأنت تستعد لأن تمتطي حصانك الأبقع؟

'until when will you be prepared to ride your piebald steed?'

10.11 'annā 'أنى 'how?'

'annā 'أنى 'how?', 'where?' is an obsolete interrogative now likely to be used only in consciously classicizing contexts. It was not found in the data.

10.12 ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

As in most languages, the answer may be elliptical, as in some of the examples below.

10.12.1 *na'am* نَعَمْ 'yes' (▷C1:163)

na'am نَعَمْ, also '*ajal* أَجَلْ 'yes' (the latter with somewhat more rhetorical intensity):

na'am la-qad-u stu'milat kalimatu ... bi-l-firansiyyati fī ma'nān majāziyyin

نعم لقد استعملت كلمة ... بالفرنسية في معنى مجازي

'yes, indeed the word ... was used in French figuratively'

(see 3.10.4 for the emphatic *la-* prefix)

'ajal 'inna hādā l-kitāba yūḍihū

أجل إن هذا الكتاب يوضح

'yes indeed, this book makes clear'

waḍa'tu 'abā'atī 'alā ra'sī .. 'ajal labistu l-'abā'ata fī l-baṣrati

وضعت عباةتي على رأسي .. أجل لبست العباءة في البصرة

'I put my turban on my head .. yes, indeed, I wore a turban in Basra'

10.12.2 *balā* بَلَا 'but yes' (▷C1:165)

balā بلى 'but yes', 'on the contrary' asserts a positive answer when a negative answer is implied in the question:

qāla lahā: balā. balā

قال لها: بلى. بلى

‘he said to her, “but yes, yes” (i.e. ‘on the contrary, yes!’)

10.12.3 *lā* ‘no’ and *kallā* ‘by no means’ (▷C1:167)

bi-l-ta’kīdī lā بالتأكيد لا ‘certainly **not**’, lit. ‘with certainty **no**’

li-ma lā لم لا ‘why **not**?’ (cf. 10.5.1)

kallā laysat-i l-ḥadāṭatu mawqīfan fardiyyan

كلا ليست الحادثة موقفا فرديا

‘**not at all**, modernism is not an individual position’

laysa ‘aban ... wa-lā zawjan ... wa-lā ‘aḥan ... kallā ... bal ṣaḍīqan

ليس أبا ... ولا زوجا ... ولا أخا ... كلا ... بل صديقا

‘he is not a father ... nor a husband ... nor a brother ... **not at all** ... on the contrary he is a friend’

(cf. 4.2.8 on *laysa* ليس ‘is not’, 6.12.1 on resumptive neg. *wa-lā* ولا ‘nor’ and *bal* بل ‘but rather’, and note agreement of *ṣaḍīqan* صديقا ‘a friend’, also dep. by coordination)

kallā ... naksiru l-bāba li-naktašifa l-sirra

كلا ... نكسر الباب لنكتشف السر

‘**no way** ... we shall break down the door to discover the secret’

lā šay’ لا شيء ‘nothing’ (lit. ‘no thing’, cf. 4.1.2 on categorical neg.) is used elliptically (▷C1:168):

wa-kam tataqāḍā ‘alā ḥāḍiḥi l-ḥadamāti l-layliyyata? lā šay’a, lā šay’a ‘alā l-’iṭlāqi

وكم تتقاضى على هذه الخدمات الليلية؟ لا شيء، لا شيء على الإطلاق

‘and how much do you charge for these night services?’

Nothing, nothing at all’

10.12.4 *rubbamā* ربّما ‘maybe’

rubbamā ربّما ‘maybe’, ‘perhaps’ is also used elliptically (cf. also 3.30.2):

hal yufassiru nuzū’i ḥāḍā mā qara’ tuḥu yawman ‘an šarāsati l-maḥkūmi ‘alayhi bi-l-’i’dāmi? rubbamā

هل يفسر نزوعي هذا ما قرأته يوما عن شراسة المحكوم عليه بالإعدام؟ ربّما

‘does what I read one day about the viciousness of the condemned man explain this tendency of mine? **Maybe**’

10.13 RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

Rhetorical questions in Arabic are of two kinds:

- 1 A group of traditional CA patterns are still in use, e.g. *hal laka* هل لك 'how about?' (10.13.1.1), *man lī* من لي 'who will help me?' (10.13.2.1), *mā 'anā wa-* ما أنا و 'what have I to do with?' and *mā bālu-* ما بال 'what is wrong with?' (10.13.3.1), *'ayna 'anā wa-* أين أنا و 'what have I to do with?' (10.13.6.1), *kayfa (lā) wa-* كيف (لا) و 'how can it (not) be, when?' (10.13.7.1), *turā* ترى 'do you think?' (10.13.9).
- 2 The other type is syntactically identical with normal questions and can usually only be recognised by the punctuation or the context. However, the punctuation is not always a reliable guide (cf. 1.3): most of the examples here have exclamation marks in the original, but sometimes they are not signalled at all or questions marks are used instead of exclamation marks. It may therefore be a matter of interpretation whether some of the examples belong here or among the simple questions above (10.1, 10.2).

10.13.1 'a- أ and *hal* هل rhetorical questions (▷C1:138, 141, and cf. 10.1, 10.2)

- Positive questions: no simple rhetorical questions with 'a- أ were found, though it often seems to have a rhetorical sense in alternative questions (10.1.1). It may be because *hal* هل has always had a rhetorical force, implying a negative answer:

fa-hal min mujābin?!

فهل من مجيب؟!

'and will anyone answer?!' (No, they won't)

lākin, 'idā kānat 'al-ṭabī'atu' lā tataḡayyaru, hal-i staṭā'a l-'insānu l-ḥadīṭu, fī l-muqābili, 'an 'yaḥtari'a' 'aškālan jadīdatan wa-ḍakiyyatan li-l-sa'ādati

لكن، إذا كانت 'الطبيعة' لا تتغير، هل استطاع الإنسان الحديث، في المقابل، أن 'يخترع' أشكالاً جديدة وذكية للسعادة

'but, if "Nature" was never going to change, **would** modern man, in return, be able to "invent" intelligent new forms of happiness' (No, he wouldn't)

wa-lākin hal ba'da hādā l-ḥiyāri min ḥiyārin 'āḥara?!

ولكن هل بعد هذا الخيار من خيار آخر؟!

'but **is there** after this choice **any** other choice!?' (No, there is not)

The following minority example requires a positive answer in the context:

hal yaḥzunu l-tiflu ..?!

هل يحزن الطفل؟!

'is [not] the child going to be unhappy ..!?' (Yes it will be)

- Negative questions: here *'a-* أ is the predominant interrog. particle, except for the special case of *hallā* هَلَا 'why not?' (see below):

'a-lā yamtalikunā l-ša'bu?

ألا يملكنا الشعب؟

'does not the people own us?'

'a-lā yata'allaqu l-'amru bi-riddatin fikriyyatin?

ألا يتعلق الأمر بردة فكرية؟

'is not the matter connected with an intellectual response?'

'a-lā yakfīnā l-hāḍiru laḥzata ltiqāfi l-'anfāsi?

ألا يكفيننا الحاضر لحظة التقاط الأنفاس؟

'will the present not allow us a moment enough to catch our breath?'

(for *yakfī* 'it suffices' here 'give enough' see 3.15.2)

yumkinu fī hāḍā l-siyāqi 'an 'ušīra 'ilā baladayni naftiyyayni ... 'a-lā wa-huma l-jazā'iru wa-l-'irāqu

يمكن في هذا السياق أن أشير إلى بلدين نفطيين ... ألا وهما الجزائر والعراق

'in this context I can refer to two oil countries ... are they not Algeria and Iraq?' (see 6.2.7)

- Reinforced with *fa-* فَ (cf. 6.3.4):

'a-fa-lā yakūnu tabī'īyyan 'an nad'uwa 'ihwānānā?

أفلا يكون طبيعياً أن ندعو إخواننا

'is it not then natural that we should call upon our brethren?'

'a-fa-lam tastamirra 'aš'āru hūmīrūs ḥamsatan wa-'iṣrīna qarnan?

أفلم تستمر أشعار هوميروس خمسة وعشرين قرناً؟

'and have not the poems of Homer lasted fifteen centuries?'

Other combinations such as *'a-lā .. fa-* ف .. ألا with imperatives 'why don't you?' (▷C1:139), and *'a-la'alla* أَلَعَلَّ 'is it not perhaps?' (▷C2:239) are known, but none were seen in the data.

- *hallā* هَلَا 'why not?', a combination of *hal* هل and *lā* لا 'not' but always written as one word and invariably followed by a perf. verb with the sense of an invitation:

hallā šaraḥṭa lahā ba‘ḍa mā tu‘ānī

هلا شرحت لها بعض ما تعانيه؟

‘**why don’t you explain** [perf.] to her some of what you are suffering?’

The following is not an instance of *hallā* هلا: the separation of *hal* هل and *lā* لا suggests that the modal *lā tazālu* لا تزال ‘still [does]’ (see 3.21.4) had to be preserved and is probably not even perceived as negative. The expected answer here is obviously ‘yes’:

hal lā tazālu tastaḥī‘u l-falsafatu, al-‘adyānu, al-ši‘ru, al-riwāyatu, al-fannu, al-mūsīqā, al-masraḥu, al-rasmu ... , ‘an taf‘ala dālika?

هل لا تزال تستطيع الفلسفة، الأديان، الشعر، الرواية، الفن، الموسيقى، المسرح، الرسم...، أن تفعل ذلك؟

‘**are not** philosophy, religions, poetry, fiction, art, music, theatre, drawing..., **still capable** of doing that?’

(note that pausal forms would be used before the commas, hence the transliteration is particularly artificial here)

10.13.1.1 Idiomatic *hal laka* هل لك ‘how about?’ and cf. idioms *mā laka*, ما لك, *mā bālu-* ما بالـ, **10.13.3.1**):

hal lī ‘an ‘aṭluba minka ḥidmatan?

هل لي أن أطلب منك خدمة؟

‘may I ask you a favour?’, lit. ‘**is it for me** that I ask ...?’ in the sense ‘have I the right’ (cf. 2.6.10 on *li-* لي)

10.13.2 Rhetorical questions with *man* مَنْ ‘who?’ (cf. 10.3)

wa-lākin man yanbaḡī lahum ‘an yuḥāribū ‘awwalan? wa-bi-man?

wa-kayfa? wa-min ‘ajli māḍā?

ولكن من ينبغي لهم أن يحاربوا أولاً؟ وبمن؟ وكيف؟ ومن أجل ماذا؟

‘but **who** should they fight first? And with **whom**? And **how**? And **why**?’

fa-man minnā kāna yataḥayyalu ‘an yašila l-‘amru ‘ilā ḥāḍihi l-darajati?

فمن منا كان يتخيل أن يصل الأمر إلى هذه الدرجة؟

‘and **who** of us would have imagined that the matter would reach this degree?’

10.13.2.1 Idiomatic *man lī bi-* مَنْ لي بـ, lit. ‘who is for me with?’, i.e. who will help me with?’ (▷C2:303), *min ‘aynā lī* من أين لي lit. ‘from where for me’, i.e. ‘how will I?’, with complementized ‘*an* أن clauses:

man lī bi- 'an 'asta 'īda ba 'da mā kāna lī fī qalbihā?

من لي بأن أستعيد بعض ما كان لي في قلبها

'who will help me restore some of what used to be in her heart for me?,
lit. 'who is there for me with that I restore ...?'

min 'ayna lī 'an 'a 'rifā sma 'unṭā l-ḥimāri!

من أين لي أن أعرف اسم أنثى الحمار!

'how am I supposed to know the name for the female donkey!'

10.13.3 Rhetorical questions with *mā[dā]* [ما], *li-mā[dā]* لماذا (cf. 10.4)

wa-lākin mā hādā!

ولكن ما هذا!

'but **what** is this!'

fa-mā ṭa 'mu l-ḥayātī bi-lā hadafin .. bi-lā 'amalin

فما طعم الحياة بلا هدف .. بلا أمل

'and **what** is the savour of life without a goal .. without a hope'

mā llaḍī taf 'aluhu nuqūduka hādīhi

ما الذي تفعله نقودك هذه

'what will this money of yours do?', lit. 'what is it that this money will do?',
see 10.4

māḍā yahummu ba 'da ḍālika 'an yamūta l-rajulu min 'aṭari l-lakmati 'aw yamūta ḥuznan

ماذا يهم بعد ذلك أن يموت الرجل من أثر اللكمة أو يموت حزناً

'**what** does it matter after this that a man should die from the effect of the blow or that he should die of grief'

(see 3.29.5 on the specifying qual. *ḥuznan* حزناً 'in terms of grief', i.e. 'of grief')

fa-li-māḍā yay 'asu l-nāsu wa-yantahirūna 'iḍan?

فلماذا ييأس الناس وينتَحرون إذا؟

'so why do people despair and commit suicide then?'

(note plur. agreement with *nās* ناس 'people', see 3.8.2, and the spelling of 'iḍan, here إذا, but often إذن, as in 10.4 above)

'ammā li-māḍā? fa-li- 'anna

أما لماذا؟ فلأنّ

'[You ask] **why**? [I tell you] because', lit. 'as for why, well, because'

(for 'ammā أما see 3.3.4)

Elliptical (and probably a calque of ‘what if?’):

*wa lākin māḏā law ‘anna l-sijilla l-mu‘āṣira li-ḡalabati l-balāḡati
wa-l-faṣāḥati ntaqala l-yawma ‘ilā marākiza ‘uḥrā fī-l-‘ālamī*

ولكن ماذا لو أنَّ السجل المعاصر لغلبة البلاغة والفصاحة انتقل اليوم إلى مراكز أخرى في العالم

‘but **what** if the contemporary scroll of victory for eloquence and fine language moved today to other centres in the world’

(cf. conditional *law* لو ‘if’ in 8.2)

Though formally a question, the following seems to be a nominal relative clause, probably a calque:

wa-lākin māḏā yadūru bi-ra‘sihā l-ṣaḡīri ... lā ‘aḥada ya‘rifu

ولكن ماذا يدور برأسها الصغير ... لا أحد يعرف

‘but **what** was going on in her little head ... no-one knew’

10.13.3.1 Idiomatic questions: *mā bāluhu* ما باله *mā lahu* ما له ‘what is wrong with him ...?’ (▷C2:188, C3:251):

mā bālunā bi-l-marākizi l-‘uḥrā

ما بالنا بالمراكز الأخرى؟

‘**what have we got to do** with the other centres?’, lit. ‘what is our concern with ...?’

When complemented by a clause, this may be seen as a circumstantial qualifier:

mā lahu lā yukallimunā?

ما له لا يكلمنا؟

‘**what is wrong with him** that he is not speaking to us?’, i.e. ‘he not speaking’

mā lakum lā tastaḥūna min-a llāhi?

ما لكم لا تستحون من الله؟

‘**what is wrong with you** [masc. plur.] that you have no shame before God?’, i.e. ‘you not having shame’

mā šā‘nuhu wa- ما شأنه و ‘what is his business with?’ (cf. the idiomatic use of *ša‘n* شأن in discourse, 11.8.1). The collocated noun is originally an accompanying object, hence its dep. form, see 2.4.7:

*mā šā‘nuhum wa-hādā l-ḡayra law kānat-i l-ḥadāṭatu mawqifan fardiyyan
bi-hādā l-ma‘nā?*

ما شأنهم وهذا الغير لو كانت الحادثة موقفا فرديا بهذا المعنى؟

‘**what business would they have with** this “other” [dep.] if modernity were an individual position in that sense?’ (see 2.9.2.3.5 for *al-ğayr* الغير with def. art.)

10.13.4 Rhetorical questions with *‘ayyu* أَي (cf. 10.6)

‘ayyu أَي ‘what’, ‘which’, with the same variable gender agreement as the pure interrog. above:

‘ayyatu maṣlaḥatin tujnā min hādā l-’amri
أية مصلحة تجني من هذا الامر
‘**what** benefit could be gained from this affair’

10.13.5 Rhetorical questions with *kam* (كم) ‘how much’ (cf. 10.7)

(Contrast the expletive *kam* كم ‘how much!’ in 3.28.2):

kam ḥādīṭatan miṭla hādīhi taḥtājuhā qabla ’an tastami’a li-’awāmiri l-ṭabībī!?
كم حادثة مثل هذه تحتاجها قبل أن تستمع لأوامر الطبيب!
‘**how many accidents** like this one will you need before you listen to the doctor’s orders!?’

10.13.6 Rhetorical questions with *‘ayna* أين ‘where’ (cf. 10.8)

‘ayna kānat-i l-’umamu l-muttaḥidatu!?
أين كانت الأمم المتحدة!
‘**where** were the United Nations!?’

probably a calque, contrast the older CA structure in the next section.

10.13.6.1 Idiomatic *‘ayna ... min* مِنْ ... أين, lit. ‘where ... in respect of ...’ (▷C2:272; for *min* مِنْ ‘from’, ‘in respect of’ see 2.6.12):

‘ayna naḥnu min-a l-mawāridi wa-l-’awā’idi l-ḡaḥmati
أين نحن من الموارد والعوائد الضخمة?
‘**where** are we **when it comes** to incomes and fat returns?’,
lit. ‘where ... in respect of?’
‘ayna naḥnu min kulli hādīhi l-ṣu’ūbi!?
أين نحن من كل هذه الشعوب!
‘**what have we to do with** all these peoples!?’

10.13.7 Rhetorical questions with *kayfa* كيف 'how' (cf. 10.9)

yā 'ilāhī kayfa lam 'ufakkir fihā bi-l'amsi?

يا الهي كيف لم افكر فيها بالامس؟

'O my God, **how** could I have not thought about her yesterday?'

wa-lākin kayfa tatimmu l-'amaliyyatu l-'ibadā' iyyatu 'inda l-mar'ati?

ولكن كيف تتم العملية الإبداعية عند المرأة؟

'but **how** is the creative process carried out in a woman?'

10.13.7.1 Idiomatic *kayfa* [*lā*] *yakūnu ... wa-* و ... كيف لا يكون 'how can that be, when ...?' (>C1:34, 113, 3:277), in which a circumstantial qualifying clause introduced by *wa-* و 'and' supplies the adversative element in the question (see 7.3.2):

wa-kayfa yakūnu dālīka wa-hādā l-mašrū'u lan taqilla taklifatuḥu 'an 20 milyūna junayhin?

وكيف يكون ذلك وهذا المشروع لن تقل تكلفته عن ٢٠ مليون جنيه؟

'and **how can that be when** the cost of this plan will not be less than £20 million?'

wa-kayfa yastaṭī'u l-muwarriḍu 'an yalja'a 'ilā siyāsati l-'iḡrāqi wa-hunāka ḍawābiṭu taḥkumu l-si'ra?

وكيف يستطيع المورد أن يلجأ إلى سياسة الإغراق وهناك ضوابط تحكم السعر؟

'and **how can** the supplier resort to a saturation policy **when** there are rules which control the price?'

Variants:

kayfa lī 'an 'arfūḍa?

كيف لي أن أرفض؟

'**how can I** refuse?' (cf. idioms with *lī* لي, 10.13.1.1, 10.13.2.1)

kayfa lī 'an 'anqula hādīhi l-risālata?

كيف لي أن أنقل هذه الرسالة؟

'**how can I** transmit this message?'

10.13.8 Rhetorical questions with *matā* متى 'when' (cf. 10.10)

wa-sīnamā l-klūb al-miṣriyyi matā wa-kayfa malakat-i l-fu'āda?

وسينما الكلوب المصري متى وكيف ملكت القواد؟

'the Egyptian Club Cinema, **when** and how did it [ever] have the heart?'

(note the topic-comment structure, 3.3)

10.13.9 Idiomatic *turā* تُرى (▷C1:136)

Invariable *turā* تُرى, ‘do you see’, ‘see how?’ lit. ‘are you seen/shown?’, cf. idiomatic passives, 3.12.4:

turā mā zāla yataḍakkaru?

ترى ما زال يتذكرني؟

‘I wonder if he still remembers me?’

fa-hiya lam taḍkur wa-lā marratan ‘ayya šay’in ‘an tilka l-buḥayrati ... turā li-māḍā?

فهي لم تذكر ولا مرة اي شيء عن تلك البحيرة. ترى لماذا؟

‘and she never once said anything about that lake. I wonder why?’

turā man yakūnu l-zā’iru?

ترى من يكون الزائر؟

‘I wonder who the visitor will be?’

Also with vocative particle *yā* يا ‘O’ (see 2.15):

yā turā mā llaḍī yantašilu l-’insānu min-a l-ḥaṭari

يا ترى ما الذي ينتشل الإنسان من الخطر

‘I wonder what man can snatch from danger’

wa-qad zāra l-makṭaba – fī l-’āmi l-māḍī – 400 bāḥiṭin, fa-kam yā turā ‘adadu zuwwāriḥā min-a l-bāḥiṭīna l-’arabi?!

وقد زار المكتبة – في العام الماضي – ٤٠٠ باحث، فكم ياتري عدد زوارها من الباحثين العرب؟!

‘last year 400 researchers visited the library, and how many **do you think** was the number of visitors who were Arab researchers!?’ (sarcastic)

10.14 DIRECT SPEECH

Direct speech is usually signalled by *qāla* قال ‘to say’, now often with quotation marks and a number of other typographical conventions, especially in dialogues (see 1.3, 1.3.1). One example will suffice (for simplicity the punctuation is exactly as in the original):

qālat bi-ṣawtin ma’diniyyin ‘lā lā ’antaḏiru ’aḥadan’

قالت بصوت معدني ‘لا لا أنتظر أحدا’

‘she said in a metallic voice “no no I am not expecting anyone” ’

10.15 INDIRECT SPEECH

CA had no specific syntactical distinction between direct and indirect speech, i.e. there was no regular shift of person and tense in indirect speech. Instead the actual words spoken were introduced by *qāla* قال ‘to say’ or the equivalent, e.g. *za‘ama* زعم ‘to assert’, *idda‘ā* ادعى ‘to claim’, etc. Since many sentences in direct speech are already introduced by *‘inna* إِنَّ ‘indeed’, ‘verily’ (3.2.1) it has long been the compulsory particle after *qāla* قال ‘to say’ to introduce indirect speech (10.15.1, but see also 10.15.3.1 for *qāla* قال with *‘anna* أَنْ), while with all other verbs of saying, statements become direct or indirect objects through the complementizer *‘anna* أَنْ ‘that’ (see 3.2.2, 7.5.2 and 10.15.3).

10.15.1 Standard indirect speech (▷C3:128)

qāla قال ‘to say’ reporting indirect speech is almost always followed by *‘inna* إِنَّ ‘indeed’. Since the *‘inna* إِنَّ may have formed part of the original utterance (namely ‘indeed’, ‘verily’), it is never absolutely certain whether it is to be included, (direct speech) or interpreted as ‘that’ (indirect speech), thus in *qāla ‘inna hunāka hājatan li-‘inšā’i mustašfan jadīdin fī l-šāriqati* قال إن هناك حاجة لإنشاء مستشفى جديد في الشارقة there are two possible structures: direct speech: ‘he said “**Indeed** there is a need to build a new hospital in Sharjah” ’ or (in practice far more likely in MWA) indirect speech: ‘he said **that** there **was** a need to build a new hospital in Sharjah’ (see 3.1.3.1 on this use of *hunāka* هناك ‘there’).

Similarly:

qāla ‘inna ḥaflata fiitāḥi l-kulliyyati l-rasmiyyati sa-yatimmu masā’a ḡadin

قال إن حفلة افتتاح الكلية الرسمية ستتم مساء غد

‘he said **that** the official opening ceremony of the college **would take place** the next evening’

could also be read as direct speech, ‘he said “the official opening ... **will take place** tomorrow evening” ’.

With 3rd person verbs it is usually impossible to distinguish direct from indirect speech anyway:

qāla ‘inna hāḍihi lā tazālu dirāsatan taqūmu bihā l-wizāratu

قال إن هذه لا تزال دراسة تقوم بها الوزارة

‘he said this **was still** a study which the ministry was carrying out’,

lit. ‘**is still**’ (see 3.21.4) for *lā tazālu* لا تزال ‘does not cease’, ‘is still’)

But where a distinction is possible it is clear that MWA largely emulates the person and tense shifts of Western syntax (a trend visible in CA but not to such an extent):

qāla li- 'ummī 'innahu māḍin 'ilā mustašfā l-qasri l- 'aynī

قال لأمي إنه ماض إلى مستشفى القصر العيني

'he told my mother **that he** was going to the Kasr el-Ayni Hospital'

in direct speech this would be *qāla ... innī māḍin* قال ... إني ماض 'he said ... "Indeed I am going"'

qāla lī 'innahu qaliquṇ munḍu 'an qultu ...

قال لي إنه قلق منذ أن قلت ...

'he told me **that he** had become anxious since I said ...'

not *qāla innī* قال إني 'he said, "I ..."'

yaqūlu lahā ... 'innahu sa-yahruju ma 'ahā fī nuzhatin qaṣīrati l-madā

يقول لها ... إنه سيخرج معها في نزهة قصيرة المدى

'he says to her ... **that he will go out** with her for a short walk'

10.15.1.1 Idiomatic *qāla bi-* قال بـ 'to hold an opinion', 'to maintain', i.e. the speaker makes an assertion in which the exact spoken words are not the issue:

inṭilāqan min musallamatin 'ilmiyyatin taqūlu bi-'anna l-zāhirata

l-fikriyyata laysat nabātan fiṭriyyan

انطلاقاً من مسلمة علمية تقول بأن الظاهرة الفكرية ليست نباتاً فطرياً

'proceeding from a scientific premise which **maintains that** the intellectual phenomenon is not a innate growth'

10.15.2 Indirect speech with 'an أن

Indirect speech with 'an أن (▷C3:113) is usually a variant of the normal subordination of verbs of commanding, requesting, etc. (see 7.5.1.1). With *qāla* قال in this sense, i.e. 'to tell':

qāla lahu 'an yattaṣila bi-l- 'ustādi

قال له أن يتصل بالأستاذ

'he **told him to contact** the professor',

lit. 'he said to him that he should contact'

lākinṇahu kāna yaqūlu lanā fī kulli marratin 'an nastamirra fī l-kalāmi

li- 'anna dālika lā yuḍāyiquhu

لكنه كان يقول لنا في كل مرة ان نستمر في الكلام لأن ذلك لا يضايقه

'but he **used to tell** us every time **to continue** to talk because that did not annoy him', lit. 'to say to us that we should continue'

10.15.3 Assertions with other verbs (▷C3:129)

All other verbs of asserting, stating, thinking, etc. are either followed by 'anna أَنْ 'that' clauses (7.5.2.4) or double dir. objects (see 3.11.2.4):

- With complementizer 'anna أَنْ 'that':

idda 'at 'annahā kānat fī manzilihā

ادعت أنها كانت في منزلها

'she claimed **that** she was in her home'

- With double object:

yazunnuhu rasūla l-'āmīri

يظنه رسول الأمر

'he thinks **he** is **the messenger** of the commandant',

lit. 'thinks him [1st obj.] the messenger [2nd obj.]'

10.15.3.1 Occasionally *qāla* قال is found with 'anna أَنْ (contrast 10.15.1), again in a context where the exact words of the speaker are not used or reported:

qāla bi-ḥamāsatin 'annahu la-ṭālamā tamannā law yazūru bal law ya 'īšu fī l-baladi

قال بحماسة أنه لطالما تمنى لو يزور بل لو يعيش في البلد

'he said with enthusiasm **that** he had long hoped to visit, nay to live in the country'

(see 5.9.15 for *la-ṭālama* لطالما 'for a long time!', 8.2.8 for *tamannā* تمنى 'to hope' with *law* لو, and 6.6 for *bal* بل 'nay more')

10.16 INDIRECT QUESTIONS (▷C3:97)

Indirect questions become agents or objects of the main verb.

They all follow the CA pattern and use the standard interrogatives listed above, except that indirect yes–no questions are introduced only by *hal* هل (10.2). The other interrogative 'a أ (10.1) is restricted to alternative structures with *sawā'un* سواء 'the same' (10.20 and see 6.10) as it was in CA.

There is a tendency to replace *hal* هل questions with calques using the extended temporal 'idā إذا 'when' (already now well established for 'if' in conditional sentences, see 8.3) in yes–no questions (see 10.19) and, as a further development, a new compound interrogative has emerged, 'ammā 'idā عما إذا 'whether', see 10.19.2.

As with indirect speech, it is not always clear whether the question is posed as direct speech or in the form of a subordinate clause with pronoun shift (but see also 10.17):

wa-nas 'alu 'anfusanā hal 'ajazat-i l-'ajhizatu l-'amaniyyatu

ونسأل أنفسنا هل عجزت الأجهزة الأمنية

'and we ask ourselves, "has the security apparatus broken down?"' or
'whether the security apparatus has broken down'

In this example pure direct speech is used:

wa-l-fannānātu yas 'alna ba 'dahunna hal waṣalaki l-ṣarīṭu

والفنانات يسألن بعضهن هل وصلك الشريط

'and the artistes ask each other, "has the tape reached you yet?"'

While in the next example the punctuation (reproduced by the nearest English equivalent in the translation) specifies direct speech even though at the rhetorical and discourse level indirect speech would also be possible:

wa-ba 'du fa-hal tammata min sā'ilin yas 'alu: li-māḍā qutila Ḥ. M.? wa-man huwa l-qātilu? 'ammā li-māḍā, fa-rubbamā najidu jawābahā

وبعد فهل ثمة من سائل يسأل: لماذا قتل ح. م.؟ ومن هو القاتل؟ أما لماذا، فربما نجد جوابها

'Now then, is there anyone who will ask, "why was H. M. killed?" And "who was the killer?" As for why, we may find the answer'

(for the vague fem. *jawābuhā* جوابها 'answer for it/them' [probably 'question(s)'] see 1.12.2.2, cf. 10.2 on *hal* هل and *min* من together in vague questions and 3.9.4 on paronomastic expression of indef. agents)

Here the writer has had problems with the sequence of tenses:

wa-hal 'idā haraba suqrātu kāna sawfa yatamakkanu min mumārasati ḥurriyyati l-kalimati

وهل إذا هرب سقراط كان سوف يتمكن من ممارسة حرية الكلمة

'and whether if Socrates had run away he would have been able to practise freedom of speech' (cf. 3.10.6 on compound tenses)

10.17 INDIRECT YES–NO QUESTIONS (▷C3:99)

Regular indirect questions with interrogative particles, excluding *man* من, *mā* ما, for which see 10.18:

- Yes–no questions (but see 10.19 also):

lā na 'rifu hal-i l-'ālamu sa-yan 'amu fi 'lan bi-dawā 'in šāfin li-maraḍi l-saraṭāni

لا نعرف هل العالم سينعم فعلا بدواء شاف لمرض السرطان

'we do not know if the world will actually be pleased with a drug for curing cancer'

*rāḥa yas'alu 'ummahu – faqaṭ – 'an ḥarūfi l- 'īdi .. wa-hal wāliduhu
štarā dālika 'am lā*

راح يسأل أمه – فقط – عن خروف العيد .. وهل والده اشترى ذلك أم لا
'he proceeded to ask his mother – only – about the lamb for the feast ..
and **whether** his father had bought that or not'

(see 10.1.1 for alternative questions)

• Wh-questions:

*yajibu 'an nata'allama kayfa naḥtarimu šu 'ūra wa- 'iḥsāsa wa-nfi 'ālāti
l- 'aṭfāli*

يجب أن نتعلم كيف نحترم شعور وإحساس وانفعالات الأطفال
'we must learn **how** to respect the feeling, perception and emotions of
children' (see 2.3.7 for polynomial annexation)

'ataḍakkaru kayfa kānat-i l-kalimātu tufarriḥunī

أتذكر كيف كانت الكلمات تفرحني
'I remember **how** words used to make me happy'

lā ya 'rifu kayfa yastaḥdimu hādā l-fanna

لا يعرف كيف يستخدم هذا الفن
'does not know **how** to use this art'

sa 'altu nafsī kam 'umruhā

سألت نفسي كم عمرها
'I asked myself **how** old she was'

lā ta 'rifu kam min-a l-zamani marra 'alayhā

لا تعرف كم من الزمن مر عليها
'she does not know **how much** time had passed [over her]'

lam ya 'ud muhimman 'ayna hiya

لم يعد مهما أين هي
'it was no longer important **where** she was'

(see 3.21.1 for the idiom 'āda عاد 'to return', in the neg. 'be no longer')

wa sa 'altuhu 'ilā 'ayna dāhibun fi 'amrikā l-šāsi 'ati

وسألته إلى أين ذاهب في أمريكا الشاسعة
'I asked him [to] **where** he was going in distant America'

*al-salāmu llaḏī lā yaʿrifu maʿnāhu wa-lā ḥajmahu wa-lā **matā** yaʿtī*
ʿillā ...

السلام الذي لا يعرف معناه ولا حجمه ولا متى يأتي إلا...

‘the peace which nobody knows the meaning of nor its size nor **when** it will come, except ...’

(contrast *matā* متى ‘when’ with *ʿidā* (10.19): the former enquires about a point of time, the latter about a situation)

tatasāʾ alu ʿilā ʿayyi mīnāʾ in sa-yaʿūdu bi-zawraqi ḥubbihimā

تتساءل إلى أي ميناء سيعود بزورق حبهما

‘she wonders **to which** harbour he will bring back the boat of their love’

(note verb of motion, here ‘return’, with *bi-* بـ ‘with’ in sense of ‘bring [back]’, see 3.11.4.1); see also C1:153, 3:100 on *ʿayyu* أي.

When the Western sequence of tenses is being emulated, it can become clear that an interrogative clause is a genuine indirect question:

lastu ʿataḏakkaru l-yawma fī ʿayyi kitābin kuntu qaraʾtu ḥāḏihi l-ḥikāyata

لست أتذكر اليوم في أي كتاب كنت قرأت هذه الحكاية

‘I do not remember today **in which** book I **had** read this story’,

where *kuntu* كنت ‘I was’ makes a pluperfect (cf. 3.10.6) and shows that this is an indirect question.

10.18 INDIRECT QUESTIONS WITH *man* من, *mā[ḏā]* ما[ذا] (▷C3:100, 170)

Indirect questions with *man* مَنْ ‘who?’, *mā[ḏā]* ما[ذا] ‘what?’ (cf. 10.3, 10.4): these are identical to the rel. nouns ‘what’ and ‘who’ (see 5.4), but when used as interrogatives there is usually a structural indication, namely that there is no referential pronoun (see 5.0.1) in the interrogative clause (for the reason that interrogatives seek information precisely about that element), hence in:

*kayfa nuḥaddidu **man**-i l-masʿūlu ʿan ḥāḏā?*

كيف نحدد من المسؤول عن هذا؟

‘how can we determine **who** is responsible for this?’

*lā yadrī **mā** ʿalāqatu ḏālika bi-zawājihi*

لا يدري ما علاقة ذلك بزواجه

‘he does not know **what** the connection of that is with his marriage’

if these were rel. clauses *man huwa* من هو ‘who he [is]’ or *mā huwa* ما هو ‘what it [is]’ would be expected, with *huwa* هو ‘he’ as the referential pronoun. The form

māḍā ماذا ‘what?’ is exclusively interrogative, hence the question of rel. syntax does not arise:

dafa ‘ahum’ an yaḍhabū wa-yuṣāhidū māḍā tarakat lahum-u l-ḥarbu
 دفعهم أن يذهبوا ويشاهدوا ماذا تركت لهم الحرب
 ‘[it] impelled them to go and see **what** the war had left them’ not *tarakathu*
 ‘had left it’, rel. clause

Similarly:

lākin nahā fahimat māḍā taqṣidu ḡāda
 لكنها فهمت ماذا تقصد غادة
 ‘but she understood **what** Gada intended’

not *taqṣiduhu* تقصده ‘**that which** Gada intended’

In short clauses the referential pron. may be omitted (see 5.4.3), leaving the construction ambiguous:

mā kāna yaqūlu lī wālidi
 ما كان يقول لي والدي
 ‘what my father used to **say** to me’

(formally a rel. would be *yaqūluhu* يقوله ‘**say it**’; the full context is in 10.18.1 below)

The above examples also show that, as with the other interrogatives, *man* من and *mā[ḍā]* [ماذا] clauses may occur as objects of verbs. Additional examples:

yaṭraḥu tasā’ulan māḍā yakūnu l-waḍ’u law wajada šarikatan ‘uḥrā lahu ...?
 يطرح تساؤلاً ماذا يكون الوضع لو وجد شريكة أخرى له ... ؟
 ‘he asks wonderingly **what** would the situation be if he found another partner [fem.] for him ..’

wa-lā ‘a ‘rifu mā l-sababu
 ولا اعرف ما السبب
 ‘and I do not know **what** the reason is’

with annexation to *man* من, cf. 10.3

nas ‘alu baytu man hāḍā?
 نسأل بيت من هذا؟
 ‘we ask [ourselves], **whose** house is this?’, lit. ‘the house of **whom**?’
yalūḥūna bi-‘a ‘lāmin ḥumrin lā nadrī li-man
 يلوحون بأعلام حمراء لا ندري لمن
 ‘they appear with red flags which we do not know **whose they are**’

10.18.1 Indirect 'why' questions

Indirect questions with *li-māḍā* لماذا 'why' (10.5) follow the same pattern as *māḍā* above:

lā ya'rifu li-māḍā

لا يعرف لماذا

'he does not know **why**'

kuntu 'ata'ajjabu li-māḍā lam tatazawwaj

كنت أتعجب لماذا لم تتزوج

'I used to wonder **why** she had not married'

lā 'a'rifu li-māḍā huwa waḥdahu lladī wahaḇanī

لا أعرف لماذا هو وحده الذي وهبني

'I do not know **why** he alone was the one who gave to me'

(for *waḥdahu* وحده 'by himself' see 2.4.6.4)

lā 'adri li-māḍā taḍakkartu ba'da ḍālika bi-qalīlin ma kāna yaqūlu lī wālidī qabla 'an yanāma

لا أدري لماذا تذكرت بعد ذلك بقليل ما كان يقول لي والدي قبل أن ينام

'I don't know **why** I recalled a short time later what my father used to say to me before he went to sleep'

(the clause *mā kāna yaqūlu lī* ما كان يقول لي 'what he used to say with me' is ambiguous, either rel. or indir. question, see 10.18)

In the next case the quotation marks indicate dir. speech but the pronoun has shifted into indir. speech (cf. 10.16):

kam marratin sa'alat nafsahā 'li-māḍā lam yakun lahā 'aḥun?'

كم مرة سألت نفسها 'لماذا لم يكن لها أخ؟'

'how many times she asked herself "why does **she** not **have** a brother?"'

instead of "why do **I** not have?"'

(see 3.28.2 on expletive *kam* كم 'how much/many!')

The short, purely interrogative form *li-ma* لم (see 10.5) has not been found in indirect questions.

10.18.2 Other indirect questions

Indirect questions with other prepositionals and *mā* ما: since in these cases the *mā* ما is shortened to *-ma* م (see 10.5.2) there is no ambiguity between interrog. and rel. clauses: contrast this rel. clause:

'inna 'ālaynā 'an natasā'ala **'ammā** 'aḏāfahu

إن علينا أن نتساءل عما أضافه

'we must wonder about **what** he added'

(with long **'ammā** عما 'about what' and **'aḏāfahu** أضافه bearing a referential pronoun, namely 'he added it')

- With the interrogative:

sa'altuhu **mimma** yaškū 'abūhu

سألته مم يشكو أبوه

'I asked him **what** his father was complaining of' lit. '**of what** his father is complaining'

In the particular case of **'an** عن 'about' there is a tendency to prefer the long (rel.) form **'ammā** عما 'about what' in both relative and interrogative clauses.

- Interrogative:

lam yas'alhu yawman **'ammā** yuḥibbu 'aw yakrahu

لم يسأله يوما عما يحب أو يكره

'he never asked him once [lit. "on one day"] about **what he liked** or **disliked**', with no ref. pronoun

- Relative:

sa'alahu l-ṣuḥufiyyūna **'ammā** taḥaddaṭat **'anhu** wikālātu l-'anbā'i

سأله الصحفيون عما تحدثت عنه وكالات الأنباء

'the journalists asked him **about what** [rel. form] the news agencies had talked about', with ref. pronoun in **'anhu** 'about it'.

The following is a series of several kinds of indirect questions:

sa'alahā **'amman** takūnu wa-**min** **'ayyi** l-bilādī, wa-'an sirri ḥtiyārīhā
li-hāḏīhi l-ḥaḏīqati, wa-**hal** ta'tī 'alā marāḥila ba'īdatin mutaqaṭṭi'atin
'am bi-stimrārin

سألها عما تكون ومن أي البلاد، وعن سر اختيارها لهذه الحديقة، وهل تأتي على
مراحل بعيدة متقطعة أم باستمرار

'he asked her **[about] who** she might be and **from which** country, and about the secret of her choosing this garden, and **whether** she came at distant and interrupted intervals or continuously'

(note **takūnu** تكون 'she might be', cf. 3.16.3).

10.19 'idā إذا ETC. IN YES–NO INDIRECT QUESTIONS

'idā إذا originally 'when' (7.6.5), then spreading to 'if' (8.3) and 'whether', is starting to replace 'a- أ and *hal* هل (see 10.16) in yes–no indirect questions. Cf. 8.7 for additional examples of indirect questions overlapping with conditionals.

10.19.1 Standard 'if' questions with 'idā إذا

Indirect questions with 'idā إذا alone are perhaps not true questions but rather calques of Western constructions; the following example has closer similarities to an inverted pseudo-conditional sentence (cf. 8.6):

'ahbirnī 'idā kunta qad qara 'ta fī ḥayātika qaṣīdatan 'ašadda minhā waqāḥatan

أخبرني إذا كنت قد قرأت في حياتك قصيدة أشد منها وقاحة

'tell me **if** you have ever in your life read a more brazen poem than this one'

(see 2.11.1 for comparative 'more intense as to brazenness', with specifying element) which might be paraphrased as an inverted conditional: '**when/if** you have ever read ..., tell me'.

The following, however, are real indirect questions, clearly echoing Western patterns:

lā 'adri 'idā kāna 'ahmadu yarǧabu 'an 'unjiba lahu 'awlādan

لا أدري إذا كان أحمد يرغب أن أنجب له أولادا

'I do not know **whether** Ahmad wants me to produce children for him'

sa'alatnī 'idā kuntu 'a 'rifu 'aḥada l-muḥtaṣṣina bi-l-tajmīlī

وسألتني إذا كنت أعرف أحد المختصين بالتجميل

'she asked me **if** I knew one of the specialists in cosmetics'

wa-sa'altu 'idā kuntu 'astaṭī 'u 'an 'ajlisa hunāka

وسألت إذا كنت أستطيع أن أجلس هناك

'and I asked **whether** I could sit there'

Note that pure when-questions use *matā* متى 'when', see 10.17.

10.19.2 'Whether' questions with 'ammā عما, 'idā إذا

Increasingly 'idā إذا is now combined with 'ammā عما 'about what', the rel. -mā ما suffix producing a compound conjunction (see 5.8 for this function of *mā* ما, also 10.5.2 for the true interrog. 'amma عم 'about what?'). The resulting complex may be analysed broadly as 'about-what-if', with 'an عن supplying the link to the preceding verb (inevitably one which takes a proposition as its dir. object), -mā

ما enabling 'an عن to operate as a conjunction and 'idā إذا providing the indirect interrogative sense. The compound is clearly not a direct calque of any Western conjunction but an indigenous innovation reproducing the semantic components of English 'whether':

sa'altuhu 'ammā 'idā kuntu 'astaṭī'u 'an 'arā wālidahu

سألته عما إذا كنت أستطيع أن أرى والده

'I asked him **whether** I could see his father'

lam yu'lin ḥattā l-'āna 'ammā 'idā kāna sa-yastamirru ma'a l-farīqi

لم يعلن حتى الآن عما إذا كان سيستمر مع الفريق

'he has not yet announced **whether** he will be continuing with the team'

al-taḥadduṭu bi-ṣarāḥatin wa-wuḍūḥin 'ammā 'idā kāna hunāka mašākilu

التحدث بصراحة ووضوح عما إذا كان هناك مشاكل

'to say frankly and clearly **whether** there are any problems'

fa-qad kānat tas'aluhu 'ammā 'idā mā kānat qad ḡallat fī nafsi l-makāni

فقد كانت تسأله عما إذا ما كانت قد ظلت في نفس المكان

'she used to ask him **whether** she should not have stayed in the same place'

with the added complication of a neg. mā ما (cf. 4.2.2) before the subordinate verb!

The 'an عن 'about' component is not always present, probably because there is no actual question being asked or intimated (perhaps as a calque of 'what if?'):

na'ūdu li-su'ālī l-maḥāṭiri, wa-mā 'idā kāna hunāka mā yuhaddidu ra'sa l-māli

نعود لسؤال المخاطر، وما إذا كان هناك ما يهدد رأس المال

'we return to the question of the risks, and **whether** there is anything there which threatens the capital', lit. 'and what if there were that which threatens'

li-yūḍiḥa lahu mā 'idā kānat jīnātuhu sa-tu'arriḍuhu mustaqbalan li-ḥaṭari l-'iṣābati bi-maraḍi 'alzahāyimir'

ليوضح له ما إذا كانت جيناته تعرضه مستقبلاً لخطر الإصابة بمرض ألزهايمر

'to clarify for him **whether** his genes will expose him in the future to the danger of being afflicted by Alzheimer's disease'

10.19.3 Indirect questions with 'in إن 'if' (▷C3:101)

Infrequently the indirect question is introduced by 'in إن 'if', (see 8.1 for the true conditional function of 'in إن), evidently a calque, also reflecting the same extension of 'if' to 'whether' as English:

'indamā sa'ala būlārd 'in kāna kullu šay'in 'alā mā yurāmu

عندما سأل بولارد إن كان كل شيء على ما يرام

'when he asked Pollard **if** everything was OK'

sawfa yas'aluhā 'in kānat tarǧabu fī 'an yantaẓirahā

سوف يسألها إن كانت ترغب في أن ينتظرها

'he will ask her **if** she wants him to wait for her'

10.20 *sawā'un* سواء WITH INDIRECT QUESTION SYNTAX (▷C3:103)

The coordinating element *sawā'un* سواء 'same' is often used with indirect question syntax, so it may be included here (see 6.10 for more detailed treatment under coordination). The first clause is introduced by the interrogative prefix 'a- أ (10.1) and the second by either 'aw أو or 'am أم 'or' (6.7):

qāla 'inna l-kahrabā'a sa-yartafī 'u tamanuhu sawā'an 'a-buniyat-i

l-qanāṭiru l-jadīdatu 'am lam tubna

قال إن الكهرباء سيرتفع ثمنها سواء أبنيت القناطر الجديدة أم لم تبني

'he said that electricity cost would rise **whether** the new locks were built or not built'

(notice repetition of 'built' rather than elliptical 'built or not', cf. paronomasia in 11.7.7, 11.7.8)

11 HYPERSENTENCE AND DISCOURSE

11.0 INTRODUCTION

MWA preserves in some contexts the CA convention that all lengthy stretches of formal discourse, written or spoken, begin and end in principle with a blessing, with all the intervening sentences being joined by the coordinating and subordinating devices described in **Chapters 6** and **7**. In particular nearly all the coordinators in **Chapter 6** are used as paragraph introducers and connectors with much the same meaning as they have between sentences. However, the paragraph structure of MWA is also showing signs of Western influence, notably in the increasingly frequent appearance of sentence introducers paired with a resumptive *fa-* ف ‘and/so’, a substantial extension of the archetypal CA topicalizer ‘*ammā ... fa- ...* ف ... أما ... ‘as for ...’, ‘well ...’ (see **3.3.4**).

Later in this chapter (**11.7**) there is also a brief assessment of some stylistic aspects of MWA involving repetition of nouns and verbs in different forms for either structural or stylistic purposes.

11.1 WITH RESUMPTIVE *fa-* ف

Resumptive *fa-* ف (▷C3:31; cf. **6.3**) or *fa-qad* فقد or even *fa-la-qad* فلقد (see **3.10.4** on these).

In the following examples the resumptive particle *fa-* ف introduces the main part of the sentence. It is particularly common after adverbial and prepositional phrases. These phrases generally link the main clause after *fa-* ف with preceding paragraphs, either as a consequence, a parallel, or a contrast.

There appear to be two types of sentence introducers paired with resumptive *fa-* ف. These are i) those functioning as full discourse markers; ii) hybrid forms involving the preposing of prep. phrases, which are syntactically natural, but which have been elevated artificially to the level of discourse marker. A third type of sentence introducer (**11.2.1**) is almost certainly a simple inversion with strong calque qualities.

- Full discourse markers

bi-l-nisba li-...fa-['inna] [إن] بالنسبة لـ... ‘with regard to’:

wa-bi-l-nisbati li-l-jānibi l-iqtiṣādiyyi fa-’inna ...

وبالنسبة للجانب الاقتصادي فإن...

‘and as far as the economic side is concerned[,]’...

wa-bi-l-nisbati li-l-istirātijīyyāti l-muttaba 'ati fī ḥamlati l-intihābāṭi
fa-nulāḥiẓu 'anna ...

وبالنسبة للاستراتيجية المتبعة في حملة الانتخابات فنلاحظ أن ...

'and **with regard to** the strategies followed in the election campaign[,] we observe that ...'

bi-l-tālī بالتالي both 'hence' and 'subsequently', with various conjunctions:

wa-bi-l-tālī fa-qad 'a 'raba 'an ḥaṣyatihi 'an ...

وبالتالي فقد أعرب عن خشيته أن ...

'and he **subsequently**[,] expressed his fear that ...'

wa-bi-l-tālī fa-qad 'addā ntiḥā 'u l-ḥarbi l-bāridati 'ilā ...

وبالتالي فقد أدى انتهاء الحرب الباردة إلى ...

'**subsequently**[,] the end of the cold war has led to ...'

wa-bi-l-tālī fa- 'inna 'amāma ḥāḍihi l- 'amwālī 'iddata ṭuruqin li-l-ḥārījī

وبالتالي فإن أمام هذه الأموال عدّة طرق للخارج

'**as a result**[,] these sums of money have a number of ways out of the country before them'

Others introduced by *bi-* بـ:

bi-l-ṭab'ī fa- 'inna l-ḥālata ...

بالطبع فإن الحالة ...

'**naturally** the case ...'

wa-bi-ṣarfī l-naẓari 'an rudūdi fī 'li ba 'ḍi l-mas 'ūlīna ... fa-la-qad 'ayyada

l-ba 'ḍu minhum mā jā 'a fī l-kitābi

وبصرف النظر عن ردود فعل بعض المسؤولين ... فلقد أيدّ البعض منهم ما جاء في الكتاب

'**notwithstanding** the reactions of some of the officials[,] ... some of them did support what appeared in the book'

(see 3.8.4 for agreement with *ba 'ḍ* بعض 'some')

wa-bi-ḥasabi wikālati l-tāqati l-duwāliyyati fa-qad tajāwaza l-ṭalabu l- 'arḍa

وبحسب وكالة الطاقة الدولية ... فقد تجاوز الطلب العرض

'**according to** the International Energy Agency[,] demand has outstripped supply'

With *fī-* في:

wa-fī ḥādā l- 'iṭārī fa-min-a l-mutawaqqa 'i 'an ...

وفي هذا الإطار فمن المتوقع أن ...

'and **in this framework**[,] it is expected that ...'

fī ḥālātī wujūdi ‘uṭlin fī l-jihāzi fa-’inna ‘alā l-muštārīki murāja‘ata markazi l-ṣiyyānati

في حالة وجود عطل في الجهاز فإنّ على المشترك مراجعة مركز الصيانة
‘in case of failure in the equipment[,] it is up to the subscriber to consult the repair centre’

(for idiomatic use of ‘*alā* على ‘incumbent upon’, see 2.6.2)

wa-fīmā yata‘allaqu bi-’amaliyyati l-salāmi fa-qad ‘akkada barnāmiju l-ḥizbi l-dīmūqrāṭiyyi ...

وفيما يتعلّق بعملية السلام فقد أكّد برنامج الحزب الديموقراطي ...
‘concerning the peace process[,] the democratic party’s programme has confirmed ...’

With ‘*alā* على:

‘alā sabili l-miṭāli fa-qad ‘ašāra l-ra’isu ‘ilā...

على سبيل المثال فقد أشار الرئيس إلى...
‘by way of example [,] the president indicated...

‘alā kulli ḥālin, fa-la-qad kāna muhimman

على كلّ حال فلقد كان مهماً
‘anyway[,] it was important’

‘alā dālīka fa-’inna l-ḍarī‘ata l-’amrīkiyyata ...

على ذلك فإنّ الذريعة الأمريكية...
‘nevertheless[,] the American pretext’...

Other preposition(al) phrases:

wa-dūna ‘adnā šakkin fa-la-qad kānat hunāka ḥisābātun wa-ḥtimālātun

ودون أدنى شكّ ... فلقد كانت هناك حسابات واحتمالات
‘without the least doubt[,] there were calculations and possibilities there’

wa-min hunā fa-’inna l-’alāqata llatī tarbiṭu l-šarikata ...

ومن هنا فإنّ العلاقة التي تربط الشركة...
‘hence[,] the tie which binds the company’...

‘adā dālīka fa-huwa lā yakādu yuḡādiru baytahu ‘illā ḥina l-ḍarūrati

عدا ذلك فهو لا يكاد يغادر بيته إلا حين الضرورة
‘other than that[,] he hardly left his house except when the need arose’

(see exceptives 9.1 and 9.5.3, also *kāda* كاد ‘to almost’ in 3.21.3)

wa-’ilā jānibi ḥādā fa-...

وإلى جانب هذا ف...
‘and in addition to this[,]...’

ma'a 'مع' 'nonetheless' / *li-dālika* 'لذلك' 'therefore' type (cf. ▷C3:31):

li-dālika fa-la-qad 'aṭlaqnā sarāḥahu

لذلك. فلقد أطلقنا سراحه

'because of that[,] we released him'

li-dālika fa-min-a l-mumkini jiddan 'an ...

لذلك فمن الممكن جدا أن ...

'so[,] it is very possible that ...'

ma'a dālika fa-lā yastaṭī'u 'aḥadun 'an yatanabba'a...

مع ذلك فلا يستطيع أحد أن يتنبأ...

'however[,] no-one can predict'...

ma'a dālika fa-qad qara'nā 'anna ..

مع ذلك فقد قرأنا أن ...

'nevertheless[,] we have read that ...'

min tamma 'من ثم' 'hence':

wa-min tamma fa-qad 'ulliqat 'ayyatu wasāṭatin ma'a ḥukūmati l-ḥarṭūmi

ومن ثم فقد علّقت أية وساطة مع حكومة الخرطوم

'hence[,] all mediation with the Khartoum government has been suspended'

wa-min tamma fa-l-taṭarrufu fī qaryatinā lā wujūda lahu

ومن ثم فالتطرف في قريتنا لا وجود له

'hence[,] extremism in our village does not exist'

ka-dālika 'كذلك' 'likewise':

ka-dālika fa-'inna l-mutaṭarrifīna lladīna jarā l-qabḍu 'alayhim ...

كذلك فإن المتطرفين الذين جرى القبض عليهم...

'likewise[,] the extremists who were arrested'...

- hybrid forms in which preposed prep. phrases have been elevated to status of discourse marker

wa-li-ṭiqāfi l-tasarrubi fa-'inna l-duktūra J. 'A. yaṭraḥu ...

ولإيقاف التسرب فإن الدكتور ج.ع. يطرح...

'to stop the leakage[,] Dr J. A. suggests ...'

min 'ajli rāḥatika wa-tawfīran li-l-waṭi fa-qad 'a 'addat-i l-hay'atu

'anmāṭan muṣawwaratan wa-mulawwanatan

من أجل راحتك فقد أعدت الهيئة أنماطا مصورة وملونة

'for your convenience [,] the authority has prepared illustrated and coloured models'

wa-min 'ajli dālīka fa-'inna l-banka yas'ā ...

ومن أجل ذلك فإنّ البنك يسعى ...

'because of that[,] the bank endeavours to ...'

11.1.1 Adverbials and object qualifiers (see 2.5.7)

binā'an 'alā dālīka fa-min ġayri l-mutawaqqa'i 'an ...

بناء على ذلك فمن غير المتوقّع أن ...

'on that basis[,] it is not to be expected that ...'

faḍlan 'an dālīka fa-laysa min-a l-ma'rūfi ...

فضلا عن ذلك فليس من المعروف ...

'and on top of that[,] it is not known' ...

(see 3.1.4 for the *min al-* من ال formula in these two examples)

wa-ḥawfan min 'an yaẓhara 'annahu ḍa'īfun fī majālī l-difā'i, fa-qad 'akkada ...

وخوفا من أن يظهر أنّه ضعيف في مجال الدفاع ... فقد أكد ...

'and fearing that it would appear that he was weak in the defence area[,] he emphasized ...'

(see 3.29.6 and 2.4.5 for dep. comp. expressing cause, here preposed)

'aktara min dālīka, fa-qad laja'a l-kaṭīru min 'aṣḥābi dūri l-našri 'ilā

أكثر من ذلك فقد لجأ الكثير من أصحاب دور النشر إلى

'more than that[,] many owners of publishing houses have resorted to' (see 2.1.5.1)

wa-l-'āna fa-'inna waḍ'anā l-taqāfiyya...

والآن ... فإنّ وضعنا الثقافي ...

'and now[,] our cultural situation'...

wa-'ilāwatan 'alā dālīka fa-'inna l-wizārata tuqaddimu jamī'a l-taṣḥīlāti li-l-muṣtarikīna

وعلاوة على ذلك فإنّ الوزارة تقدّم جميع التسهيلات للمشاركين

'and in addition to that the Ministry gives all facilities to subscribers'

wa-'ijmālan fa-'inna hunāka ḥaṭawātun muhimmatun

وإجمالا فإنّ هناك خطوات مهمّة

'and in sum there are important steps'

This use of resumptive *fa-* ف is increasingly being employed in MWA to accommodate inversions such as subordinate clauses of motive or reason (see *li-'allā* لئلا 7.6.1.4).

11.2 WITHOUT RESUMPTIVE *fa-* ف WITH *wa-* و ‘and’ (cf. 6.2):

wa- و also functions as a discourse marker in conjunction with a limited range of expressions. They are distinguished from the examples in 11.1 by being syndetic circ. quals. (see 7.3.2):

hādā wa- هذا و (▷C1:5) ‘besides’, ‘this being so’

The invariable correlative expression *hādā wa-* هذا و tends to be a textual marker, linking paragraphs or longer sentences. It sums up the preceding narrative and may also assume an adversative sense, i.e., ‘in spite of all this’:

hādā wa-min-a l-muntaẓari ‘an ...

هذا ومن المنتظر أن ...

‘this being so[,] it is anticipated that ...’

hādā wa-min-a l-muqarrari ‘an ...

هذا ومن المقرر أن ...

‘this being so[,] it is decided that ...’

(see 7.5.1.1 and see 3.1.4 on the *min-a l-* من ال- formula in these two examples)

hādā wa-qad ẓarraḥa l-muhandisu ...

هذا وقد صرح المهندس ...

‘in spite of this[,] the engineer declared’...

hādā wa-lā yumkinu ‘an *nulāḥiẓa*

هذا ولا يمكن أن نلاحظ

‘this being so[,] we cannot remark’

Sub-varieties:

kullu dālika wa- كل ذلك و (▷C1:6) ‘all that (is the case) whilst’:

kullu dālika wa-l-ḥukūmatu gāfilatun ‘an *kulli mā yajrī fī l-sūqi*

كل ذلك والحكومة غافلة عن كل ما يجري في السوق

‘all that [is taking place] whilst the government is unaware of what is happening in the market’

ḥāṣṣatan wa- خاصة و / *ḥuṣūṣan wa-* خصوصاً ‘especially (as)’ (▷C3:277):

ḥāṣṣatan wa- ‘anna *ladayhi* ‘asbābahu li-tajannubi tanāwuli l-siyāsati l-ḥārijīyyati

خاصة وأن لديه أسبابه لتجنب تناول السياسة الخارجية

‘especially[,] as he has his reasons for avoiding dealing with foreign policy’

The following is a double discourse marker:

hādā wa-min nāḥiyatin 'uḥrā ...
 هذا ومن ناحية أخرى ...
 'this being so[,] from another point of view ...'

11.2.1 With no resumptive marker

The following markers are almost certainly simple inversions with strong calque like qualities:

'ayḍan أيضا 'also' (cf. 2.4.8):

'ayḍan 'uḥibbu 'an 'u'akkida 'annanā ...
 أيضا أحب أن أؤكد أننا ...
 'also I would like to stress that we' ...
 'ayḍan, wa-fi ḥisābi l-ṭalabi ...
 أيضا، وفي حساب الطلب ...
 'also, in the accounting figures for the application' ...

min ṭamma من ثم 'hence' (cf. 2.5.5 and 11.1):

wa-min ṭamma laysa lanā ḥaqqu l-hurūbi
 ومن ثم ليس لنا حق الهروب
 'hence we have no right to run away'

'ilā dālika إلى ذلك 'in addition' (cf. 2.2.5):

'ilā dālika tajūzu muqāranatu l-ṭirāzati l-ṭalātati
 إلى ذلك تجوز مقارنة الطرازات الثلاثة
 'in addition the three models may be compared'
 'ilā dālika yu'tabaru ktišāfu l-ittijāhi l-zāwī min-a l-nāḥiyati l-juḡrāfiyyati
 dāta 'ahammiyyatin mu'akkidatin
 إلى ذلك يُعتبر اكتشاف الاتجاه الزاوي من الناحية الجغرافية ذا أهمية مؤكدة
 'in addition to that[,] the discovery of the angular direction from a
 geographical point of view is of definite importance'

11.3 wa-'illā fa- وإلا ف- (▷ C3:338) 'OTHERWISE'

This expression is used to oppose two statements in the sense of 'otherwise'. It is derived from a category of elliptical conditional sentences, which explains the

presence of the *fa-* ف at the beginning of the clause following *wa-'illā* وإلا (see 8.4 and see also 9.4.7):

yata 'ahhadu l-ṭarafu l-tānī bi-daf'i l-'ujrati fi 'awwali kulli šahrin wa-'illā fa-li-l-ṭarafu l-'awwali 'inhā'u l-ta'āqudi

يتعهد الطرف الثاني بدفع الأجرة في أول كل شهر وإلا فللطرف الأول إنهاء التعاقد
'the second party undertakes to pay the rent at the beginning of each month,
otherwise the first party has the right to end the contract'

11.4 PARENTHETICAL PHRASES AND CLAUSES

A parenthesis can, in theory, occur between most major parts of a sentence (topic-predicate; verb and its subj./obj. etc.). A parenthetical sentence in MWA may or may not be clearly marked by the punctuation (here [,] is used only when the original text lacks explicit punctuation):

- parenthetical phrases, marked either by punctuation or by *wa-* و

dukira 'anna l-wizārata wa-bi-kulli mukawwinātihā yu'ādu tanẓīmuhā

ذكر أن الوزارة وبكل مكُوناتها يُعاد تنظيمُها

'it was mentioned that the Ministry[,]
with all its components[,]
would be reorganized'

(see 3.3 for topicalization and 'āda عاد for the prefix 're-' in 3.21.1)

fa-'innanā – wa-qabla l-iftitāhi – sa'alnā ba'da l-mutaqqafīna ...

فإننا – وقبل الافتتاح – سألنا بعض المثقفين ...

'so we – **before the inauguration** – asked some of the educated people ...'

sa-yaštariku wa-li-'awwali marratin-i l-qitā'u l-ḥāṣṣu

سيشارك و لأول مرة القطاع الخاص

'the private sector will[,]
for the first time[,]
participate'

- parenthetical clauses

yus 'ifuka 'idā dāqa l-ḥālu bi-l-naqdi llaḍi yakfī li-l-ḍahābi 'ilā l-sīnimā

يسعفك إذا ضاق الحال بالنقد الذي يكفي للذهاب إلى السينما

'(he) would help you[,]
when things were tight[,]
with the cash that would be enough to go to the cinema'

li-'anna firāraka wa-'in 'anqadaka li-ba'di l-waqtī fa-lan yu'fiyaka min ḥaṭarihim ṭilata l-waqtī

لأن فرارك وإن أنقذك لبعض الوقت فلن يعفيك من خطرهم طيلة الوقت

'because your running away[,]
[even] if it will save you for a certain time[,]
will not deliver you from the danger of them in the long run'

(see parenthetical conditionals 8.1.6 and incomplete conditionals 8.1.12)

11.4.1 Restrictive conditionals (▷C3:375) of the 'even if' type as true parentheticals (see 8.1.12):

kāna l-jamī'u mumta'idīna wa-'in lam yufṣihū 'an šu'ūrihim li-wujūdi hādīhi l-fatāti l-'ajibati

كان الجميع ممتعزين وإن لم يفصحوا عن شعورهم لوجود هذه الفتاة العجيبة
'everyone was displeased[,] even if they did not reveal their feelings[,] because of the presence of this strange girl'

11.4.2 Relatives (▷C3:377) (see 6.2.2)

Non-restrictive relatives are always parenthetical:

hādīhi l-'aḥdātu l-ḡāmiḍatu wa-llatī yaṣ'ubu šarḥuhā tarakat fihi 'aṭaran balīḡatan

هذه الأحداث الغامضة والتي يصعب شرحها تركت فيه أثرا بليغا
'these mysterious happenings[,] which are difficult to explain[,] made a great impression on him'

11.5 COHESIVE REITERATION

Where the verb is some distance from its obj. or any of its subordinates by attributives or parenthetical statements, or a set of intervening units, the verb sometimes needs to be repeated as a form of resumption:

yaqūlu l-riwā'iyyu l-faransiyyu fīlīb sūlīr wa-huwa llaḍī qāda l-ḥarakata l-yasāriyyata llatī najamat 'an-i ntifāḍati l-ṭalabati 'āma 1968 yaqūlu fīlīb 'inna ...

يقول الروائي الفرنسي فيليب سولير وهو الذي قاد الحركة اليسارية التي نجمت عن انتفاضة الطلبة عام ١٩٦٨ يقول فيليب إن ...

'the French novelist Philippe Solère says[,] who led the leftist movement out of which came the student uprising of 1968[,] [says Philippe] that ...'

(see 6.2.6. on the explanatory *wa-* و '[and] he being the one who led')

hal yumkinu 'an nataṣawwara 'anna miṭla hādā l-rajuli llaḍī yaḡlisu fī hādā l-kuški l-'ālī – wa-huwa llaḍī kullu waḡīfatihi 'an yasma'a jarasan fa-yuḡliqa l-mazlaqān wa-'indamā yamurru l-qiṭāru yaftaḥu l-mazlaqāna – hal yumkinu li-'ayyi 'insānin 'an yataṣawwara 'anna ...

هل يمكن أن نتصور أن مثل هذا الرجل الذي يجلس في هذا الكشك العالي – وهو الذي كل وظيفته أن يسمع جرسا فيغلق المزلقان وعندما يمر القطار يفتح المزلقان – هل يمكن لأي إنسان أن يتصور أن (...)

‘**can we imagine** that a man like this who sits in this high box – whose whole job is to hear a bell then close the level crossing and when the train passes to open it again – **can anyone imagine** that ...?’

(see syndetic circ. quals. 7.3.2, and 6.2.6 for explanatory circ. qual, and causal *fa-* in 6.3.4 and 7.4.1)

This reiteration also occurs with nouns:

wa- 'abraza l-nuqqādu 'anna 'abṭālī 'aṣḥāba tilka l-mawāqifi llatī tuṣbiḥu mawāqifi 'ilā darajatin kabīratin ma 'a ḥtilāfin fī l-tafāṣīli bi-l-ṭab 'i ha 'ulā'i l-'abṭālu wuṣifū min qibali ḥuṣūmihim bi-l-muṣāḡabati wa-l-junūni

وأبرز النقاد أن أبطال أصحاب تلك المواقف التي تشبه موافقي إلى درجة كبيرة مع اختلاف في التفاصيل بالطبع هؤلاء الأبطال وصفوا من قبل خصومهم بالمشاغبة والجنون
‘and the critics have pointed out that **my heroes**, the ones who take these stands which resemble mine to a great extent, with a difference in details, of course, **these heroes** were described by their adversaries as troublemakers and lunatics’, lit. ‘described with troublemaking and madness’

(for *'aṣḥāb* أصحاب see idiomatic annexation phrases 2.3.8 and for periphrastic agents of passive verbs 3.12.1)

11.6 EXPLANATION (*tafsīr* تفسير)

When a piece of discourse is clarified, emphasized and explained in more detail it is called *tafsīr* تفسير ‘explanation’ in traditional grammar. In the following example the words ‘do not give up and be brave’ explain the ‘strong words’ mentioned previously:

fa- 'idā staqarra bihi l-maṭāfu fī mustaṣfā l-ṭibbi l-naḥsiyyi yasma'u kalāman qawīyyan yanbiḍu bi-l-ṭiqati lā tastaslim wa-kun šujā'an

فإذا استقرَّ به المطاف في مستشفى الطب النفسي يسمع كلاماً قوياً ينبض بالثقة لا تستسلم وكن شجاعاً

‘and when he eventually winds up in a psychiatric hospital **he hears** [strong] **words** pulsating with confidence [as to say] “**Do not give up and be brave**” ’

(contrast *'an al-mufasssira* أن المفسسة 7.5.1.5)

11.7 ISSUES OF STYLE

This section deals with a variety of features such as repetition of nouns or verbs, or where two or more cognate words with a similar or related meaning bear a syntactic relationship. Such devices have deeply rooted origins in CA but are also used frequently by writers in MWA. They may be used for emphasis or special

stylistic effect, or may reflect a deeper syntactic connection between the elements concerned.

The term paronomasia is used in this section in a very restricted sense, see **11.7.10**. However, a broader interpretation of the term to include structural and stylistic issues of the type covered in the following sections is also very plausible. Consequently the reader may find references to paronomasia elsewhere in this book that include some or all of the categories dealt with in **11.7**.

11.7.1 Essential repetition of nouns

The lack of availability in MWA of nominal possessive pronouns ('yours', 'mine' etc.), and the absence of an anaphoric substitute for sing. or plur. count nouns ('ones', 'those' etc.) in some contexts results in the repetition of the noun for the following structural reasons (▷C2:44 and 451, cf. **6.10** and **11.7.8** for repetition with verbs):

- As part of an annexation structure:

ḥattā 'alat 'aṣwātu l-'atfāli 'alā 'aṣwāti l-'aṣāfiri

حتى علت أصوات الأطفال على أصوات العصافير

'until **the sounds** of the children exceeded those [lit., **the sounds**] of the birds'

wa-fahimnā bi-ṭarīqatin mā 'anna rijāla l-qaḍā'i min ḥinatin 'uḥrā ḡayri ḥinatin l-baṣari

وفهمنا بطريقة ما أن رجال القضاء من طينة أخرى غير طينة البشر

'we understood somehow [lit. "in some undefined way"] that men of the judiciary were of another **clay**, a different one [lit. **clay**] **clay** from that of the rest of mankind'

(for the use of *mā* ما to denote vagueness see **1.12.4.1**)

bayrūtu tabdū mustaḥīlata l-manāli, fī dunyā ḡayri dunyāhā

بيروت تبدو مستحيلة المنال، في دنيا غير دنياها

'Beirut seemed unobtainable, in a **world** different from its own [**world**']

(see **2.1.3.2** for unreal annexation)

As obj. of verb:

tu'ādilu misāḥatuhu misāḥata l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati

تعاذل مساحته مساحة الولايات المتحدة

'its area is equal to **that of** the USA'

As pred.:

marḥalatu l-tuḥūlātī wa-l-ṣībā marḥalatun ‘ajībatun min ḥayātī l-’insānī

مرحلة الطفولة والصبا مرحلة عجيبة من حياة الإنسان

‘the phase of childhood and youth is an extraordinary one [lit. “is an extraordinary phase”] in man’s life’

‘an tuṣbiḥa l-mustaṣḥayātu l-taḥaṣṣuṣiyyatu l-tābi‘atu li-l-wizārati

mustaṣḥayātīn ṣibha ḥāṣṣatin

أن تصبح المستشفيات التخصصية التابعة للوزارة مستشفيات شبه خاصة

‘that the specialized hospitals belonging to the Ministry could become semi-private [hospitals]’

As noun-phrases:

ḥuṭṭatun qaṣīratu l-madā wa-ḥuṭṭatun ba‘īdatu l-madā

خطة قصيرة المدى وخطة بعيدة المدى

‘a short-term plan and a long-term one’, lit. ‘and a long-term plan’

(see 2.1.3.2 for unreal annexation)

- Preps can only operate on one pronoun and must also be repeated:

‘alaynā wa-‘alayhim

علينا و عليهم

‘on us and [on] them’

11.7.2 Repetition of noun for emphasis

A noun may be repeated for emphasis:

- asyndetic

wa-taḍakkara riḥlātīn wa-riḥlātīn

وتذكر رحلات ورحلات

‘he remembered dozens of journeys’

wa-lākinna qirā‘ata <qindīl ‘umm ḥāṣim> marratan wa-marrātīn wa-‘ana tilmīḍun fī l-madrasati

ولكن قراءة قنديل أم هاشم مرة ومرات وأنا تلميذ في المدرسة

‘but reading “Umm Hashim’s Lamp” over and over again whilst I was a pupil at school’, lit. ‘one time and times’

(see circ. quals 7.3.2)

- syndetic

ṭāfa bi-mustaṣṣfā wilādatin wa-jam'īyyatin-i stihlākiyyatin wa-maṣna'in li-l-'adawāti l-kahrabā'īyyati wa-ḡayrihā wa-ḡayrihā

طاف بمستشفى ولادة وجمعية استهلاكية ومصنع للأدوات الكهربائية وغيرها وغيرها
'he went round a maternity hospital and a consumer cooperative and a factory for electrical **appliances and many others besides**', lit. 'and others of them and others of them'

tilka l-mu'āhadatu llati 'uqīdat min zamānin zamānin fī 'iṭāri l-jāmi'ati l-'arabiyyati

تلك المعاهدة التي عقدت من زمان زمان في إطار الجامعة العربية
'that pact which was concluded **years and years ago** in the framework of the Arab League', lit. 'time and time ago'

'Half' for time periods (not generally clock times, see 2.14.2):

istaḡraqa sā'atayni wa-nisfa l-sā'ati

استغرق ساعتين ونصف الساعة

'it took **two and a half hours**', lit. 'two hours and half the hour'

11.7.3 Verb and agent (▷C2:441)

A verb and its agent may be expressed as cognates to indicate the indefinite nature of the agent, i.e. with the sense of 'someone' (cf. 3.9.4). The agent is usually in indef. and act. part. form:

qad yaqūlu qā'ilun ... wa-mā l-'aybu fī hādā?

قد يقول قائل... وما العيب في هذا؟

'**someone** might say ... what is wrong with this?', lit. 'a sayers might say'

wa-hamasa fī 'uḍunī hāmisun

وهمس في أذني هامس

'and **someone** whispered in my ear', lit. 'a whisperer whispered in my ear'

11.7.4 Absolute object (▷C2:444)

The absolute obj. (see also 2.4.2 and 3.29.3) as verbal noun cognate with the verb (and its derivatives) strengthens the meaning of the action of the verb:

wa-huwa mariḍa maraḍan zāda 'alā šahrin

وهو مرض مرضا زاد على شهر

'and he **was ill for more than a month**, [lit. 'fell ill with an illness' which exceeded a month']

Or as 1st element of annexation:

al-ḥulmu taqīlun tiqla l- 'aḥlāmi

الحلم ثقيل ثقل الأحلام

‘the dream was as heavy as dreams can be’, lit. ‘heavy [with] **the heaviness** of dreams’

Or by annexation to a qualifier:

qad ḥaraṣa l-banku 'aṣadda l-ḥirṣi

قد حرص البنك أشد الحرص

‘the bank has been **extremely eager**’

11.7.5 In annexation (▷C2:450)

Emphasis can be expressed by annexing the relative adj. to its own positive, usually plur.:

ṣadiquhā hādā 'immā 'an yakūna min 'aḍkā l-'aḍkiyā'i 'aw min 'aḡbā l-'aḡbiyā'i

صديقها هذا إما أن يكون من أذكى الأذكىاء أو من أغبى الأغبياء

‘this friend of hers is either one **of the most intelligent** or one **of the most stupid**’ (see 2.19.7)

11.7.6 Indefiniteness (▷C2:450)

Prepositional phrases may be used periphrastically to denote indefiniteness (see 1.12.4.1)

fi yawmin min 'ayyāmi l-ṣayfi l-ḥārrati

في يوم من أيام الصيف الحارة

‘on one of the hot summer days’, lit. ‘**one day of the days**’

11.7.7 Pronominal relative clauses (▷C3:209; cf. 5.4)

Verbs may be repeated in contexts involving indef. rel. prons (*man* من / *mā* ما) for vagueness, or paraphrasing an indef. pron. (cf. 3.9.4 and 3.11.1.2):

wa-fariḥa man fariḥa wa-ḥazina man ḥazina

وفرّح من فرّح و حزن من حزن

‘and **those who rejoiced rejoiced and those who grieved grieved**’

fa'ala mā fa'alahu jamī'u l-ṭuḡāti

فعل ما فعله جميع الطغاة

‘**he did what** all tyrants **have done**’

yukābidu mā yukābiduhu min 'anatin wa-qahrin wa-ḏiqin

يكابد ما يكابده من عنت وقهر وضيق

'he suffers what he suffers of hardship, oppression and frustration'

qutila man qutila min 'ābā'ihim

قُتِلَ مَنْ قُتِلَ مِنْ آبَائِهِمْ

'those of their fathers that were going to be killed, were killed'

intahat 'azmatu l-ḥalīji 'ilā mā ntahat 'ilayhi

انتهت أزمة الخليج إلى ما انتهت إليه

'the Gulf crisis finished up where it did'

Variants with repetition of root but not the same part of speech:

tumma baqiya lahu waḥdahu ba'da raḥīli man raḥala

ثم بقي له وحده بعد رحيل من رحل

'then it was left to him alone after the death of those who died'

rağma kulli mā qīla wa-yuqālu

رغم كل ما قيل ويقال

'despite everything that has been said and is said'

wa-mā 'aṣābahā 'illā mā yuṣību zawjātin lā ḥaṣra lahunna kulla yawmin

وما أصابها إلا ما يصيب زوجات لا حصر لهن كل يوم

'and she was only afflicted by what afflicts innumerable wives every day',

lit. 'and nothing afflicted her except what afflicts innumerable wives every day'

11.7.8 Verbs in temporal clauses

Verbs in purely temporal 'idā إذا clauses (see 8.3.11):

wa-huwa yaḥludu 'idā jaluda

وهو يجلد إذا جلد

'and he is really tough when he is tough'

yaktubu 'idā kataba fī ḥayā'in

يكتب إذا كتب في حياء

'he writes, when he does, with modesty'

11.7.9 Repetition of verb for emphasis

(See syndetic coordination 6.2.)

hākaḏā širtu 'aktubu wa-'aktubu wa-'aktubu ḥattā marrat ḥamsu sanawātin

هكذا صرت أكتب وأكتب وأكتب حتى مرت خمس سنوات

'and so it was that I started **writing** and **writing** and **writing** until five years had passed'

11.7.10 Paronomasia

Paronomasia (Arabic *jinās* جناس) occurs in a writer's stylistic choice of words; for example, where two words with very similar sound and meaning occur in close proximity:

al-'āna 'āna lahā 'an tataḥaqqaqā

الآن آن لها أن تتحقق

'**now came the time** for it to be realized'

mā 'ašadda qālibiyatahu hādā l-qālibu l-jāhizu l-mukarrasu

ما أشدّ قالبية هذا القالب الجاهز المكرس

'what **mouldability** it had, **this** ready and consecrated **mould**'

(see exclamatory verbs in 3.27.1 and apposition in 2.2.1.2)

11.7.11 Oxymoron (▷C2:492)

Two adjectives with opposite meanings may modify the same noun asyndetically:

al-qaḏīyyatu l-qaḏīmatu l-jadīdatu

القضية القديمة الجديدة

'the old-new case'

11.8 IDIOMS INVOLVING REPETITION

11.8.1 *ša'n* شأن lit. 'affair', 'business'

ša'nuhum fī dālika ša'nu l-muslimīna

شأنهم في ذلك شأن المسلمين

'in that **they were in the same position as** the Muslims', lit. 'their affair in that was the affair of the Muslims'

ša'nuhā ša'nu bāqī fī 'āti l-mujtama'i

شأنه شأن باقي فئات المجتمع

'**it is in the same position as** the remaining sectors of society', lit. 'its affair is the affair of'

min ša'ni 'an أن من شأنه lit. 'part of its affair'

'anna stimrāra hādīhi l-fi'ati l-ma'jūratī fī hutāfātihā l-mu'ādiyati min ša'nihi 'an *yu'addiya 'ilā hubūṭi l-farīqi*

أن استمرار هذه الفئة المأجورة في هتافاتها المعادية من شأنه أن يؤدي إلى هبوط الفريق
'that the persistence of this paid mob in its hostile shouting **is something which can only lead to the team going down**', lit. 'that the persistence of this paid mob in its hostile shouting **it is 'part of the affair of' that it lead to the team going down**' (see topicalization 3.3).

kāna min ša'ni hādīhi l-hāṣṣiyyati 'an 'aṣbaḥat hādīhi l-qaryatu makānan li-'iddati maṣāni'a ṣaḡīratin

كان من شأن هذه الخاصية أن أصبحت هذه القرية مكانا لعدة مصانع صغيرة
'this characteristic could only lead to this village becoming a place for a number of small factories', lit. 'it was **'part of the affair of' this characteristic that this village become a place for a number of small factories**'

(cf. *mimmā* مما and *al-'amru llaḏī* الذي in 5.5, also *mā ša'nu ... wa-* ما شأنه... above, see 10.13.3.1):

11.8.2 *maṭal* مثل (cf. *miṭl* مثل 2.9.2.1)

maṭaluhā maṭalu l-ṣinā'ati l-taqīlati

مثلها مثل الصناعة الثقيلة

'it is in the same situation as heavy industry', lit. 'its example is the example of heavy industry'

maṭaluhā maṭalu l-muhandisīna wa-l-munaffidīna

مثلها مثل المهندسين و المنفذين

'its situation is the same as that of engineers and executives', lit. 'the example of it is the example of engineers and executives'

12 LEXICON

12.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews the more obvious changes in the vocabulary of MWA from the morphological and semantic perspective. It thus enlarges or completes the general morphological information provided in **Chapter 1**. The topics covered are: loan words (12.1), innovations with the *nisba* suffix *-ī* عِي (see see 1.8.6.3) in adjectives and nouns (12.2–12.4), compound nouns (12.5), neg. compounds (12.6), compound adjectives (12.7), developments in verbs (12.8), general morphological innovations (12.9–12.10) and lexical and semantic developments (12.11–12.12). This is a large topic, and only a few samples can be given of what appear to be the most significant trends.

Since these are largely lexical issues the data are not exclusively gathered directly from current MWA, but are also be taken from recent dictionaries and secondary sources published after 1990. However, all collected natural data items have been checked against Wehr's *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*, 1985 (= W5) and generally it will be noted when an item is not found in W5. It can of course never be ruled out that apparently modern coinages were in fact current in medieval Arabic, e.g. *'islāmī* 'Islamic'.

Unless it is relevant (e.g. when data are quoted in context), case and other terminal features will not be shown here. The fem. suff. *-atun* ات will appear in its pausal form *-a* (the *-h* of the spelt form ات is never heard) and the long fem. sing. suff. *-ātun* ات as *-ā(h)* to distinguish it from the fem. plur. *-ātun* ات (hereafter *-āt*). There will be some inconsistencies in the representation of vowels clearly corresponding to *o* and *e* (cf. 1.2.6.1), and W5 will not always be followed.

It is as well to note that most of the developments here are simply extensions of the potential in CA rather than profound structural changes in a direction away from the principles of CA.

12.1 LOAN WORDS

The general phonological/orthographical principles are set out in 1.1 and 1.2. Two categories deserve notice: (a) those which accommodate to Arabic patterns and may become productive, and (b) those which retain their original morphology, without having any corresponding pattern in Arabic.

12.1.1 Integration into the pattern system (1.4.2)

Often, foreign words are borrowed as if their most prominent consonants were radicals, and the resulting loan word is accommodated to the CA pattern system. Many may be nonce-words, there is no way to be sure how long they will last, e.g. (not in W5):

raskala رسكالة ‘recycling’, reg. quadrilateral noun on a root R-S-K-L

while others have at least succeeded in becoming dictionary entries:

halwasa هلوسة ‘hallucination’, assumes a root H-L-W-S

takaṭlaka تكثلك ‘to become a Catholic’ (cf. 12.8.2), root K-T-L-K

daynam دينم ‘dynamo’, dropping last syllable from the original, with broken plur. *dayānim* ديانم

(contrast with the alternative *dīnāmū* دينامو presumably with plur. *dīnāmūhāt* ديناموهات as with other borrowed words ending in -ū, see 12.10.1)

Such borrowings may then become productive within MWA:

’oksīd أكسيد ‘oxide’ gives rise to the verbs *’aksada* أكسد ‘to oxidize’, *ta’aksada* تأكسد ‘to become oxidized’, and the noun *’aksada* أكسدة ‘oxidization’

būdra بودرة ‘powder’ (French *poudre*) has spawned the denominative *mubawdara* مبودرة ‘powdered up’

makyāž or *mikyāj* (thus in W5) ماكياج ‘make-up’ (*maquillage*) has likewise spawned *mumakyaja* ممكيجة ‘wearing make-up’

Western suffixes, e.g. -ate, -id, -ous, -ic are attached to Arabic stems in scientific domains:

kibrītīd كبريتيد ‘sulphide’, from *kibrīt* كبريت ‘sulphur’, *ḥadīdik* حديدك and *ḥadīdūz* حديدوز for ‘ferric’ and ‘ferrous’ respectively from *ḥadīd* حديد ‘iron’, *ḥallik* خليك for ‘acetic’, from *ḥall* خل ‘vinegar’, *fahmāt* فحمت ‘carbonate’ from *fahm* فحم ‘coal’

(see also 12.4.2 for the abstract noun suffix *-iyya* يّة)

Other (purely token) examples of full morphological assimilation:

kādir كادر ‘cadre’ forms the broken plur. *kawādir* كوادر ‘cadres’

fābrika فبركة ‘factory’ < French *fabrique*, hence *fabraka* فبرك ‘to manufacture, fabricate’, *mufabrak* مفبرك ‘manufactured, fabricated’, and there is also a broken plur. *fabārik* فبارك ‘factories’ in addition to the sound plur. *fābrīkāt* فبريكات

barmaja برمج 'to programme [a computer]' < *barnāmaj* برنامج 'programme', itself naturalized so that only four of its five consonants are regarded as radicals, viz. B-R-M-J, hence the broken plur. *barāmiḡ* برامج 'programmes' and other derivatives

tafalwara تفلور 'to fluoresce' < *filūr* فلور 'fluorine', (alongside *florissant* فلورسنت 'fluorescent'), and *mufalwir* مفلور 'fluorescing'

tamalḡama تملغم 'to amalgamate'

12.1.2 Non-assimilation to the pattern system

Alternatively the borrowed words retain their foreign form to a degree which is fundamentally incompatible with the CA root and pattern system. This also happened in CA, though relatively infrequently (particularly in scientific and medical borrowings), but seems to have reached a point in MWA where the traditional limits on the number of root consonants (five, of which one usually had to be treated as an augment in any change of pattern) and range of possible patterns are now no longer in effect. See 1.1.2 on syllable structure.

Many can be regarded (for the time being) are mere transliterations with no implications for their subsequent linguistic evolution. Even though they have been adapted to the phonological and orthographical conventions, it is impossible to say whether they will become productive as new roots:

'aršī 'aršīqūbīs أرشي أبرشي 'archbishop' < Gk. *archiepiskopos*

'aršidūq أرشودق 'archduke'

sīnīmātogrāf سينيماتوغراف 'cinematograph'

bībliyogrāfiyā ببليوجرافيا 'bibliography'

mānīfātūra مانيفاتورة 'manufactured goods'

bakāloryūs باكالوريوس 'baccalaureate' (appears with varying vowel lengths marked, cf. 1.2.6.1)

fīsiyolojiyā فيسيولوجيا 'physiology'

kārikātūriyya كاريكاتورية 'cartoon', 'caricature'

tiknoqrāt تكنوقراط 'technocrat'

Alternations in ending can arise, either invariable *-iyā* or fem. *-iyya[tun]* (whether the latter is now fully inflected is rather uncertain: a permanent pausal pronunciation seems more likely, namely, *iyya* in both cases anyway):

tiknololjiyā تكنولولجيا or *tiknolojiyya* تكنولوجية 'technology'

fantāziyā فنتازيا or *fantāziyya* فنتازية 'fantasy'

There is occasionally an accommodation to the pattern of an early but still not fully assimilated borrowing:

ftziyā (فزيا) 'physics', echoing *kīmiyā* 'كيمياء' 'chemistry'
(an old borrowing, cf. the pattern also found in *sīmiyā* (سيميا) 'natural magic')

With all these, in contrast to the first group, the possibility of further derivatives seems remote, except for suffixation, namely, the adj. suffix *-ī* (ي) (see 12.2) and the fem. plur. suffix *-(h)āt* (هات), (see 12.8.1).

See further in 12.8 on neologisms created from within the resources of Arabic vocabulary.

12.1.3 Regional variations

There are often regional variations of a historical or geographical origin which can only be briefly noted here: the survival or eventual dominance of individual words is a political and cultural issue common to all languages in contact.

Inevitably many loan words reveal their sources, of which the names of the Christian months is the most obvious example; compare, for example, the month 'June' *ḥazīrān* حزيران, *yūniū* يونيو and *jwān* جوان, also place names such as *landan* لندن v. *lundra* لندرا 'London' where the foreign originals are easily discernible. As a result, there may be variations between synonyms in the different regions of the Arab world:

'hotel': *'otel* أوتيل, *funduq* فندق, *lokanda* لوكنده, *nazl* نزل
'diploma': *diblūm* دبلوم or *diblūma* دبلومة
'bus': *'otobīs* أوتوبيس, *bāṣ* باص, *omnībūs* أمنيبوس, *ḥāfila* حافلة
(the Academies' choice)
'lorry': *lorī* لوري, *kamyōn* كميون, *sayyārat naql* سيارة نقل
(the Academies' choice)

and it is not always the Academy's proposed term which predominates:

hātif هاتف lit. 'disembodied voice shouting'

is often seen, but what is usually said is

tilifōn تلفون 'telephone'

(and certainly there is no verb from *hātif* هاتف, which is expressed instead by the denominative *talfana* تلفن 'to telephone').

There are signs of different degrees of morphological assimilation, e.g. the unassimilated *tilifīzyon* تلفزيون 'television' versus the assimilated *tilfāz* تلفاز, conforming to a regular CA pattern.

An interesting case (here mentioned purely as a possibly model for the future) is the doublet *tahlīn* تهلين (regular stem II denominative with root H-L-N) and

halyana هَلْيَنَة ‘hellenization’ (now with root H-L-Y-N, both of course from ‘hellen[ize]’), possibly influenced by an older doublet *tamaddana* تَمَدَّن and *tamadyana* تَمَدَّيْن ‘to become civilized’, both from *madīna* مَدِينَة ‘town’, ‘city’, treated as a trilateral (M-D-N) and quadrilateral (M-D-Y-N) root respectively.

12.2 ADJECTIVAL SUFFIX *-ī* (*nisba*)

A most striking lexical development is the proliferation of the adj. suffix *-ī* ي (see 1.8.6.3; 2.1.6) which is now fully productive to form adjs on any nominal base. Furthermore, its fem. sing. form is now very productive in the creation of new abstract nouns (see 12.4).

Historically CA was far less prolific in such coinages, though it is quite probable that the examples given here include items dating back some centuries. Of the two substantive rules relating to the formation of the *nisba* adj. in CA, only one is retained, namely, that the fem. suffix *-at* ة must be removed before suffixing *-ī* ي (but see 12.3). The other rule (which was not fully observed even in CA) that this suffix should only be added to the pattern *fa‘al-* (thus *madanī* مدني ‘someone from Madīna’, ‘Medinese’, with *al-madīna* المدينة providing the stem *madan-*, *qabalī* قبلي ‘tribal’ < *qabila* قبيلة ‘tribe’ etc.) has long been abandoned, and there is now no restriction on the form of the stems to which the *-ī* ي suffix may be added.

12.2.1 Recent examples

This is an open set, and it is impossible to say how ephemeral some of the examples may be. Comparison with W4 (1979) shows that many were first noted in W5, but the examples below are not found in W5:

istimrārī استمراري ‘continual’, ‘continuous’ < *istimrār* استمرار ‘continuing’
(though W5 has the abstract *istimrāriyya* استمرارية ‘continuity’)

tabādulī تبادللي ‘mutual’ < *tabādul* تبادل ‘mutual activity’

tajrīmī تجريمي ‘incriminating’ < *tajrīm* تجريم ‘incrimination’
(W5 has *tajrīm* تجريم ‘incrimination’)

tašjī‘ī تشجيعي ‘encouraging’ < *tašjī‘* تشجيع ‘encouragement’

ta’hīlī تأهيلي ‘qualifying’ < *ta’hīl* تأهيل ‘qualification’, ‘training’

sukkānī سكاني ‘populational’ < *sukkān* سكان ‘inhabitants’

ḍukūrī ذكوري ‘of males’ < *ḍukūr* ذكور ‘males’
(W5 has *ḍakarī* ذكري on the sing. base)

mu’assasī مؤسسي ‘institutional’ < *mu’assasa* مؤسسة ‘institution’

ḥadāṭī حداثي ‘modernist’ < *ḥadāṭa* حداثة ‘modernism’

ḥidmī خدمي ‘relating to service’ < *ḥidma* خدمة ‘service’

rujūlī رجولي ‘masculine’, ‘manly’ < *rujūla* رجولة ‘manliness’

'imārātī إماراتي 'of the Emirates', e.g. *al-šabābu l-'imārātiyyu* الشباب الإماراتي 'the Emirates youth [football team]', *al-juzuru l-'imārātiyyatu* الجزر الإماراتية 'the Emirate islands'
 ḥawājāt خواجهات 'foreign gentlemen' < ḥawājāt خواجهاتي 'of foreigners'

This ending can freely be attached to loan words of any structure (cf. 12.1.1).

- those with Arabic patterns (examples from W5):

kūdi كودي 'in code'
taktikī تكتيكي 'tactical'

- non-assimilated patterns:

tiknolōji تكنولوجي 'technological'
dīnāmīkī ديناميكي 'dynamic'
al-'ijrā'ātu l-'akādamiyyatu l-mu'tarafu bihā الإجراءات الأكاديمية المعترف بها
 'the acknowledged **academic** procedures'

Note that *kīmīyā* كيمياء 'chemistry' currently has three possible adjectives, *kīmī* كيمي, *kīmīyā'ī* كيميائي and *kīmāwī* كيماوي (cf. 12.3 on the last).

In the case of *kozmobōlitikī* كوزموبوليتيكي 'cosmopolitan' (not in W5), we have an apparent hybrid based on French *cosmopolite* with additional suffix modelled on French *-ique*.

The adverbial *-iyyan* يئ set is a major exploitation of this form, e.g. *siyāsiyyan* سياسياً 'politically', see 2.5.

12.2.2 New adjectives for substances

In CA, words for materials and substances were set in annexation or apposition to the qualified noun, e.g. *ḥātamū ḍahabī* خاتم ذهب 'a ring of gold' or *ḥātamun ḍahabun* خاتم ذهب 'a ring, gold' (see 2.2.1), but MWA prefers the suffixed adjectival form, which in CA would have been a pure *nisba* adjective, i.e. meaning 'person concerned with':

ḍahabī ذهبي 'golden', 'of gold'
 (formerly 'a gold-merchant or dealer in gold')
ḥarīrī حريري 'silken', 'of silk'
 (formerly 'a silk-merchant or dealer in silk')
ḥadīdī حديدي 'iron', 'of iron'
ḥaṣabī خشبي 'wooden', 'of wood'
fiḍḍī فضي 'silver', 'of silver'

12.2.3 Doublets

It is now possible to have doublets on a sing. or plur. base, often with a difference of meaning:

<i>dawlī</i>	دَوْلِي	'of the state'	<	<i>dawla</i>	دولة	'state'
v. <i>duwalī</i>	دَوْلِي	'international'	<	<i>duwal</i>	دُول	'states'
<i>jumhūrī</i>	جُمْهُورِي	'republican', 'national'	<	<i>jumhūr</i>	جُمْهُور	'mass', 'crowd'
v. <i>jamāhīrī</i>	جَمَاهِيرِي	'of the masses'	<	<i>jamāhīr</i>	جَمَاهِير	'masses'
<i>ṭalī'ī</i>	طَلِيعِي	'avant-garde'	<	<i>ṭalī'a</i>	طَلِيعَة	'the avant-garde'
v. <i>ṭalā'i'ī</i>	طَلَائِعِي	'pioneering'	<	<i>ṭalā'i'</i>	طَلَائِع	'pioneers', 'avant-garde'
<i>jazarī</i>	جَزَرِي	'insular'	<	<i>jazīra</i>	جَزِيرَة	'island'
v. <i>jazā'irī</i>	جَزَائِرِي	'Algerian', 'islander'	<	<i>jazā'ir</i>	جَزَائِر	'islands', also 'Algeria'

12.3 ADJECTIVAL SUFFIX -āwī

A subset of the *nisba* adj. which is also becoming increasingly productive is the -āwī لَوِي variant, which also occurs in a long form -āwī لَوِي. Both of these are an ancient phenomenon and regularly used, then as now, to form adjs on the base of weak 3rd radical or defective nouns, and especially non-Arab place names ending in vowels, by analogy with such regular examples as *badawī* بَدَوِي 'bedouin' from *badw* بَدُو, *ṣatawī* صَتَوِي or *ṣitwī* شِتَوِي from *ṣitā* شِتَاء 'winter'. Likewise from *yad* يَد 'hand' the CA adj. *yadawī* يَدَوِي 'manual' and *damawī* دَمَوِي 'bloody' from *dam* دَم 'blood'.

Defective fem. nouns also take this suffix, again an ancient phenomenon (cf. the doublet *makkī* مَكِّي and *makkāwī* مَكَاوِي 'Meccan' from *makkatu* مَكَّة 'Mecca', eliding the fem. suffix in both cases). Still common are *sanawī* سَنَوِي 'annual' from *sana* سَنَة 'year', *kurawī* كُرَوِي 'spherical' from *kura* كُرَة 'ball', 'sphere', *ṣafawī* صَفَوِي 'oral' from *ṣifa* شَفَة 'lip' (with variant *ṣafahī* صَفَهِي < *ṣafah* شَفَه) etc.

Finally the long form -āwī لَوِي is also a CA phenomenon and was regularly used to make the *nisba* adj. from nouns ending in the sequence -ā لَاء, e.g. *ṣaḥrāwī* صَحْرَاوِي 'of the desert', from *ṣaḥrā* صَحْرَاء 'desert'.

12.3.1 MWA extensions use of these two suffixes

The short form *-awī* نَوِي now occurs as an adj. suffix on fem. nouns with an original weak 3rd radical, e.g. (the fem. suffix here being reproduced as *-a*, i.e. its pausal form). These examples are all in W5:

<i>tarbawī</i> تربوي	‘educational’	<	<i>tarbiya</i> تربية	‘education’
<i>tanmawī</i> تنموي	‘developmental’	<	<i>tanmiya</i> تنمية	‘development’
<i>tānawī</i> ثانوي	‘secondary’	<	[<i>madrassa</i>] [مدرسة] <i>tāniya</i> ثانية	‘second [level school]’
<i>mi’awī</i> مئوي	‘centesimal’, ‘percentile’	<	<i>mi’a</i> مئة	‘hundred’
<i>ḥayawī</i> حيوي (contrast <i>ḥayāī</i> حياتي)	‘lively’ ‘of life’	<	<i>ḥayā(h)</i> حياة	‘life’
<i>’unṭawī</i> أنثوي	‘feminine’, ‘womanish’	<	<i>’unṭā</i> أنثي	‘female’

The above are entirely consistent with CA principles, but the following must be regarded as structural innovations, where fem. nouns with no phonological defects nonetheless acquire this suffix. None are in W5 (though W5 does have *waḥdawī* وحدوي ‘of unity’, i.e. ‘unionist’ < *waḥda* وحدة ‘unity’, which may therefore be one of the earliest models):

nahḍawī نهضوي ‘of the [Arab] Renaissance’ < *nahḍa* نهضة,
the 19th century cultural ‘awakening’, where CA might have required
**nahḍī* or **nahḍi*

riḥlawī رحلوي ‘of travelling’ < *riḥla* رحلة ‘journey’

jabhawī جبهي ‘of the front’ < *jabha* جبهة ‘front’

It is also attached to nouns with other endings (W5 has *fawḍawī* فوضوي ‘anarchical’ < *fawḍā* فوضى ‘anarchy’, which again may have served as a model):

māḍawī ماضوي ‘of the past’ < *māḍī* ماضي ‘past’

ḥalawī خلوي ‘cellular’ < *ḥaliyya* ‘cell’, and note that this is now a
homonym with *ḥalawī* (W5) ‘solitary’, ‘isolated’ from *ḥalwa* خلوة
‘solitude’

The long form, *-āwī* آوي is also becoming more frequent, mostly occurring with nouns whose stem ends in a long syllable with a weak consonant. This has resulted in an interesting pair of homonyms, the CA *bayḍawī* بياضوي ‘a man from al-Bayḍā’ and MWA *bayḍawī* بياضوي ‘pertaining to Casablanca’ from *al-dār al-bayḍā* الدار البيضاء ‘Casablanca’. Other examples from W5:

ma'sāwī مأساوي 'tragic' < *ma'sā(h)* مأساة 'tragedy'
'abdallāwī عبداللاوي or عبدالوي a type of melon < *'abdullāh* عبد الله
 'Abdullah'

kāḥkāwī كافكاوي 'kafkaesque' (not in W5)

This pattern is peculiarly prominent to denote local origins or membership of groups (these not in W5):

maḥallāwī محلاوي 'person from Maḥalla' < *maḥalla* محلّة, place name
marṣafāwī مرصفاوي 'of al-Marṣafī'

(sign in a street named after a person called al-Marṣafī; curiously at the other end of the same street the sign reads *ṣārī* 'al-marṣafī المرصفي 'al-Marṣafī St.' with the regular CA *nisba*!)

haramāwī هرماوي 'person who exploits tourists at the Pyramids' <
al-haram الهرم 'the Pyramids'

With football clubs:

'ahlāwī أهلاوي 'supporter of Ahli' < *'ahlī* أهلي
zamlakāwī زملكاوي 'Zamalek supporter' < *zamālik* زمالك
ismā'illāwī اسماعيلوي 'supporter of Ismailiyya' < *ismā'iliyya* اسماعيلية

What looks like subtype with loan words ending in *ū* و is prosodically quite regular, however, since the *ū* breaks down to *uw*:

'išārāt rādiyuwiyya إشارات راديوية 'radio signals' < *rādiyū* راديو 'radio'

12.3.2 'First, primary'

In the special case of *'awwal* أول 'first' (see 2.13.1) a well-attested derivative is the regular suffixed form *'awwalī* أولي with the more specific sense of 'primary', 'principal', 'basic' etc.:

maṣādīru 'awwaliyyatun مصادر أولية 'primary sources'
'adadun 'awwaliyyun عدد أولي 'prime number'
intiḥābātun 'awwaliyyatun انتخابات أولية 'primary elections'
'is'āfātun 'awwaliyyatun إسعافات أولية 'first aid'

(plur., possibly under French influence, cf. *ma'lūmāt* معلومات 'information[s]', see 12.4.1, though French *secours* 'aid' is actually sing.)

istiḥlāṣu taṣawwurin 'awwaliyyin استخلاص تصور أولي
 'extracting a first impression'

From this is derived the abstract *'awwaliyya* أولية 'axiom', 'original element', 'priority'.

This is not to be confused with *'awlawī* أولوي 'primary', from *'awlā* أولى 'most appropriate' (from the root *waliya* ولي) which has derivatives *'awlawiyyāt* أولويات 'priorities' and the abstract *'awlawiyya* أولوية 'priority', as in:

al-'ijrā'ātu dātū l-'awlawiyyati l-'ulā الإجراءات ذات الأولوية الأولى
'the procedures having first priority'

(see 2.8.3 on *dāt* ذات 'possessor [fem. sing.] of')

12.4 NOUNS WITH SUFFIX *-iyya*

There is now a massive number of new nouns with the *-iyya* يية suffix, exploiting a CA mechanism for creating abstract nouns by this means, e.g. *kayfiyya* كيفية 'quality', lit. 'howness', *māhiyya* ماهية 'quiddity', lit. 'whatness'. They are formally identical with the fem. sing. adjs described above, but their nominal function is usually quite obvious.

12.4.1 New abstract nouns

The following examples are merely representative, and none are found in W5:

nujūmiyya نجومية 'stardom' < *nujūm* نجوم 'stars'

miṣḍāqiyya مصداقية 'credibility' < *miṣḍāq* مصداق 'believable', 'credible'

haykaliyya هيكلية 'structure' < *haykal* هيكل 'skeleton', 'structure'
(W5 has *haykalī* هيكلية 'structural')

sādātiyya ساداتية, *wafdiyya* وفدية, political terms, 'Sadatism', 'Wafdism'
(W5 has *nāṣiriyya* ناصرية 'Nasserism' and *wafdi* وفدي 'of the Wafd')

rasūliyya رسولية 'prophetic quality', 'prophethood' < *rasūl* رسول
'prophet', 'messenger'

al-ta'addudiyyatu l-ḥizbiyyatu التعددية الحزبية 'the multi-party system'
from *ta'addud* تعدد 'being numerous' (cf. *ta'addud* تعدد reproducing
prefixes 'multi-', 'poly-' in 12.7.1)

Plurals are an extension of this, often echoing plurals in the source languages (these from W5):

ma'lūmiyyāt معلومات 'informatics'

(cf. *ma'lūmiyya* معلومية 'fact of being known'; cf. also *ma'lūmātī* معلوماتي, a new
nisba 'pertaining to information technology')

madyūniyyāt مديونيات ‘debts’ (cf. *madyūniyya* مديونية ‘indebtedness’, from *madyūn* مديون ‘in debt’)

siyāsiyyāt سياسيات a calque for ‘policies’ < *siyāsa* سياسة ‘politics’, ‘policy’

iqtiṣādiyyāt اقتصاديات ‘economics’ *iqtiṣād* اقتصاد ‘economy’

sulūkiyyāt سلوكيات ‘behaviour patterns’ *sulūk* سلوك ‘behaving’

‘ijābiyyāt wa-salabiyyāt إيجابيات وسلبيات ‘pluses and minuses’, lit. ‘positives and negatives’

12.4.2 Abstract noun doublets

As a result of the productivity of the *-iyya* suffix there are now many doublets where the CA would have made do with the verbal noun both for the action and the abstract concept of that action:

‘imkān إمكان ‘being possible’ v. *‘imkāniyya* إمكانية ‘possibility’, ‘potential’

istimrār استمرار ‘continuing’ v. *istimrāriyya* استمرارية ‘continuity’

izdiwāj ازدواج ‘being doubled’ v. *izdiwājiyya* ازدواجية ‘duality’

taḥalluf تخلف ‘being backward’ v. *taḥallufiyya* تخلفية ‘backwardness’

ta‘bīr تعبير ‘expression’ v. *ta‘bīriyya* تعبيرية ‘expressiveness’, ‘expressivity’

This may lead to further doublets where the distinction is rather hard to pin down:

‘aḡlabiyya أغلبية v. *ḡālibiyya* غالبية both meaning ‘majority’ *ḡalaba* غلب ‘predominate’

Even more delicate contrasts are possible:

itnāniyya اثنائية ‘dualism’ < *itnāni* اثنان ‘two’,

tunā’iyya ثنائية ‘binarism’ < *tunā’i* ثنائي ‘twofold’, ‘binary’,

tanawī ثنوي ‘dualist’ and *tanawīyya* ثنوية ‘dualism’ a neologism (cf. 12.3) ‘related to two’ here in the theological sense

tānawīyya ثانوية ‘secondariness’ < *tānawī* ثانوي ‘secondary’

Note that there is a growing number of pseudo-prefixes (see 12.5–12.7) but still only one suffix, *-iyya* suffix, for all the Western options -ity, -ness, -ism, -ation, etc., used in creating abstract nouns (the scientific suffixes -ide, -ic, etc., in 12.1.1 are from a different domain).

12.4.3 Nouns with masc. *nisba* suffix

There are more pure nouns in *-ī* يـ now, i.e. nominalized adj. of the *nisba* type (cf. 2.1.6). The older model is perhaps the Turkish suffix, e.g. *sā'ātī* ساعاتي 'watchmaker' < *sā'a* ساعة 'watch', 'clock'.

Those referring to people and places conform to the traditional system:

al-aṭlanṭī الأطلنطي, *al-bāsīfīkī* الباسيفيكي 'the Atlantic', 'the Pacific',
mirroring English usage

'irhābī إرهابي 'terrorist' < *'irhāb* إرهاب 'causing terror'

'ihṣā'ī إحصائي 'statistician' < *'ihṣā'* إحصاء 'counting'

but others must be regarded as new functions:

iḥtiyā'ī احتياطي 'reserve supply', 'stand-by' < *iḥtā'a* احتاط 'to make provision'

dawrī دوري 'league' in sporting competitions < *dawr* دور 'a round',
'a turn'

'ijmālī إجمالي 'the whole sum', 'total amount', < *'ijmāl* إجمال 'gathering together'

12.5 COMPOUND STRUCTURES

True compound nouns have always been rare in Arabic, being limited to a few place names and the numbers 11–19 and the hundreds (cf. 1.8.10). What usually appears as a compound noun in Western languages was normally expressed by annexation, and this is still the commonest procedure in MWA, e.g. *ḥaḳībatu yadin* حقيبة يد 'handbag', lit. 'the bag of a hand' (see annexation etc. in 2.3.1).

However, MWA has also greatly extended the somewhat infrequent CA alternative of *naḥt*, i.e. the fusion of parts or whole words to create new compounds, both nouns and adjectives, by which means MWA is now able to replicate the many prefixes of Western languages (see further 12.7.1).

Four methods are used to form true compound nouns, in addition to annexation:

- 1 Pure *naḥt*, i.e. the fusion of part of two words into one new one:

kahratās كهروطس 'electromagnetism' < *kahraba* كهرب 'electricity' +
maġnāṭīṣ مغناطيس 'magnet'

Adjectives follow the same system (see 12.7.1):

bayṭaqāfi بيتقافي 'intercultural' < *bayna* بين 'between' + *ṭaqāfa* ثقافة 'culture'

bilāstīḥarārī بلاستيحراري 'thermoplastic' < *bilāstīk* بلاستيك 'plastic' +
ḥarāra حرارة 'heat'

- 2 Fusing two whole words, usually with default vowel *-i-* or *-ī-* between them:

ra'simāl رأسمال 'capital' < *ra's* رأس 'head' + *māl* مال 'wealth'

- 3 Suffixing *-n* بن:

ġarbana غربنة 'Westernization' (not in W5) > *al-ġarb* الغرب 'the West'

(cf. the traditional device of stem X as used in *istaġraba* استغرب 'to adopt Western ways')

See further 12.5.2.

- 4 Attaching a foreign affix to an Arab noun (these not in W5):

ṣawtim صوتيم 'phoneme' *sawt* صوت 'voice' + English suffix *-eme*

fimto-tāniya فمتو-ثانية 'femto-second' < English femto + *tāniya* ثانية 'second'

All these are technically fully or at least partially inflected according to pattern, though it is likely that they are broadly treated as uninflected now, like proper names (see 1.8.5).

Neg. compound nouns are listed below with neg. adjectives in 12.6. For compound adjectives see 12.6.

12.5.1 Plurals of annexed compounds

There are variations with plurals in annexed compounds. Either both elements are pluralized: e.g. with *raddu fi 'lin* ردّ فعل 'reaction', lit. 'returning of act':

rudūdu 'af'ālī ba 'ḍi l-mas 'ulīna

ردود أفعال بعض المسؤولين

'the **reactions** of some of those responsible'

'awliyā 'u l-'umūri

أولياء الأمور

'those in charge of matters', plur. of *walī l-'amri* ولي الأمر, lit. 'manager of the matter'

Or only the first part is pluralized:

rudūdu fi 'lin wāsi 'atun

ردود فعل واسعة

'widespread **reactions**'

(note that fem. sing. *wāsi 'a* واسعة 'wide' agrees with broken plur., see 2.1.1)

wijhātu nazārihim

وجهات نظرهم

‘their points of view’, plur. of *wijhatu l-nazari* وجهة النظر.

12.5.2 Extension of root with *-n* suffix

The suffix *-n* حن has appeared in at least two new coinages, of which one, *ġarbana* غربنة ‘westernization’ is mentioned above, 12.5. The other is:

‘*aqlana* عقلن > ‘to rationalize’ < ‘*aqlānī* عقلاني ‘rational’, a secondary form of ‘*aql* عقل ‘intellect’, ‘reason’, with verbal noun ‘*aqlana* عقلنة

The interest in this item is that it exploits an ancient method of root extension which is still applied in colloquials and may well become productive: so far, for example, the word *‘*almana* علمنة ‘secularization’ has not been seen, but it might be expected, given the existence of the neologism ‘*almānī* علماني ‘secular’, based on ‘*ālam* عالم ‘world’ + the adj. suffix *-ānī* ساني.

12.5.3 Doublets

Lexical doublets can emerge when local etymologies compete with borrowings:

taknīk تكنيك ‘technique’ < English or French, v. *tiqniyya* تقنية, based on the root Q-N-Y قنى ‘to acquire’ (though now re-analysed as T-Q-N تقن ‘to acquire proficiency’)

Similarly, pairings of indigenous and loan words occur in a mutually explanatory role (somewhat like English ‘might and main’ with one Saxon and one French word):

al-taḥakkum wa-l-kontrōl

التحكم والكنترول

‘control and control’

al-’otomātikiyya (al-’ālīyya)

الأوتوماتيكية (الآلية)

‘the automatic (mechanical)’

al-monolog ’aw al-ḥadīṭu l-fardiyyu al-sawdāwiyyu wa-l-tirājīdiyyu

المونولوج أو الحديث الفردي السوداوي والتراجيدي

monologue, or melancholy and tragic solitary speech’

al-nizāmu l-baṭriyārkiyyu – al-’ā’iliyyu –

النظام البطريركي – العائلي –

‘the patriarchal – family – system’

12.6 NEGATIVE COMPOUND NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

Neg. compound nouns and adjs, i.e. reproducing Western ‘un-’, ‘dis-’, etc., are dealt with syntactically in 2.9.2.3, 2.9.2.4, 2.9.2.5 and 2.18.1; the list here is simply to give some idea of the range.

Those with preposed *lā* لا ‘no’, ‘not’ inflect as normal, and definiteness is effected by prefixing *al-* ال to *lā* لا, while all the others are annexation units, hence with nominal annexation only the first noun inflects for the function of the whole unit, the second remaining in obl. form, and definiteness is effected by making the second def., while with adjectival annexation definiteness is effected by prefixing *al-* ال to the adjective.

- ‘*adam* عدم ‘absence’, ‘lack of’:

‘adamu l-fa’ ‘ālīyyati

عدم الفعالية

‘ineffectiveness’ lit. ‘lack of effectiveness’

‘adamu wujūdīn

عدم وجود

‘non-existence’

‘adamu ’idā’ati l-juz’i l-ṭalīṭi

عدم إعادة الجزء الثالث

‘failure to broadcast the third part’

‘adamu l-maqdirati ‘alā širā’i l-kutubi

عدم المقدرة على شراء الكتب

‘the inability to buy books’

‘adamu ’imkāniyyati sti’ṣālī il-maraḍi

عدم إمكانية استئصال المرض

‘the impossibility of eradicating the disease’

‘adamu kifāyati l-’umlati l-mutabaqqiyati

عدم كفاية العملة المتبقية

‘insufficiency of remaining currency’ i.e. ‘there not being enough money left’

- The adjectival equivalent uses ‘*adīm* عديم ‘lacking’ in unreal annexation (see 2.1.3.2):

‘adīmu l-naẓīri

عديم النظير

‘incomparable’, indef.; the def. is *al-’adīmu l-naẓīri* العديم النظير

muḥāwalatun ‘adīmatu l-jadwā

محاولة عديمة الجدوى

‘a **fruitless** attempt’

- *ḡayr* غير ‘other than’ makes only neg. adjectives (see 2.9.2.3 for this and other functions):

dālika l-ṣawtu ḡayru l-mutawaqqa‘i

ذلك الصوت غير المتوقع

‘that **unexpected** sound’

ḡayru manṭiqiyyin

غير منطقي

‘illogical’

- With *qābil* قابل ‘receptive to’ (see also 12.7.1 for positive examples):

ḡayru qābilin li-l-naqli

غير قابل للنقل

‘**untransportable**’

ḡayru qābilin li-l-‘iṣlāḥi

غير قابل للإصلاح

‘**incapable of** improvement’

ma ‘lumātun muwatta‘aqtun ḡayru qābilatin li-l-ṣakki

معلومات موثقة غير قابلة للشك

‘reliable information which is **not capable of** being doubted’

- *lā* لا ‘no’, ‘not’ (see 2.18.1 for neg. nouns with *lā* لا generally)

Nouns:

al-lā-tawāṣul لا تواصل ‘discontinuity’

al-lā-‘aqlāniyya لا عقلانية ‘irrationality’

al-lā-jinsiyya لا جنسية ‘statelessness’

al-lā-markaziyya لا مركزية ‘decentralization’

bi-lā-mubālātin بلا مبالاة ‘with indifference’, lit.
‘with no-being-concerned’

Adjectives:

lā ‘insānī لا إنساني ‘inhuman’

lā qānūnī لا قانوني ‘illegal’, ‘unlawful’

lā ṣaklī لا شكلي ‘amorphous’

<i>lā 'aḥlāqī</i>	لا أخلاقي	'amoral'
<i>lā ḥizbī</i>	لا حزبي	'non-party'

12.7 COMPOUND ADJECTIVES

True compound adjectives, i.e. equivalent to hyphenated pairs in Western languages, are created in MWA simply by juxtaposition, commonly also with a hyphen:

waṭanī -qawmī

وطني - قومي

'ethno-political'

iqtiṣādī -ijtimā'ī

اقتصادي - اجتماعي

'socio-economic'

al-ijtimā'ī - al-siyāsī

الاجتماعي - السياسي

'socio-political' (note def. art. on both elements)

Here the compound adj. has been borrowed as a single word:

al-saḥlu l-'afrū'āsiyawiyyu

السهل الأفروآسيوي

'the Afro-Asiatic Plain'

12.7.1 Pseudo-affixes

Pseudo-affixes, i.e. the Arabic equivalent of Western prefixes and suffixes: these are mostly calques or *ad hoc* representations of Western words. There are many ways of reproducing Western compound adjectives and nouns.

- Noun + adj.:

al-ḥukmu l-dātī الحكم الذاتي 'autonomy', lit. 'personal government'

- Annexation of adj. + noun:

'adīmu l-ḥayātī عديم الحياة 'lifeless', lit. 'lacking of life' (see above)

- Apposition:

niṣf 'semi' (uninflected according to W5), lit. 'half'

- Preposition(al) + noun:

fawqa l-bašar i فوق البشري 'superhuman', lit. 'above the human'

- A fusion of a significant part of a prepositional to a noun or adj. (*naḥt*, see 12.5):

fawbašarī فوبشري 'superhuman', reduction of *fawqa l-bašarī* فوق البشري

- Simple paraphrase:

ḥārīja mutanāwali l-šu'ūri خارج متناول الشعور 'subliminal', lit. 'outside the range of consciousness'

- Rel. clause (in which case the syntax is somewhat obscure, here treated as annexation to the clause; see also 2.1.1.11):

'atfālu mā qabla l-ḥaḍānati

أطفال ما قبل الحضانة

'pre-nursery infants', lit. 'infants **of what is before** the nursery'

The sheer variety of strategies and the lack of clear principles confirm the impression that MWA is still in a transitional stage with these structures, and at the time of writing it is not at all clear what the life-expectancy of some of the coinages is, especially those for which a choice exists in the form of a more traditional structure. Many seem to be from the world of medicine and science, and it is impossible to say exactly how widespread their use is. Thus for 'prewar' there is either the newly coined adj. *qabḥarbi* قبحربي < *qabla l-ḥarbi* قبل الحرب 'before the war' or the indigenous prepositional phrase *min qabli l-ḥarbi* من قبل الحرب 'from before the war'. The former poses fewer syntactical problems since it merely follows adjectival rules, but the latter is probably felt to be more authentic even though such phrases become difficult when questions of agreement and definiteness are involved.

The examples are in strict alphabetical order of transliteration (diacriticals ignored) and as lexical items are rendered in purely pausal, uninflected form unless quoted in illustrative phrases. The literal meanings of these elements are discussed the paragraphs indicated.

'*abr* عبر 'trans-', (cf. 2.7.1), is prefixed only to nouns, and thus has the same syntax as *ḡayr* غير:

'abra qawmī عبر قومي 'trans-national', lit. 'across national'

'abra l-qārāt عبر القارات 'transcontinental'

'*adīm* عديم '-less' (see above, 12.6)

'*amām* أمام 'pre-' (cf. 2.7.2)

'amāmijabḥī أمامجبهي 'prefrontal'

ba'd بعد 'post-', (cf. 2.1.1.11; 2.7.6), prepositional syntax:

fī fatratī mā ba'da l-ḥarbi l-bāridati

في فترة ما بعد الحرب الباردة

'in the **post-cold-war** period', lit. 'in the period of what after the cold war'

al-mujtama'u mā ba'da l-ṣinā'iyyi

المجتمع ما بعد الصناعي

'**post-industrial** society', lit. 'the society what after industrialism'

With *naḥt* form (alternatives stated where known):

ba'da dīṭaḥrījī بعديتخريج 'postgraduate' or

ba'da l-taḥarrij بعد التخرج 'after graduation'

ba'da dīwalīmī بعدوليومي 'post-prandial' or

ba'da l-'aṣā 'بعد العشاء' 'after dinner'

ba'da dīḥarbi بعديحربي 'post-war' or

mā ba'da l-ḥarb ما بعد الحرب 'what is after the war'

bayn 'inter' (cf. 2.7.7), *naḥt* forms with alternatives:

bayqārri بيقاري 'intercontinental'

< *bayn* 'between' + *qārri* قاري 'continental'

baytaqāfi بيتقافي 'intercultural'

< *bayn* 'between' + *taqāfi* ثقافي 'cultural'

baysaṭri بيسطري 'interlinear' < *bayn* 'between' + *saṭri* سطري 'linear'

contrast the periphrastic alternative *mudrajun bayna l-sutūr* مدرج بين السطور 'inserted between the lines'

bayḥalawī بيخلوي 'intercellular' < *bayn* 'between' + *ḥalawī* خلوي 'cellular'

cf. the alternative *wāqi'un bayna l-ḥalāyā* واقع بين الخلايا 'occurring between the cells'

bayṭā'ifi بيتانفي 'interdenominational', or *bayna l-ṭawā'if* بين الطوائف

'between the denominations'

dātī ذاتي 'auto-', 'self-' (cf. 2.8.3), adjectival option:

mulāḥaẓa dātīyya ملاحظة ذاتية 'self-observation', 'introspection'

naqd dātī نقد ذاتي 'self-criticism'

dūn دون 'sub-' (cf. 2.7.9), *naḥt* and prepositional phrase alternative:

dūmi'yārī دومعياري 'substandard' or *dūna l-mi'yār* دون المعيار

'below the standard'

dūsawī دوسوي 'subnormal' or *dūna l-sawīyya* دون السوية

'under the normal'

fawq فوق ‘super-’, ‘ultra-’ (cf. 2.7.12), *naḥt* and prepositional phrase alternative:

fawbanafsajī فو بنفسجي ‘ultraviolet’ or *fawqa l-banafsajī* فوق البنفسجي
‘above violet’

fawṭabī’ī قوطبيعي ‘supernatural’ or *fawqa l-ṭabī’a* فوق الطبيعة
‘above the natural’

fawsam’ī فوسمعي ‘supersonic’ or *fawqa sur’ati l-sawt* فوق سرعة الصوت
‘above the speed of sound’

ḥalf خلف ‘post-’ (cf. 2.7.21), *naḥt*:

ḥalfmihwarī خلفمحواري ‘postaxial’

ḥalfī’anfī خلفيئنفی ‘postnasal’

‘i’āda إعادة ‘re-’, is a verbal noun annexed to nouns only (cf. the verb ‘a’āda أعاد ‘to do again’ in 3.21.1.2); ‘i’ādatu l-tiqati إعادة الثقة ‘restoration of confidence’ is literal, but the following are pure calques:

‘i’ādatu l-naẓar إعادة النظر ‘re-examination’, lit. ‘doing again of the looking’

‘i’ādatu haykala إعادة هيكلة ‘restructuring’

‘i’ādatu tartīb إعادة ترتيب ‘rearranging’

‘i’ādatu tanšīṭ إعادة تنشيط ‘reactivating’

‘i’ādatu rasmi l-ḥudūdi l-muštariḳati

إعادة رسم الحدود المشتركة

‘redrawing the common borders’

‘i’ādatu binā’i l-farīqi إعادة بناء الفريق ‘rebuilding the team’

nisf نصف ‘semi-’, ‘hemi-’ (cf. 2.14.2):

niṣfu ‘šahrī نصف شهري ‘semi-monthly’ (adj.), lit. ‘half of monthly’

niṣfu l-dā’ira نصف الدائرة ‘semicircle’ (noun), lit. ‘half the circle’

Adjectival:

timtāl niṣfī تمثال نصفي ‘bust’, ‘torso’, lit. ‘half-statue’

šalal niṣfī شلل نصفي ‘hemiplegia’

With *naḥt*:

niṣṣaḥrī نصظهري ‘mid-dorsal’ < *niṣ[ff]* نصف ‘half’ + *ṣaḥr* ظهر ‘back’

qābil قابل ‘-able’ (see 12.6 for neg. with *ḡayr* غير, and cf. the idiomatic passive type, e.g. *maḥmūl* محمول ‘carried’ ‘portable’ in 2.10.4 and 3.12.4). The word *qābil* is an active participle and has normal participial syntax (see 2.10.2), not unreal annexation: since it must always bear its own def. marker it cannot be annexed to its dir. object, so the latter is paraphrased with *li-* لـ ‘of’:

qābilun li-taḥwīl قابل للتحويل ‘convertable’ lit. ‘receiving [indef.] of conversion’, v. *al-qābilu li-l-taḥwīl* القابل للتحويل ‘receiving [def.] of conversion’ (the equivalent annex. *qābilu l-taḥwīl* قابل التحويل would mean ‘which has received conversion’)

qābil li-l-ḡasl قابل للغسل ‘washable’, lit. ‘receiving of washing’

qābil li-l-ṣifā قابل للشفاء ‘curable’

qābil li-l-iltihāb قابل للالتهاب ‘combustible’

qabl قبل ‘pre-’ (cf. 2.7.30), is found as an adverbial rel. clause, *mā qabla* ما قبل ‘what before’ (see 2.1.1.11 and *mā* ما in 5.7), also with *naḥt* alternative:

fī ‘uṣūri mā qabla l-ta’rīḥi

في عصور ما قبل التاريخ
‘in prehistoric ages’, lit. ‘in the ages of what before history’

‘aṭfālu mā qabla l-ḥaḍānati

أطفال ما قبل الحضانة
‘pre-nursery infants’

min marḥalati mā qabla l-ra’simāliyyati

من مرحلة ما قبل الرأسمالية
‘from a **pre-capitalist** stage’

Evidently this unit can now bear the def. art. when required:

allatī ttajāhat naḥwa tajāwuzi al-bunā l-mā qabli l-ra’simāliyyati

التي اتجهت نحو تجاوز البنى ما قبل الرأسمالية
‘which tended towards going beyond **the pre-capitalist** structures’
(the inflection is probably indeterminate here)

As a phrasal adj.:

raṣḍun qabla l-nihā’iyyi رصد قبل النهائي ‘an interim balance’

Alternatives with *naḥt*:

qabḥarbī قبحربي ‘pre-war’ or *min qabli l-ḥarb* من قبل الحرب
‘from before the war’

qabsarīrī قبسريري ‘preclinical’

qabjirāḥī قبحراجي ‘pre-operative’

šibh شبه ‘quasi-’, ‘semi-’ and such (cf. 2.9.2.2) is always annexed to nouns or adjectives, thus having the same syntax as *ḡayr* غير and other quantifiers (more at 2.9.2); see *niṣf* نصف above for the specific sense of ‘half’.

Nouns:

šibh jazīra شبه جزيرة ‘peninsular’, lit. ‘the likeness of an island’

šibhijumla شبه جملة ‘quasi-sentence’

Adjectives:

šibh ‘askarī شبه عسكري ‘paramilitary’

šibhu rasmī شبه رسمي ‘semi-official’

šibhu ḥizbī ta‘addudī

شبه حزبي تعددي

‘quasi-multi-party’, lit. ‘the likeness of multiple party [adj.]’,

cf. also *ta‘addud* تعدد below

sū ‘dis-’, ‘ill-’, ‘mis-’, is always annexed to nouns, and has the same syntax as *ḡayr* غير and other quantifiers (more examples at 2.9.2.6, and note that *ḥusn* حسن ‘goodness’ is used as an antonym for *sū* ‘سوء’, e.g. *ḥusn al-ta‘bīr* حسن التعبير ‘euphemism’, lit. ‘goodness of expression’):

sū ‘u l-‘idāra سوء الإدارة ‘mismanagement’, lit. ‘badness of management’

sū ‘u l-tafāhum سوء التفاهم ‘misunderstanding’, ‘disharmony’

sū ‘u l-tawāfuq سوء التوافق ‘discordance’, ‘incongruity’

ta‘addud تعدد ‘being numerous’ (verbal noun), and the part. *muta‘addid* متعدّد ‘numerous’, used for poly-, multi-:

ta‘addud al-zawājāt

تعدد الزوجات

‘polygamy’, lit. ‘being numerous of marriages’

muta‘addid al-marāḥil

متعدد المراحل

‘multistage’, lit. ‘numerous of stages’

taḥt تحت ‘sub-’, (cf. 2.7.35), prepositional phrase, *naḥt* or adjectival:

taḥta l-šū‘ūr تحت الشعور ‘subconscious’, lit. ‘under the consciousness’

ṭahbaḥarī تحبيري ‘submarine’ or *taḥta saṭḥi l-baḥr* تحت سطح البحر ‘below the surface of the sea’

taḥqamarī تحقمري ‘sublunar’

taḥjawwī تحجوي ‘sub-atmospheric’

Adjective, regular *nisba* form:

al-binyatu l-taḥṭiyyatu

البنية التحتية

‘substructure’ lit. ‘the underneath [adj.] structure’

warā ‘وَرَاء’, ‘super’, ‘ultra-’, ‘trans’ (cf. 2.7.41), in rel. phrase with *mā* مَا, see 5.4.2:

mā warāʾa l-ṭabīʿa مَا وَرَاءَ الطَّبِيعَةِ ‘the supernatural’,

lit ‘what is behind nature’

mā warāʾa l-ʾurdunn مَا وَرَاءَ الْأُرْدُنِ ‘Transjordan’

mā warāʾa l-biḥār مَا وَرَاءَ الْبَحَارِ ‘overseas’

waṣṭ وَسْط ‘mid-’ (cf. 2.7.42), prepositional or apposition:

waṣṭa l-ṣayf وَسْطُ الصَّيْفِ ‘midsummer’, lit. ‘in the middle of the summer’

waṣṭ malʿab وَسْطُ مَلْعَبٍ ‘mid-field’ (soccer)

Appositional:

ḥajm waṣaṭ حَجْمُ وَسْطٍ ‘medium size’, lit. ‘size medium’

12.8 EXTENSION OF EXISTING VERBAL PATTERNS

The examples below are far from exhaustive, they merely illustrate various potentialities and trends, and it should perhaps be emphasized that all the phenomena described simply exploit the morphosemantic possibilities already available in CA.

12.8.1 Pattern *fawʿala*

The pattern *fawʿala* فَوَعَلَ is now productive for forming denominative verbs from nouns with a long first syllable (excluding *ī/ay*):

ʾawlama عَوْلَمَ ‘to globalize’ < *ʾālam* عَالَم ‘world’, with verbal noun

ʾawlama عَوْلَةٌ, e.g. *fī ʾaṣri l-ʾawlamati* فِي عَصْرِ الْعَوْلَةِ

‘in the age of globalization’

mawlakatun مَوْلَكَةٌ, perhaps *ad hoc*, because the author has to explain it as meaning ‘mamlukization’, < *mamlūk* مَمْلُوك !

Here possibly also:

taʾawraqa تَعَوَّرَقَ ‘to become rooted [of foreign words]’ < *ʾirq* عَرَق ‘(deep)

root’ or perhaps *ʾāriq* عَارَق ‘deeply rooted’

The following, on the other hand, though they may be neologisms, merely apply the regular principle of quadriliteral roots to the consonants in each word:

tawnasa تونس 'to Tunisify' > *tūnis* تونس 'Tunis(ia)', root T-W-N-S

sawdana سودن 'to make Sudanese' > *al-sūdān* السودان 'Sudan',
root S-W-D-N

12.8.2

A well-established neologism is *'aqlama* أقلم 'to acclimatize' and *ta'aqlama* تأقلم 'become acclimatized', from the medieval loan word *'iqlīm* إقليم 'climate', resulting in a quadriliteral homonym with a trilateral stem IV *'af'ala* (which would also be *'aqlama* أقلم, though no such word is in fact recorded for CA or MWA).

On the same model such neologisms as *ta'arjaḥa* تأرجح 'to swing' < *'urjūḥa* أرجوحة 'swing' are formed, creating a new quadriliteral root *'-r-j-ḥ* رجع from the original trilateral *r-j-ḥ* رجع 'to outbalance', 'to preponderate'. The genuine quadrilaterals *ta'amraka* تأمرك 'to become Americanized' < *al-'amrikān* الأمريكان 'the Americans', *ta'almana* تألمن 'to become Germanized' (< *al-'almān* الألمان 'the Germans'), *ta'angala* تأنجل 'to become anglicized' < *al-'ingilīz* الإنجليز 'the English' (the existence of a verbal noun *'angala* أنجلة suggests a transitive verb *'angala* أنجل 'to anglicize' as well, though this has not been spotted yet), exploit this possibility and thus produce potential homonyms with trilateral stem IV **'amraka* أمرك, **'almana* ألمن, and *'anjala* أنجل respectively, though in practice only *'anjala* أنجل is found, 'to pasture cattle' in medieval Arabic.

However, perhaps the most interesting neologism in this set is a new quadriliteral root created from the trilateral stem IV *'islām* إسلام or *'aslama* أسلم 'to become a Muslim': *'aslama* أسلم 'to islamize', 'make Islamic' (not in W5) is a true quadriliteral homonym of the stem IV trilateral *'aslama* أسلم 'to become a Muslim', and has a verbal noun *'aslama* أسلمة, hence also *ta'aslama* تأسلم 'to become islamized', with verbal noun *ta'aslum* تأسلم, as in *al-ta'aslumu l-siyāsiyyu l-raḥīṣu* التأسلم السياسي الرخيص 'cheap political **islamization**'. No imperf. has been spotted yet, but it would be *yu'aslimu* يؤسلم, in this form not a homonym with trilateral stem IV *yuslimu* يسلم, of course.

The above are structurally identical with the true quadrilaterals of the type *tafarnaja* تفرنج 'to become Europeanized' < *al-'ifranj* الإفرنج 'the Franks', i.e. Europeans, *tafarnasa* تفرنس 'to become French' < *fīransī* فرنسي 'French', *taṭalyana* تطلين 'to become Italian', < *al-ṭalyān* الطليان 'the Italians', but these do not produce homonyms with stem IV of existing trilateral roots.

12.8.2.1

The same process is observed with prefix *m-*, forming new quadriliteral denominative verbs (relatively rare in CA), e.g. *tamarkaza* تمرکز 'to be concentrated', 'centred on' from *markaz* مركز 'centre', with radicals R-K-Z, *mashara* مسخر 'to ridicule' from *mashara* مسخرة 'object of ridicule', radicals

S-Ḥ-R. Cf. also the case of *tamaddana/tamadyana* تَمَدَّنَ/تَمَدَّيَن ‘to become civilized’, mentioned above, 12.1.3.

12.8.3 New verbs or types

Reduplication has been used to create a new stem:

ḥaṣḥaṣa خَصَّصَ ‘to privatize’ < *ḥaṣṣa* خَصَّ ‘be private’

(not a recent coinage but it is a new type, though not in W5), e.g. *ḥaṣḥaṣatu ba’di l-munša’āti* خَصَّصَتْ بَعْضَ الْمُنْشَأَاتِ ‘the privatization of certain foundations’.

Re-etymologized stems:

’aššara أَشَّرَ ‘to indicate’, ‘to point to’

seems to be a stem II denominative (radicals ’-Š-R) from *’iṣāra* إِشَارَةٌ ‘indication’, although this noun is the regular stem IV verbal noun of *’ašāra* أَشَارَ ‘to indicate’ (radicals Š-W-R).

tasawwala تَسَوَّلَ ‘to wonder’

is now established, showing re-etymologizing of *su’āl* سُؤَال ‘question’ as *suwāl* سُؤَال (cf. 1.2.1.2) thus creating a new root, S-W-L, though the verb *sa’ala* سَأَلَ ‘to ask’ itself survives intact in stem I, as well as VI, *tasā’ala* تَسَاءَلَ ‘to ask oneself’, ‘to wonder’.

Strong stems with weak radicals:

izdawaj اِزْدَوَجَ ‘to be paired’, active part. *muzdawij* مُزْدَوِجٌ ‘paired’, ‘dual’

is actually a new strong root, stem VIII, contrasting with the usual pattern (e.g. *izdāda* اِزْدَاد, not **izdawada* *اِزْدَاوَد, ‘to increase’).

The phenomenon is ancient, and it is only a question of whether it is expanding: the type *hawisa* هَوَسَ ‘to be crazy’ with strong middle radical is still found, even with a strong passive part., *mahwūs* مَهْوُوسٌ ‘crazed’, ‘fanatical’, ‘visionary’.

12.8.4 Compound stems

Although so far only observable in the colloquial, there are several indications that the CA verb stem system is being expanded, so that stem X, for example, can be based on other than stem I, e.g. *istibārak* اِسْتَبَارَكَ ‘to seek blessing’, a stem X based on stem III *bāraka* بَارَكَ ‘to bless’. There is also evidence that a variant of stem III, with *ō* in the first syllable instead of *ā*, e.g. *sōgar* سَوَّجَرَ ‘to register (mail)’ is also evolving, but there is no way to determine whether these will ever become part of MWA.

12.9 MORPHOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS

(Cf. also orthography etc. in 1.2.2, 1.2.3.) These are only straws in the wind: it is not certain whether they will generalize themselves as the norm or become productive.

12.9.1 Overlap of patterns

The patterns *fa'āl(a)* (فَعَالَة) and *fi'āl(a)* (فِعَالَة) seem to be overlapping, leading to the following variants (based on reading out loud from written texts or comparison with medieval and modern dictionaries):

- wazāra* وَزَارَة 'ministry' for CA *wizāra* وَزَارَة
- saḡāra* سَفَارَة 'embassy' for CA *siḡāra* سِفَارَة
- ṣaḡāfi* صَحَافِي 'journalist' for CA *ṣiḡāfi* صِحَافِي
- walāya* وَلَايَة 'control', 'rule' for CA *wilāya* وَلَايَة
- jahāz* جِهَاز 'equipment' CA *jihāz* جِهَاز
- ḡaḡāna* حَضَانَة 'nursing' for CA *hiḡāna* حِضَانَة

Conversely:

- CA *ḡahāb* ذَهَاب 'going away' now alternates with *dihāb* ذِهَاب
- CA *za'āma* زَعَامَة 'leadership' alternates with *zi'āma* زِعَامَة
- CA *'alāqa* عِلَاقَة 'connection', 'link' has been seen vocalized as *'ilāqa* عِلَاقَة

12.9.2 Variations in vocalization

Variations in vocalization are frequent and may represent either dialect influence or natural sound changes (variation in the internal vowels of stem I verbs being an ancient and widespread phenomenon). The examples here are simply tokens of the range of possibilities:

- lahja* لَهْجَة 'dialect' has plurals *lahjāt* لَهْجَات and *lahajāt* لَهْجَات
- 'afrīqiyā* أَفْرِيقِيَا 'Africa' v. *'ifrīqiyā* إِفْرِيقِيَا (an ancient alternative?)
- ḡawā* حَوَاء 'emptiness' v. *ḡuwā* حُوَاء
- yantiju* يَنْتِج 'produces' v. *yantuju* يَنْتُج
- ṣatawī* شَتَوِي 'wintry' v. *ṣitwī* شِتْوِي
- zalzāl* زَلْزَال 'earthquake' v. *zilzāl* زِلْزَال

Cf. also 1.2.1.3 for retention or dropping of *hamza*, e.g. *hādī* هادي or *hādī* هادي 'peaceful', 'pacific'.

12.10 PLURALS

The CA principles are intact (see 1.12.1.2), and the following tendencies are observable.

12.10.1 Plurals of loan words

Sound fem. plur. tends to be the default for loan words, especially those which do not fit into existing Arabic patterns:

hormonāt هرمونات 'hormones'

silindirāt سلندرات 'cylinders'

kabsūlāt كبسولات 'capsules'

And note that *-h* هـ is inserted with loan words ending in *-ū* (= *-ō*):

sīnāriyōhāt سيناريوهات 'scenarios' < *sīnāryū* سيناريو

istūdiyōhāt استوديوهات 'studios' < *istūdyū* استوديو

Incidentally the same *-h* هـ is inserted with the dual of such words:

li-sīnāriyōhayni 'āḥarayni لسيناريوهين آخرين 'for two other scenarios'

Words where the *-h* هـ is part of the stem still have sound fem. plur.:

šalēhāt شاليهات 'chalets', sing. *šalēh* شاليه

māyōhāt مايوهات 'swimming costumes' < *māy ōh* مايوه

(the final *-h* هـ is not needed in the singular, but perhaps differentiates it from *māyō*: مايو '[month of] May')

Note the variation in the names of the decades, either with the sound fem. plur. *-āt* ات alone or together with the *nisba* suffix (cf. 12.4), namely, *-iyyāt* ييات:

al-sittināt الستينات v. *al-sittīniyyāt* الستينيات 'the sixties'

al-ṭamānīnāt الثمانينات v. *al-ṭamānīniyyāt* الثمانينيات 'the eighties'

However, with 'the twenties' only the simple sound fem. plur. has been seen: *al-ʿišrīnāt* العشرينات.

Curiously these decades are all based on the dep./obl. stem, and the indep. stem type **al-sittūnāt* الستونات, for example, is not seen. However, there is a neat contrast with some of the *nisbas*, so *sittūnī* ستوني 'a sixty-year-old' v. *sittīnī* ستيني 'of the sixties', *sabʿūnī* سبعوني 'a seventy-year-old' v. *sabʿīnī* سبعيني 'of the seventies'.

12.10.2 Alternative plurals

Some words now have alternative sound and broken plurals:

mašrū 'مشروع' 'plan', 'project', plur. *mašrū'āt* مشروعات or *mašārī* مشاريع

mawḍū 'موضوع' 'subject', 'topic', plur. *mawḍū'āt* موضوعات or *mawāḍī* مواضيع

muškila 'مشكلة' 'problem', plur. *muškilāt* مشكلات or *mašākil* مشاكل

(note that many CA words had more than one broken plur.)

The principle of selection is not at all clear, though is probably not related to the preference for broken plur. with nominalized participles, e.g. *mašhūr* مشهور 'famous', *mašāhīr* مشاهير 'famous [people]'.

Occasionally the choice of plur. serves to distinguish different meanings: *tarjama* ترجمة 'translation', 'biography' has sound plur. *tarjamāt* ترجمات for 'translations' and broken plur. *tarājim* تراجم for 'biographies'.

12.10.3 Double plurals

Double plurals existed in CA, and are still used in MWA, e.g. *buyūtāt* بيوتات 'houses' (= great families), sound plur. of *buyūt* بيوت, itself the broken plur. of *bayt* بيت 'house', 'tent', *rijālāt* رجالات 'men of distinction', sound plur. of *rijāl* رجال, itself broken plur. of *rajul* رجل 'man'.

12.10.4 New plurals

mudīr مدير 'director' has a new broken plur. *mudarā* مُدراء by analogy with *safīr/sufarā* سفير\سفراء 'ambassador(s)', although the *mu-* مُ is not a radical but the stem IV participial prefix, which normally takes a sound plur., e.g. *murīd* مرید 'postulant', also a stem IV active participle, sound plur. *murīdūn* مریدون.

12.10.5 Ad hoc plurals

An *ad hoc* broken plur. of *mullā* مُلّة 'mullah' (not in W5), namely, *malālī* ملالي, may perhaps be regarded as a journalistic whimsy, though it does conform to CA morphological principles, and has a model in *malālīm* ملاليم, plur. of *millīm* مليم 'millieme'.

12.11 LEXICAL INNOVATIONS

As did CA before it, MWA has responded very flexibly to the need to express concepts from other languages, adapting the imports to the morphology of MWA in the manner outlined in the rest of this chapter. Since there is no assurance that these coinages will take root, only a few samples will be given here.

Many calques exactly reproduce the metaphors in the source language:

tağdiya تغذية ‘feeding’ as of data into a computer < *ḡaddā* غَدَى ‘to feed’

balwara بلورة ‘crystallization’ < *billawr* بلُور ‘crystal’ (also now *ballūr*)

farmala فرمل ‘put the brake on’ < *farmala* فرملة ‘car brake’

Obvious calques at phrase level:

sāda l-ṣāmt ساد الصمت ‘silence reigned’ (literally)

tumliḥā l-ḥājat تملّيحها الحاجة ‘the need dictates’ < *amlā* أَمَلَى ‘to dictate a text to a scribe’

ʿumla ṣaʿba عملة صعبة ‘hard currency’ (literal translation of ‘hard’ as ‘difficult’, hence ‘soft currency’ is *ʿumla sahla* عملة سهلة ‘easy currency’)

ʿarqām falakiyya أرقام فلكية ‘astronomical figures’ < *falakī* فلكي ‘astronomical’ in the scientific sense

ʾahammīyya stiṭnāʾiyya أهمية استثنائية ‘exceptional importance’

See also 4.2.10.3 for the ‘not only ... but also’ calque.

12.12 SEMANTIC CHANGES

It is obvious that much MWA is translated literally from Western languages or at least is heavily responsive to lexical, syntactic and stylistic pressures. Semantic changes, however, are rather more diffuse: it is a cultural rather than linguistic problem, e.g. that *naffāta* نفّاثة in the Qurʾān refers to a woman who spits upon knots for divinatory purposes, while in MWA the same word has been chosen to denote ‘jet plane’, which led Wehr to list them as separate words.

12.12.1 Some prominent examples

- The shift (itself quite ancient) of *rubbamā* ربّما from the meaning of ‘frequently’ to ‘perhaps’, ‘maybe’ (3.30.2)
- The extension of *ka-dālika* كذلك ‘like that’, ‘thus’, to the point where the meaning ‘also’ is now predominant, with the notable exception of the calques

wa-huwa ka-dālika وهو كذلك 'that's how it is', 'so be it' and '*a-laysa ka-dālika?*' أليس كذلك؟ 'is it not so?' (*n'est-ce pas?*)

- A redistribution in the temporal and conditional particles in which the CA four-part set *law* لو 'if' (counterfactual) – '*in* إن 'if' (hypothetical) – '*idā* إذا 'when' (temporal/habitual, supplemented by '*idā mā* ما إذا for the specifically habitual) – *lammā* لما 'when' (temporal/punctual) has tended to be replaced by the less discriminating tripartite set '*idā* إذا for both 'if' and 'when' (temporal and hypothetical), *law* لو 'if' (both hypothetical and counterfactual), and '*indamā* عندما 'when' (both temporal/habitual and punctual) cf. 8.3.

GLOSSARY

- absolute object** a *complement, object* in *dependent* form that is cognate with the *verb* and serves to intensify the action
- accusative** traditional term for *dependent case*
- adjective** word or syntactic unit (see *relative*) specifying an attribute of a *noun*
- adverb** one of the *complements* (usually *dependent*), which indicates the time, place, manner and other features of an action (see *adverbial*)
- adverbial** *adjective, noun* or *noun phrase* (in *dependent case*), or *clause* with status of *adverb*
- adversative** contrasting a previous piece of discourse
- affix** *morphemic* element attached to a *stem* of any type
- agent** the entity (or the word denoting it) that carries out the action of the *verb*
- agreement** the features expressing a grammatical link and commonality between words in *gender, number* and *case* (see also *concord*)
- allomorph** variant form of a single *morpheme*
- anaphora** the reference of a pronoun to its antecedent (cf. *cataphora*)
- annexation** the compounding of two juxtaposed elements – *noun + noun, noun + pronoun, or noun + sentence* (also *adjective + noun* in *unreal annexation*) into a fixed and inseparable unit (often referred to traditionally as *genitive*)
- antecedent** an element (often a *head*) to which reference is made later and which can affect *agreement* in *pronouns, adjectives* and *verbs*
- apocopated** mood of the *verb* relating to the *imperfect* and is the marker of non-occurring events, either because they are *imperatives, negatives* or *conditionals*
- apodosis** result clause of a *conditional sentence* which will/would take place upon the fulfilment of the *protasis*
- apposition** relationship between two consecutive *nouns* or *noun phrases*, and occasionally *verb phrases*, in which one entity may substitute directly for another, agreeing with all the same properties as the previous one such as *case, number* and *gender* where relevant

- article** prefixed *modifier* used before a *noun* or *adjective* to give it *definiteness*, i.e., to particularize an entity known to both listener and speaker. May also have generic use, to indicate a class
- aspect** grammatical property of verbs contrasting formally between a *perfect(ive)* or *imperfect(ive)* action, i.e., completed or not completed
- assimilation** *phonological* process in which one *phoneme* assumes the features of an adjacent sound
- asyndetic** linked without *conjunctions* or other joining elements
- attraction** change of *agreement* under the influence of a nearby element, e.g. ‘these [plur.] kind of definitions [plur.]’
- attributive** *adjective* or *noun phrase* modifying *head* of *noun phrase* (cf. *predicative*)
- augmented** *stems* of the *verb* extended by *prefixes* etc., also nouns
- biliteral** *stems* with two *root* consonants
- binomial** *annexation* units involving two *head nouns*
- bound pronoun** *pronoun* which must always be attached directly to a *noun* as part of *annexation* (possessive) or to *verb* as *direct object*, or to *preposition(al)s* and some *particles* (cf. *free pronoun*)
- broken plural** *plural* of *noun* or *adjective* formed by changing the *pattern* of the *singular*
- calque** expression borrowed from another language whose parts are translated separately into the new language
- cardinal** form of numeral used for counting quantities in sequence (cf. *ordinal*)
- case** part of the *inflection* system indicating the syntactic function of a *noun*, or a word in the status of a noun, including *adjective*
- cataphora** the reference of a pronoun to its anticipated stated subject (cf. *anaphora*)
- categorical negation** negation of the whole species
- circumstantial qualifier** indicates the circumstances of a preceding *noun* (in any function), and may be a *verb* or *participle*, etc.
- citation form** The form conventionally used for referring to words, mostly *verbs*. In many languages it is the *infinitive*, but Arabic, having no infinitive, has always used the 3rd. masc. sing. perf. verb
- classical Arabic** the written Arabic of the Qur'an and the pre-modern heritage
- clause** a structural *syntactic* unit containing a *subject* and a *predicate*
- collective** *noun* in *singular* form denoting a group or collection (also: mass)

- comment** a clause which gives information about the *topic*
- comparative** component of the linguistic category of degree, specifically part of the *relative* conveying sense of 'more than' (cf. *superlative*)
- complement** *nouns* or noun *clauses* which qualify *verbs*, either *adverbially* or as *agents*, *object*, etc.
- complementizer** *conjunction* introducing a *complement clause*
- compound** a word combining two base forms (may be *adjective*, *noun*, *adverb*, etc.)
- concessive** *clauses* referring to completed actions or existent states with sense of 'in spite of', 'although'
- concord** see *agreement*
- conditional** generic term for *sentence* generally containing two *clauses* expressing events that will/would occur if certain conditions are/were to be fulfilled
- conjunctions** words linking *phrases* or *clauses* (see *coordination* and *subordination*)
- constituent** syntactic unit that is part of a larger construction
- continuous** verb form expressing duration or incompleteness
- coordination** combining of two or more linguistic units of equal grammatical status
- correlative** constructions containing a pair of *particles*, e.g., either/or, neither/nor
- corroborators** see *emphasizer*
- declension** see *inflection*
- defective** nouns with only two *root* consonants; verbs and nouns with third root consonant of *wāw* or *yā'* (see also *biliteral* and *weak*)
- definite** specific or individual entity (*noun* or *adjective*), either intrinsically (proper nouns) or by prefixing definite *article*, and also by *annexation*
- deictic** lexemes with personal (*relatives*, for example), spatial (demonstratives, 'here', 'there', 'for instance') or temporal ('at that time', etc.) reference
- demonstrative** word with noun status in Arabic denoting something near by or further away, namely, 'this', 'that'
- dependent** the *case* of *nouns* principally as *objects* of *verb* or *adverb(ial)s*. Also term for verbs after most *complementizers*, especially '*an* 'that', traditionally referred to as 'subjunctive' *mood*

-
- derived stem** verbal attribute denoting extension of basic root form by *affix*, *prefix* or additional consonants
- determiner** *noun* occurring with other noun to express such meanings as *quantity*, e.g., 'some'
- deverbative** *nouns* derived from verbal *stems*
- diminutive** pattern denoting 'affection' or 'small', 'contemptible' quality in the noun'
- diphthong** in Arabic refers to two vowels or vowel and semivowel
- direct object** *noun* (or *pronoun*) in *dependent case* indicating the person or thing to whom or which the action of the *verb* is being done
- direct question** question expressed in a main clause as *interrogative*
- direct speech** utterance expressed in the actual words of the speaker (see *indirect* and *reported speech*)
- discourse** piece of language longer than the *sentence*
- disjunction** property of *correlative sentences*, e.g., 'either...or' in which the relationship between elements is contrastive
- doubled** *root* with identical second and third consonants
- dual** category of items considered as two, and the markers thereof, on *nouns*, *verbs*, *adjectives* etc.
- elative** generic term for *comparative* and *superlative*
- elision** see *ellipsis*
- ellipsis** omission of part of a sentence
- embedding** the *insertion* of one *syntactic* unit into another
- emphasizer** *noun* that emphasizes other *nouns* such as 'itself'; also words, mainly *particles*, introducing or emphasizing *topics* or *phrases*
- emphatic consonant** phonetic categorization of certain consonants deemed to require emphatic pronunciation
- energetic** emphatic form of *apocopate* mood of *verb*
- equational** sentence asserting that the *subject* and *predicate* are identical things
- exception** the syntactic exclusion of an element from a prior statement
- exceptives** *particles* used to exclude elements from a prior statement
- exclamations** mainly *particles* with function of exclaiming, e.g., 'woe to ...'

free pronoun unattached pronouns occurring as *topics*, less often as *predicates*, or *appositional* reinforcements of various kinds, or as separators (see *bound-pronoun*)

gender one of the two classes – masculine or feminine – in Arabic to which every *noun* (and hence *noun modifier*), *pronoun* and *verb agent* belongs

genitive see *oblique*

grapheme smallest unit in the writing system

head syntactically most prominent element of a *noun* or *verb* phrase on which all the other elements depend

hendiadys a single idea expressed by two words linked by a *conjunction*

hypersentence *discourse* beyond the sentence level

imperative mood of the *imperfect* verb expressing a command

imperfect verb denoting an incomplete action, with three *moods*: *independent*, *dependent* and *apocopated* (see *aspect* and *tense*)

indefiniteness the state of referring to no particular individual or entity (see *definiteness*)

independent *case* of a noun in *nominal sentences*, *subject* of *verb*, etc, and also the *imperfect* verb mood endings, regarded as the basic case. For nouns it is traditionally called the *nominative* case

indirect object entity which becomes the object of a *verb* indirectly (contrast *direct object*) through a *preposition*

indirect question question expressed in indirect speech, usually in a *subordinate* clause

indirect speech utterance in the form of reported speech, not the speaker's actual words

infinitive verb form which lacks all *person*, *tense* and *mood* markers, non-existent in Arabic. The functions of an infinitive are mostly performed by the Arabic *verbal noun*. The *citation form* of verbs, however, is the 3rd masc. sing. perf.

inflection system indicating *tense aspect (mood) number* and *person* of verbs, and *number, gender* and *case* of nouns

instance *noun* formed by adding feminine marker to denote a single occurrence of an event

interrogative a word which is used to ask a question

intransitive *verb* that does not take a direct *object*. Many intransitive verbs take *indirect* objects

-
- invariable** property of words which do not change their terminations, hence are *uninflected*
- inversion** syntactic reversal of a sequence of elements
- locative object** *dependent noun complement* indicating the time or place of an action
- modal verbs** express speaker's intentions in terms of *mood*, e.g., possibility, probability, necessity, etc.
- modifier** an element that makes another element more specific such as *adjective* modifying *noun*, or the *article*
- mood** property of *verbs* manifested in morphological changes pertaining to the way in which information is presented, e.g., as wish, fact, command, etc., normally marked by specific *inflections*
- morpheme** smallest contrastive grammatical unit within words; includes *affixes*, *suffixes* and *prefixes* in *verbs*, for example
- morphology** study of the structure of words; may be inflectional or derivational
- nominal** word or phrase functioning as *noun*
- nominal clause** *clause*, e.g., *relative*, which functions as a single *noun*
- nominative** see *independent*
- noun** word denoting thing, place, person, concept (see also *pronoun*)
- noun of manner** *noun* pattern denoting the manner of an action
- noun phrase** a *phrase* with a *noun*, or a word with the status of a noun, at its *head*
- number** distinction between *singular*, *dual* and *plural* in nouns, or words in status of noun, and also in verbs
- object** noun or noun phrase to which the action of the verb happens (see *direct/indirect object*)
- oblique** the case of *nouns* mainly after *preposition(al)s* and as second element of *annexation*, traditionally called the *genitive*
- operate (on)** to affect *case* and verbal *mood* endings (traditional grammar 'to govern')
- operator** element responsible for *case* in *nouns* or *mood* in *verbs*
- optative** form of the *verb* expressing desire or wish
- ordinal** numerals expressing order in sequence

- parenthetical** word, *phrase* or *clause* inserted between elements already syntactically linked. Omission of parenthetical element does not normally affect meaning of the two linked clauses
- paronomasia** the repetition of words either in identical or similar form
- participle** *deverbative* nouns and adjectives denoting the doer (*agent*) or object (*patient*) of an action
- particle** words with a grammatical function but which do not belong to the noun or verb class or their derivatives
- passive voice** property of the verb in which the true *agent* is not mentioned; original *object* moves into agent position
- patient** *nouns* that have undergone the action of the *verb*
- pausal form** reduced form originally restricted to word endings in final utterance position or other breaks
- perfect** tense of *verb* referring to a completed action or aspect
- periphrasis** replacing a simple expression by a longer or less direct one, often for syntactic advantage
- phoneme** minimal contrastive unit of a language's sound system
- phonology** study of the sound system of a language
- phrase** any expansion of a central element, normally known as the *head*, and may be *nominal* or *verbal*
- pluperfect** *verb* form that conveys completion of an event or action before the time of some other event, usually the main verb
- plural** property of *nouns* or *verbs* indicating more than one entity
- polynomial** with more than two *head nouns* (see *binomial*)
- postposing** placing a *noun*, *phrase* or *clause* after its normal position (contrast *preposing*)
- predicate** what is said about the *topic* (see also *comment*)
- predicative** *adjective* or *noun* that functions as *predicate* of a *clause*, unlike *attributive* that modifies a *noun phrase*
- prefix** *affix* added to the front of a *stem*
- preposing** placing a *noun*, *phrase* or *clause* before its normal position (cf. *postposing*)
- prepositionals** dependent nouns with the function of *prepositions*
- prepositions** a set of *particles* which indicate locations, relationships

- prohibition** category of negation using specific negative *particle* before *apocopated* and *perfect* verb
- pronoun** substitute for a *noun* or *noun phrase*, personal, possessive, resumptive, *interrogative* or *indefinite* (there are no *demonstrative* pronouns in Arabic)
- proper name** name of person or a place
- protasis** the *clause* in a *conditional sentence* containing the 'condition' that must be carried out for the action or event of the *verb* in the *apodosis* (main clause) to occur
- purposive object** *dependent* form of *verbal noun complement* indicating the reason for an action
- quadriliteral** roots with four original consonants
- quantifiers** word expressing quantity, e.g., 'all' or 'much'
- radical** a consonant forming part of the *root*
- reflexive** action done by the *agent* to itself, or a construction in which the *agent* and *object* are effectively the same thing; in Arabic rendered either by *augmented stem* of *verb* or use of restricted number of *corroborators*
- relative clause** *subordinate* clause modifying a *noun phrase*
- relative pronoun** anaphoric pronoun in *relative clause*
- restrictive** *relative clause* which specifically identifies the *head* (cf. *non-restrictive*)
- root** the consonants (in Arabic two to five, mostly three) which express a particular lexical meaning and from which all words denoting that meaning are derived
- semantic** pertaining to meaning
- sentence** largest syntactic unit, not dependent on any other structure, containing a complete meaning and generally consisting of one or more *clauses* (cf. *discourse*)
- singular** referring to a single entity; often reflected in *inflection* and verb patterns
- sound feminine** a feminine plural formed by suffixation
- sound masculine** a masculine plural formed by suffixation (cf. *broken plural*)
- specification** a *dependent* complement expressing a particular quality in the *head* noun
- stem** the realization of a *root* in forms which serve as the base for a paradigm
- subject** see *topic*

subjunctive see *dependent*

subordination process of *embedding* of clauses in which one *clause* is dependent on another, namely, the main clause

suffix *affix* added to the end of a *stem*

superlative component of the linguistic category of degree, specifically part of the *elative* conveying sense of 'the most' (cf. *comparative*)

syllable component of a word, though not in itself meaningful, usually a consonant and vowel or larger group (with language-specific constraints on the number)

syndetic linked by *conjunctions* or other elements

syntax study of how words and *phrases* are joined to make phrases, *clauses* and *sentences*

tense reference of a *verb* to past, present or future time

topic the subject of a *comment* clause

transitive *verb* that takes a *direct object*

triliteral *roots* consisting of three consonants

uninflected does not vary in *case* or *mood* (see *invariable*)

unreal annexation annexation structure in which the first element is an *adjective* and not a *noun* (see also *annexation*)

verb word class denoting action or event, (see also *tense*, *aspect*, *voice* and *mood*)

verbal noun noun derived from a verb *stem* and representing the concept of that verb, often serving as the equivalent of an *infinitive*

vocative addressing someone or something directly, usually with a specific *particle* of address

weak *nouns* or *verbs* from *roots* comprising the semi-vowels [w] and [y] as *radicals*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

13.0 INTRODUCTION

This is intended only as a preliminary guide to a growing secondary literature. It is quite likely that bibliographies in a permanently updated and searchable form will be available in the Internet.

The choice of works is intended to provide access to the history of the study of the subject as well as to the most important recent publications. It needs perhaps emphasizing that many of the works listed below include substantial bibliographical references of their own.

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13.6 WORKS IN ARABIC

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13.7 EXCLUSIONS

It seems desirable to give some reason why certain categories are omitted from this bibliography. Teaching grammars, for example, might well provide more data, but to make a selection here would be invidious. Conversely such highly focused works as L. Edzard, *Language as a Medium of Legal Norms, Implications of the Use of Arabic as a Language at the United Nations*, Berlin, 1998, or S.-O. Dahlgren, *Word Order in Arabic*, Gothenburg, 1998, are decidedly not for the beginner.

The entire literature on ‘diglossia’ (a term which can no longer be used without quotation marks) has to be left out, though there are plenty of references to it in Holes and Versteegh, for example.

The indigenous grammatical tradition is likewise omitted, though it will surely become increasingly relevant as the various profound changes now going on have to be formally assimilated into the new grammar.

ARABIC INDEX

TECHNICAL TERMS, GRAMMATICAL AND LEXICAL ITEMS

Note that the following list is not intended to be exhaustive. Some of the grammatical and technical terms used here are purely for convenience, and do not necessarily correspond exactly to those used by the Arab grammarians. The definite article *al-* ال is discounted in the alphabetical arrangement. Words containing the prefix *m-* م are not given according to root consonant order. The prefix is treated as the alphabetical first letter.

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